BaBesch 70 (1995)

Furtwänglers ‘Anadyomene’

Bekanntes und Unbekanntes zu einer Marmorstatuette aus ehemaligem Münchener Privatbesitz

J.W. Salomonson

1. Einführung

Vor fast einem Jahrhundert erschien Furtwänglers bekannter, auch heute noch öfters zitierter Aufsatz: ‘Aphrodite diadumene und anadyomene’. Er befaßte sich darin, anhand zweier typologisch verschiedener, jedoch entwicklungsgeschichtlich zusammenhängender Marmorstatuetten, mit der Frage wie die drei, durch entsprechende Gebärde verbundenen Hauptfassungen der hellenistischen ‘Anadyomene’: die sich um eine senkrechte Achse drehende ‘halbbekleidete’*(Abb. 22)*, die ‘nackte stehende’ *(Abb. 23-25)* und die sogenannte ‘klassizistische’ *(Abb. 28)* sich entwicklungsmäßig, zeitlich und örtlich zueinander verhalten. Sein Aufsatz bildete den Auftakt zu einer langen, durch mehrere Jahrzehnte anhaltenden, im Grunde noch immer nicht endgültig abgeschlossenen Diskussion[1].

Die beiden Marmorstatuetten die Furtwängler 1901 dazu veranlaßten sich mit der betreffenden Frage auseinanderzusetzen, befanden sich damals in Privatbesitz. Die ‘Diadumene’ *(Abb. 1)* war Eigentum des russischen Botschafters in Rom, Graf Nelidow. Dieses vorzüglich erhalten gebliebene, aus der Nähe von Kyzikos stammende Stück, gelangte später in die Sammlung der Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore[2]. Die ‘Anadyomene’ befand sich dagegen im Besitz des Münchener Sammlers und Mathematikers Alfred Pringsheim – des Schwiegervaters von Thomas Mann. Wie verlautet, hatte dieser die Statuette ‘aus Italien’ erworben[3]. Nach der erzwungenen, von den damaligen Zeitumständen in Deutschland bedingten Auflösung der Pringsheimschen Sammlung während der zweiten Hälfte der dreißiger Jahre, galt die Statuette *(Abb. 2a-b)* lange Zeit als verschollen. Erst kürzlich ist sie, überraschenderweise in niederländischem Privatbesitz, wieder aufgetaucht. Den heutigen Besitzern war die Vorgeschichte des Stückes allerdings nicht mehr in Einzelheiten bekannt. Es gelang jedoch, mit Hilfe der älteren Literatur[4], die Statuette mit Sicherheit als die ‘Anadyomene’ des ehemaligen Münchener Sammlers zu identifizieren. Durch Zufall und mehrfache Vererbung ist sie, in den Nachkriegsjahren, aus München an ihren gegenwärtigen Standort gelangt.

Der gegenwärtige Standort der hier behandelten Statuette ist nur eine kurze Strecke entfernt von dem Arbeitsplatz wo Frau Dr. Maria Wilhelmina Stoop viele Jahre die Redaktion dieser Zeitschrift betreute. Dem *Genius Loci* zuliebe und in Anerkennung ihres großen Verdienstes, seien diese Zeilen der kürzlich ihr zu Ehren erschienenen Festschrift (*BABesch* 68 (1993)) nachgetragen.

Für die freundliche Beschaffung von Abbildungsvorlagen und Auskünften sind wir folgenden Museen und Instituten zu besonderem Dank verpflichtet:
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Sammlung
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung im Albertinum
Köln, Forschungsarchiv für römische Plastik am Archäologischen Institut der Universität
—, Kunstgewerbemuseum
Kopenhagen, Ny Carrlsberg Glyptothek
London, British Museum
Paris, Musée du Petit Palais: Collection Dutuit
Rom, Fotothek des DAI
Utrecht, Fotoarchiv der Bibliothek des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte und Klassische Archäologie
Venedig, Museo Archeologico
Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum

[1] Furtwängler 1901, 177-181 mit Taf. 1-2. Zur betreffenden Diskussion: *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. ‘Aphrodite’ C8, 76-78: ‘Die halbbekleidete Anadyomene’; *ibid*., B4, 54-57: ‘Das Motiv der Anadyomene’ (= nackte stehende und klassizistische Fassung) mit Überblick der Lit.
Von Bedeutung aus den letzten Jahrzehnten vor allem: Lullies 1954, 76-82; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1958, 1-8; de Luca 1964, 213-225; Gassowska 1971; Brinkerhoff 1978, 56-66; de Lachenal 1981, 309-312 Nr. 23; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 157-161: ‘halbbekleidete Anadyomene’; *ibid*., 201-212; ‘nackte Stehende’; *ibid*., 224-229: ‘späthellenistisch klassizistische’; Traversari 1986, 143-145 Nr. 48; Picozzi 1990, 205-207 Nr. 111.

[2] Reeder 1988, 113 Nr. 35 mit Abb. und Lit.

[3] Dazu Furtwängler 1901, 178: ‘sie stammt aus Italien’. Für die Sammlung Alfred Pringsheims und deren Rolle in der Schriften von Th. Mann: Rasmussen 1983, 111-124.

[4] Aus den zahlreichen Besprechungen und Erwähnungen der Statuette seien folgende herausgegriffen: Fabriczy 1903, 73-75; Sieveking 1906, 147-148 mit Abb.; Habich 1906, 95-98; Bulle 1912, 331 Nr. 153 mit Abb. (= unsere *Abb. 4*); Mariani 1914, 180 d; Reinach, *RSGR* III (1920), 115,1; *E.A.* 2292 (W. Amelung 1914); Watzinger 1927, 91 mit Anm. 2; Riemann 1940, 116 Nr. 35; Muthmann 1951, 103, 108, 219-220 und Kap. VIII, Anm. 43, Kap. XI, Anm. 31; Caputo 1957, 381; de Luca 1964, 218 mit Anm. 17-18; Gassowska 1971, 105 Nr. 26 mit Abb. 31; Traversari 1986, 145 Nr. 48; Häuber 1988, 58 Anm. 102.

Das spezifische Sammelgebiet Alfred Pringsheims war bekanntlich das Kunstgewerbe der Renaissance. So besaß er eine der bedeutendsten Majolikasammlungen die je in privater Hand zusammengetragen wurden. Auch auf anderen Teilgebieten des kunstgewerblichen Schaffens und der Kleinplastik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, verfügte er über auserlesene Stücke[5]. Darunter eine virtuos geschnitzte 'Anadyomene' aus Elfenbein *(Abb. 3a-b)*, die später für die Sammlung des Kölner Museums für Kunstgewerbe erworben werden konnte[6].

Von 'Antiken' im eigentlichen Sinn war – abgesehen von der hier zur Diskussion stehenden Aphrodite – in Pringsheims Sammlung, soweit wir festzustellen vermochten, nicht die Rede, sodaß man diese Marmorstatuette gleichsam als *pars pro toto* einer wirklichen Antikensammlung betrachten dürfte. Gegen den Hintergrund damaliger Sammlerauffassungen läßt sich die Wahl gerade dieses Bildwerks gut verstehen. Durchblättert man die prunkvollen Kataloge der Antikensammlungen die in jenen Jahren – das heißt während der letzten Jahrzehnte des vorigen Jahrhunderts und kurz vor dem ersten Weltkrieg – zustande kamen, so muß es auffallen daß, 'wie nach einer ungeschriebenen Konvention', Figuren der Aphrodite als ein unentbehrliches Element jeder vollwertigen Antikensammlung betrachtet wurden[7].

Allerdings hat das Aussehen der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite, seit Furtwänglers erster Veröffentlichung, manche Veränderungen erfahren. Bei einem Vergleich mit den damaligen Abbildungen *(Abb. 4)* scheint es auf den ersten Blick fast, als handele es sich hier nicht um dasselbe Stück. Diese Unterschiedlichkeit erklärt sich jedoch daraus, daß die Statuette in den letzten Jahren einer ausführlichen Restaurierung unterzogen wurde. Eine Anzahl brüchig gewordener, störend wirkender Flickungen und Ergänzungen in Gips und Mastix – die zu Furtwänglers Zeit, durch einen dünnen, sandigen Überzug kunstvoll dem Auge des Betrachters entzogen wurden – sind bei dieser Behandlung entfernt und von neuen in Gußmarmor ersetzt. Andere, recht qualitätvolle Ergänzungen, ausgeführt in Marmor, die – wie wir noch sehen werden – vermutlich der ältesten Restaurierungsphase des mehrfach ausgebesserten Stückes angehören, blieben dagegen bei demselben Eingriff erhalten[8].

Zur Erneuerung unserer Bekanntschaft mit der lange Zeit als verschollen betrachteten Statuette stehen uns, seit der genannten Restauration – abgesehen von alten Abbildungen – zwei Sätze von hervorragenden Aufnahmen zur Verfügung[9]. Einer von diesen beiden zeigt uns das Stück nach Entfernung des sandigen Überzugs, aber vor dem

[5] Für die Majolikasammlung Pringsheims: v. Falke I (1914) und II (1923); sowie *The Pringsheim Collection* I-II (1939). Ein Teil der Gold- und Silberarbeiten der Sammlung wurde nach dem Krieg bei Christie's (London) versteigert. Die Schicksale der Email- und Elfenbeinwerke sind nur in einzelnen Fällen festzustellen: vgl. Anm. 6.

[6] Köln, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Inv. B 328, H. 24 Zm., um 1640. Früher G. Petel zugeschrieben. Heute auf Grund gewisser Übereinstimmungen mit Figuren im Oeuvre Rubens, gewöhnlich als Frühwerk von Lucas Faydherbe betrachtet. In der Haaranordnung sind aber auch Anregungen aus dem Werk Giovanni Bolognas zu erkennen: vgl. Avery-Radcliffe (1978-1979) 80, Nr. 29: 'La Fiorenza' mit guter Abb. Das Motiv geht letzten Endes auf einen Stich von Marcantonio Raimondi zurück: *Illustrated Bartsch* 26 (1978), 313 Nr. 312; zur 'Fiorenza' auch Keutner 1992, 93-98.

[7] Zu dieser 'ungeschriebenen Konvention': Brendel 1930, 23. Einen Überblick über einige der Sammlungen der betreffenden Periode bietet Türr 1984, 247-251.

[8] In der Restaurierungsgeschichte des Stückes sind mehrere, zum Teil zeitlich weit auseinanderliegende Phasen zu unterscheiden (vgl. unten 134-135). In ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustand läßt die Statuette sich folgendermaßen beschreiben. H. (einschließlich Basis) 62 Zm.; (ohne Basis) 58 Zm. Feinkörniger, weißer, stellenweise ins gelblichgraue wechselnder Marmor. Die Oberfläche der Vorderseite bei früheren Eingriffen stark gereinigt und übergangen.

Die Rückseite von solcher agressiver Behandlung weniger berührt. Die ursprüngliche, gelbliche Patina und Politur hier über größere Flächen erhalten. Sinterreste und Spuren von Wurzelfasern überall, vor allem in den Vertiefungen, vorhanden. Wo die Wurzelfasern durch radikale Reinigung völlig entfernt, an deren Stelle (wie bei manchen antiken Skulpturen aus alten Sammlungen: *Abb. 21*, Br. Mus. 1699, Townley) ein Netzwerk dunkel, bzw. hell verfärbter Linien an der Oberfläche des Marmors zurückgelassen. Oberhalb des linken Knies störende rotbraune Verfärbung und feine Risse durch Einwirkung eines (heute entfernten) rostigen Eisendübels. Bei der Aphrodite Kopf, Haar, Körper und Beine bis unterhalb der beiden Kniegelenke *vollständig* und ohne Brüche erhalten. Erhalten auch die mit dem Haar verbundene, hebende rechte Hand und drei Fingerspitzen der linken. Der untere Teil des linken Standbeines aus zahlreichen (ursprünglichen) Fragmenten zusammengesetzt. Das rechte Bein zwischen Kniegelenk und Fuß, in einem abweichenden, helleren, weniger feinkörnigen Marmor vergänzt. Aus demselben Material die (zweifellos gleichzeitigen) Ergänzungen der beiden stark angewinkelten Arme, des größten Teiles der linken Hand und der von dieser gehaltenen, herabhängenden Haarsträhne. Die betreffenden Marmorergänzungen alle, zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt – wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit dem ursprünglich noch vollständig erhaltenen Standbein – in viele Stücke gebrochen und wieder zusammengefügt. Für eine nachträgliche, grobe Gipsergänzung an der linken Hand vgl. unten 128. Bei der figürlich gearbeiteten Stütze, der untere Teil des balusterförmigen Pfeilers (mitsamt Profilierung des Fußes), die beiden Unterschenkel und Füße des Eros, der vordere Teil seines linken Armes mitsamt Hand und vorderem Rand der Muschel, sowie auch der größte Teil seines rechten Flügels, in Gußmarmor ergänzt. Eine kleine, alte Marmoranstückung am oberen Ende des linken Flügels, heute verloren. Die unregelmäßig ovale, sich nach vorn senkende Plinthe mehrfach zerbrochen; die Standplatte dabei sogar, 'zersplittert'. Das Ganze aus vielen Bruchteilen wieder zusammengefügt. Die sich dabei ergebenden Lücken und Fehlstellen (besonders an der Standplatte) mit Gußmarmor ausgebessert. Die Unterseite der Basis, hinten mit Gußmarmor leicht erhöht: dazu 127.

[9] Die Aufnahmen dieser beiden Sätze sind dem liebenswürdigen Entgegenkommen des Forschungsarchivs für Römische Plastik am archäologischen Institut der Universität Köln zu ver-

darauf erfolgten ausführlichen Eingriff. Die zahlreichen Brüche, Flickstellen und Ergänzungen – besonders an den unteren Partien des Bildwerkes – lassen sich in den Aufnahmen dieser Serie *(Abb. 2a-b, 6, 8, 12-13, 36, 38)* klar erkennen. Der zweite Satz dagegen ist erst nach Vollendung der Restaurierung der Statuette aufgenommen *(Abb. 5, 7, 9, 14, 16a-b, 21, 35, 37, 39)*. Für die Beurteilung einiger wesentlicher Fragen die die ursprüngliche Beschaffenheit – insbesondere den Zusammenhang einzelner Teile – der in mehreren Stücken zerbrochenen Figur betreffen, ist ein Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Erhaltungszustände von entscheidender Bedeutung. Wo erwünscht, sollen in den folgenden Ausführungen dementsprechend Aufnahmen beider Sätze, sowie auch einige ältere Bildvorlagen *(Abb. 4,10)*, durch- und nebeneinander zurate gezogen werden.

2. DAS BILDWERK

Plastische Gestaltung

Die unbekleidete Göttin *(Abb. 2a-b, 5, 16a-b)* trocknet sorgsam ihr offen herabfallendes Haar und scheint eben ihrem Bad, oder auch den Meereswogen entstiegen – je nachdem man dazu neigt die dargestellte Situation in einem allgemeingültigen, genremäßigen oder rein mythologischen Sinn zu interpretieren[10]. An ihrer Seite erscheint ein kleiner geflügelter Eros, der eine geöffnete Muschelschale vor sich herträgt. Hinter dem Eros befindet sich eine schlanke, balusterförmig geschwungene Stütze. Als Basis der Gruppe dient eine unregelmäßig ovale, nach vorn und rechts gesenkte, mit Hohlkehle zwischen Rundstäben profilierte Plinthe, die die Standfläche von Haupt- und Stützfigur knapp umschließt. Bei der jüngsten Restaurierung des Stückes wurde dieser Sockel an der Unterseite, hinten, mit Gußmarmor leicht erhöht. Dies geschah offenbar, um die Haltung der bei dem Eingriff etwas rücklastig gewordenen Hauptfigur ohne allzu umständliche Maßnahmen zu korrigieren[11].

Diese Hauptfigur zeigt die Göttin in mädchenhaft schlanker Gestalt. Nur eine geringe innere Drehung und eine leichte S-förmige Schwingung beleben den jugendlichen, etwas übertrieben in die Länge gezogenen Körper, der sich dem Betrachter in aufrechter Haltung, fast ohne Andeutung einer räumlichen Tiefe präsentiert *(Abb. 12a-b)*. Aus den steil emporstrebenden, zierlich bewegten seitlichen Umrissen lösen sich die asymmetrisch zum Haar erhobenen Arme in ausgewogener Gebärde. Dabei schließen sie sich, mit dem anmutig gesenkten Kopf der Göttin, zu einem muschelartigen Gebilde zusammen. Da der rechte Arm stärker erhöht ist als der linke, ist auch die rechte Körperseite stärker gedehnt. Die linke dagegen ist leicht zusammengedrückt. Durch die Belastung des linken Standbeines ist die Hüfte hier nach oben und außen verschoben. Die dadurch hervorgerufene Einknickung der Taille wird durch eine leichte Neigung des Oberkörpers nach links noch nachdrücklicher hervorgehoben.

Die Figur ist von einer einheitlichen, durchgehenden Bewegung durchzogen. Diese führt vom auswärts gerichteten rechten Fuß, über das leicht nach innen vorhängende Spielbeinknie, und die ausladende Rundung der Standbeinhüfte, zu den asymmetrisch erhobenen Armen, um dort in der Neigung des Kopfes auszuklingen. Die Kopfhaltung bildet im Aufbau der Vorderansicht ein zentrales, vermittelndes Element, durch dessen Einwirkung die unterschiedlich bewegten Linien der kontrapostisch gestalteten Figur in einheitlicher Weise zusammenfließen.

In der fein durchmodellierten Rückenansicht *(Abb. 2a, 14, 16a)* tritt der zierlich gegenläufige Aufbau der Gestalt – der betonte Kontrast im Verlauf der Konturlinien beider Körperseiten – nicht weniger deutlich in Erscheinung. Durch die fließende Kurve der Rückenlinie und das in gegensätzlichen Rundungen rhythmisch bewegte, breit ausgefächerte Haar, scheint die Bewegtheit der Silhouette hier sogar eine zusätzliche Akzentuierung zu erfahren.

An der Oberfläche ist die Statuette fest, aber ohne Übermaß an naturalistischen Einzelheiten modelliert. Die weichen Übergänge in der Begrenzung von Muskulatur und Gelenken zeigen nur eine geringe plastische Differenzierung. Das unterliegende Knochengerüst ist kaum in Einzelheiten zu erkennen. Eher hat es den Anschein, als bilde die flächig modellierte Hautschicht selbst die Wölbungen und Vertiefungen die das Oberflächenrelief des nackten weiblichen Körpers gestalten. Die weiche Bildung der beiden im ursprünglichen Zustand

danken. Dem ehemaligen Leiter dieses Archivs Dr. Hansgeorg Oehler gebührt dafür, sowie für seine unentbehrliche Hilfe bei der Vorbereitung dieses Aufsatzes, unsere besondere Anerkennung. Auch Frau Dr. Christiane Häubers lebhaft bezeugtes und vielseitiges Interesse an dem Gegenstand, das wiederholt zu anregenden und aufschluszreichen Diskussionen führte, hat zu dem Entschluß, die Pringsheimsche Statuette erneut vorzulegen, in entscheidender Weise beigetragen.

[10] Dazu unten 131-132 und Anm. 21-25. Zu dieser Alternative vgl. auch Derksen 1990, 26-29.

[11] Für Plinthen dieses Typs: Muthmann 1951, Kap. VIII, 96 (mit Erwähnung des Pringsheimschen Beispiels Anm. 43); *ibid*. Kap. XI, 120-127, bes. 122-123 und 126-127, sowie 201-203.

erhaltenen Kniegelenke, ist als charakteristisches Beispiel der betreffenden zurückhaltenden Modellierungsweise zu betrachten.
In auffallendem Gegensatz zu dieser plastisch zurückhaltenden Oberflächengestaltung des Körpers, steht die Schärfe und Präzision mit denen die streng axial angelegten Gesichtszüge der Göttin und die Einzelheiten ihrer Haartracht wiedergegeben wurden. Im Gesichts- und Kopftypus läßt sich eindeutig der Einfluß klassischer Vorbilder erkennen. Selbst bei stärkster Vergrößerung *(Abb. 6-7, 21bis)* geht die Monumentalität ihrer Wirkung nicht verloren. Wie bei manchen klassischen Kopftypen ist eine Wölbung der Oberseite des Schädels, in der Längs- und Breitenrichtung kaum vorhanden und faßt der regelmäßig begrenzte Gesichtsumriß die Formen des Antlitzes fest zusammen. Wie ein 'Fadenkreuz' sind Augen, Brauen, Nase und Mund im Rahmen dieses Umrißes eingefügt. Die klassische Strenge des Aufbaus wird durch die symmetrische Anordnung des ornamental gewellten Haares über der Stirn noch weiter benachdruckt und mittels der bis auf den Wirbel durchgezogenen Scheitellinie *(Abb. 7, 39a)* auch in der Tiefenrichtung hervorgehoben.
Die flach eingebetteten, linsenförmigen Augen sind durch scharf geschnittene, zierlich geschwungene Lider gerahmt. Am äußeren Winkel wird das untere Lid vom oberen in fein gebogener Kurve überschnitten; innen stoßen sie in spitzem Winkel zusammen. Die Karunkel sind trotz des kleinen Maßstabs der Darstellung sorgfältig durchgebildet. Bestimmend für den Eindruck der Gesichtszüge sind ferner die ein wenig lange, schmale Nase mit ihren zartgeschwungenen Nasenflügeln und die sorgfältige, kleinteilige Modellierung des leicht geöffneten, in den äußeren Winkeln von kleinen Einbohrungen geschatteten Mundes. An der leicht geschürzten Oberlippe sind, trotz der miniaturhaften Proportionen, die Formen von *Tubaculum* und *Philtrum* klar zu erkennen. Am Kinn ist, durch eine mit dem Bohrer eingetiefte Punkthöhle, ein Grübchen angedeutet. In technisch völlig übereinstimmender Weise sind im Gesicht des neben der Göttin stehenden Eros, Mundwinkel und Kinngrübchen mit Hilfe kleiner Punktbohrungen angegeben *(Abb. 2b,6,10,16b,37a)*.
In den glatten Hauptflächen des Gesichtes der Aphrodite sind Einzelakzente vermieden. Nur in der unmittelbaren Umgebung von Mund und Nase läßt sich eine bewegtere Modellierung der Oberfläche erkennen. Die hellen Gesichtsflächen sind von dunkler getönten, tief schattenden Haarmassen umgeben. Die Anordnung dieser Haarmassen und die damit verbundene Handhaltung sind – im Vergleich zu den sonst bei Anadyomenetypen üblichen Formeln – ihrer Differenziertheit wegen bemerkenswert.
In der Vorderansicht sind sie in abwechslungsreichen Motiven gestaltet. Zur rechten Seite windet sich das aus dicken Einzelsträhnen zusammengebündelte Haar, über die hebende Hand im Nacken, in breiter, doppelt geschwungener Welle nach vorn um dann, nach Durchschreitung einer tief unterschnittenen, die Vorderseite der Schulter schattenden Lische *(Abb. 6-7)*, zur Rückseite der Figur herabzufließen. Bei der Darstellung der Hand ist das Zusammenspiel von Fingern und Haarsträhnen lebendig und auffallend naturgetreu wiedergegeben *(Abb. 8)*. Links bildet die ohne Unterbrechung herabwallende Haarmasse ebenfalls vor der Schulter eine girlandenartige, tief unterschnittene Lische. Die locker von vorn fassende linke Hand hat auf dieser Seite, aus der Masse des herabströmenden Haares, ein einzelnes auf den Oberarm herabhängendes Lockenbündel herausgegriffen[12].
Die Handhaltung die sich, zu beiden Seiten des Hauptes der Göttin, mit dieser differenzierten Anordnung der Haarpartien verbindet, ist so gewählt, daß von der in der vorderen Bildebene sich befindlichen Linken der Handrücken, von der weiter rückwärts, im Nacken liegenden Rechten dagegen die Innenseite auf den Betrachter ausgerichtet ist. Diese gegensätzliche Position der Hände ermöglicht es, um das Haupt der Göttin herum, wenn auch nur in beschränktem Ausmaß, den Eindruck einiger Raumtiefe zu erwecken.
In der Form der Linken ist übrigens, infolge einer späten, bei der jüngsten Renovierung nicht entfernten Restaurierung in Gips, ein störender Fehler eingeschlichen. An der Stelle wo sich der Daumen befinden sollte, hat ein grob modellierter, runder Haarbausch dessen Platz eingenommen *(Abb. 9)*. Dieser ergibt am betreffenden Ort keinen Sinn. Ein interessantes, mit der Statuette aufbewahrtes Gipsmodell *(Abb. 9bis)*, das wohl mit der Absicht einer Korrektur des erwähnten früheren Fehleingriffs angefertigt wurde, zeigt wie man sich die betreffende Einzelheit wahrscheinlich bei einer Wiederherstellung im richtigen Sinn vorzustellen hätte[13].

[12] Arm, Hand und Haarsträhne sind zwar zum größten Teil in einem abweichenden Marmor ergänzt (vgl. Anm. 8), die Richtigkeit dieser Ergänzung läßt sich – bis auf eine Einzelheit – jedoch im Hinblick auf die Beschaffenheit der erhaltenen Ansätze und zahlreiche Vergleichsbeispiele, nicht bezweifeln.
[13] Mit Recht hat man auf die betreffende Absicht verzichtet. Bei Ersetzung der alten Marmorergänzung durch den Abguß, wären wichtige Hinweise für den Ablauf der Restaurierungsgeschichte verloren gegangen. Für die Bedeutung dieser letzteren bei der Beurteilung unseres Werkes, unten 134-136.

In der Rückenansicht *(Abb. 2a, 9, 14, 16a,36a)* ist das offen herabströmende Haar der Göttin als geschlossene Masse, in kalligraphisch gezeichneten Wellen wiedergegeben. Hals und Nacken der Dargestellten sind davon völlig bedeckt und somit in ihrer Schönheit dem Blick des Betrachters entzogen. Der Reiz der Nacktheit dagegen wird durch diese freie Anordnungsweise der Frisur, durch die gegensätzliche Wirkung der herabfließenden naßen Strähnen, besonders effektvoll hervorgehoben.
Über der Scheitelkappe ist das naße, flach anliegende Haar nach einem – in diesem Zusammenhang – merkwürdig altertümlich anmutenden Schema, in gleichförmig nebeneinander laufenden Zickzacksträhnen angeordnet *(Abb. 6-7)*. Dabei sind, in rhythmischer Wiederholung, jeweils mehrere dicht aufeinander liegende Trennungslinien von tieferen Furchen abgewechselt, wodurch ein ornamentaler Oberflächeneffekt entsteht. Diese stilisierende Darstellungsweise, die sich von der freien Behandlung der übrigen Haarpartien unterscheidet, ist – in vereinfachter Form – von einem Schema der frühen Klassik abgeleitet. Offenbar empfand der Hersteller der Statuette das Bedürfnis, der vorwiegend spätklassisch-hellenistischen Formensprache seines Werkes – gleichsam als würzendes Element – eine altertümliche Formel beizumischen[14].
Der schwierigen Aufgabe den triefenden Zustand des Haares anzudeuten, sah der Bildhauer sich übrigens nicht gewachsen. An mancher Stelle, vor allem an der Oberseite des Schädels, hat er zu diesem Zweck eine tropfenähnliche, leichte Punktierung der Oberfläche als ergänzendes Hilfsmittel angewendet *(Abb. 6-7, 8-9, 39a)*.
Der Eros zur linken Seite unserer schlanken Göttin zeigt, im Gegensatz zu dieser letzteren, plumpe kindliche Körperformen *(Abb. 10, 13, 16a-b)*. Sein rundliches Gesicht hat einen etwas störrischen Ausdruck. Die durch Abschürfung, Bestoßung und Beschmitzung der Oberfläche leider verunstaltete Frisur besteht aus seitwärts und in den Nacken lang herabfallenden Locken. Das eingerollte Ende der letzteren wird jeweils durch eine runde, schattende Einbohrung besonders betont. Über die Mitte seines Scheitels zieht sich eine flache Scheitelflechte. Unter dieser kommt, über der Stirnmitte, eine kurze, flammenförmige, nach rechts züngelnde Stirnlocke zum Vorschein. Diese, in typologischer Hinsicht nicht völlig belanglose Einzelheit, läßt sich übrigens nur noch auf älteren Aufnahmen deutlich erkennen *(Abb. 10)*. Das betreffende Detail ist seitdem offensichtlich einer Oberflächenbeschädigung zum Opfer gefallen[15].
Die sich hinter dem Eros befindliche Stütze vertritt einen Typ den wir, in ähnlicher Gestalt, von mehreren antiken Statuen und Statuetten kennen. Vergleichsbeispiele – wie etwa die bereits erwähnte Statuette Nelidow *(Abb. 1)*, bei der das Stützenmotiv in einer einfach eingetieften Umrißzeichnung erscheint – legen nahe, daß der betreffende Typus wahrscheinlich aus einer schlanken, späthellenistischen Gefäßform entwickelt wurde[16]. Mit statuarischen Darstellungen der Aphrodite bei ihrer Toilette wurden solche gefäßförmigen Pfeiler oft verbunden[17].
Die Qualität der Ausführung beider Stützelemente steht, wie häufig bei antiken Bildwerken, gegenüber der der Hauptfigur durch handwerkliche, Schematisierung und flüchtigere Modellierung zurück. Dies dürfte einerseits mit der nebensächlichen Rolle der betreffenden Elemente, andererseits auch mit deren schlechtem Erhaltungszustand (und etwas unbeholfenen Restaurierung) zusammenhängen. Denn, aus Einzelbeobachtungen – vor allem an den Gesichtszügen von Aphrodite und Eros – geht, wie bereits bemerkt wurde, deutlich hervor, daß Haupt- und Nebenfigur sich im Grunde, in der angewendeten plastischen Technik, durchaus gleichen[18].

[14] Zur Entwicklung des betreffenden ‘strengen’ Schemas im späteren 5. Jht: Tomei 1992, 171-228, mit Beispielen und Lit. Die eklektische Mischung naturalistisch freier und altertümlich strenger Formelemente wurde von Furtwängler 1901, 178 als ‘pikant’ empfunden.

[15] Aufnahme der Vorkriegszeit (Ausschnitt). Zum Erotentypus mit ‘Scheitelzopf’ und Stirnlocke, und deren Herleitung: Gonzenbach 1969, 914-924; Rolley 1970, 551-565, bes. 555; Lorenz 1988, 52-53; sowie unten 141 Anm. 67.

[16] Dazu Muthmann 1951, 104-1O9, bes. 106-109; 191-193. In der Literatur werden Pfeiler dieses Typs abwechselnd als ‘schlanke henkellose Gefäße’, *Baluster* oder *Baityloi* (Kultpfeiler) bezeichnet; vgl. Häuber 1988, 56-60 mit Anm. 102 und 63 mit Anm. 136. Häuber selbst entscheidet sich im Falle der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite für einen *Baitylos* und erwähnt S. 57 Anm. 102 eine Anzahl Vergleichsbeispiele. Aus morphologischen und inhaltlichen Gründen wird hier vorzugsweise die herkömmliche Deutung des betreffenden Stützentypus beibehalten.

[17] Bei den Prototypen ist sowohl an Bade- wie an Salbgefäße zu denken. Das Bad, die Schönheitspflege und die Behandlung mit duftenden Salben nahmen bei der Aphrodite, wie sich aus den Schilderungen der frühen Dichtung erschließen läßt, schon unmittelbar nach ihrer Meergeburt einen Anfang. Auch Eros war dabei bereits vom ersten Moment an zugegen: vgl. Hesiod., *Theog*. 173-205, bes. 201; Hom., *Hymn*. VI, 7-ll. Zu Quellen und Darstellungen (vorklassischer und klassischer Zeit): Simon 1959, 42-46; Ead. 1969, 229-254 *passim*, mit Anm. S. 329-330; Berard 1974, 153-160; Loeb 1979, 63-87. Vgl. auch unten Anm. 21 und 77.

[18] Zu dieser Übereinstimmung in der plastischen Technik, oben 128. Für den Erhaltungszustand des Eros, oben Anm. 8. Nicht nur enthält die figürlich gearbeitete Stütze zahlreiche (leider nicht sehr kunstvoll gestaltete) Ergänzungen. Auch die Oberfläche hat durch Bestoßung, Abreibung, Fleckenbildung und darauf gefolgte, zu agressive Reinigungsversuche stark gelitten. Abgesehen von der schlechten Konservierung wurde, im Fall des Eros, die plastische Gestaltungsfreiheit durch dessen gleichzeitige Stützenfunktion beschränkt.

Aufbau und Komposition

Die Gestalt der Göttin, mit ihren beiden in die Fläche gebreiteten, zum Kopf erhobenen Armen ist in ihrem Gesamtaufbau unverkennbar auf Betrachtung in zwei Hauptansichten – der vorderen und der hinteren – angewiesen. Der künstlerische und inhaltliche Schwerpunkt der Darstellung liegt eindeutig bei diesen beiden Ansichten. Elemente einer dreidimensionalen Entwicklung, etwa durch Vorbeugung des Oberkörpers oder durch ein Vor-, beziehungsweise ein Rückwärtsstrecken der Glieder, sind in ihrer Haltung kaum vorhanden. Bis auf das leicht zurückgesetzte, etwas nach aussen geführte, im Knie ein wenig nach vorn hängende rechte Bein, die Senkung des Kopfes, die leichte Vorbeugung des stark angewinkelten linken Armes, und die bereits erwähnte gegensätzlich ausgerichtete Position der Hände, fehlen Bewegungsmotive die eine Tiefenwirkung im Aufbau herbeiführen. Der Eindruck eines bewegten Stehens und gewissen Volumens wird vielmehr mit zweidimensionalen Mitteln, wie der Führung der langen Umrißlinien und dem Richtungswechsel der zahlreichen kurzen Querachsen die die Figur durchkreuzen, hervorgerufen. Die Gestalt ist silhouettenartig in eine zweidimensionale Fläche eingebunden und läßt sich aus diesem Grund nur von zwei Seiten in befriedigender Weise betrachten. Nur in diesen Ansichten läßt die Absicht der Komposition sich richtig und in vollem Umfang erfassen. Verläßt man die beiden Hauptansichten über eine gewisse, vor allem von der Armhaltung und Kopfneigung festgelegten Grenze *(Abb. 5, 12a-b)*, dann fallen Stabilität, Volumen und Bewegung, sowie auch die kalligraphische Qualität der Umrißführung, einer zunehmenden Unbestimmtheit zum Opfer. Die plastische Wirkung wird außerdem durch übermäßige Schlankheit abgeschwächt. Dennoch geht, auch in diesen Ansichten, der Reiz der Darstellung nicht völlig verloren.

In das Aufbauschema des Bildwerks sind freilich – sowohl in Vorder- wie in Rückenansicht – auch die Komponenten der Stütze miteinbezogen. In der Vorderansicht ist ein Grundmotiv aus der Komposition der Hauptfigur: die zum Haar erhobenen Arme die sich mit dem vorwärts geneigten Kopf muschelähnlich zusammenschließen, in umgekehrtem Sinn – gleichsam als Spiegelung dieses Motivs innerhalb der Komposition – in der Haltung des muscheltragenden Eros noch einmal aufgenommen. In ähnlicher Weise ist die schlanke, balusterartig profilierte Stütze hinter dem Eros für die Rückenansicht der Gruppe von Bedeutung. Dieser leicht S-förmig geschweifte Pfeiler wurde allem Anschein nach nicht nur als technisch notwendiges Hilfsmittel in den Aufbau des Werkes aufgenommen, sondern in seiner Form und fließenden Profilierung ist sowohl auf den Gesamtaufbau der benachbarten Hauptfigur, wie auch auf die Pfeilerfunktion ihres (sich im entgegengesetzten Sinn verjüngenden) Standbeins Rücksicht genommen. Gleichzeitig wird die unruhige Wirkung der geflügelten Rückseite des begleitenden Eros, durch die Anwesenheit des betreffenden Pfeilers aufgehoben.

Zusammenhang von Hauptfigur und Stütze

Durch die eben erwähnten formalen Zusammenhänge und die darin zum Ausdruck kommende bewußte Verschränkung von auf einander bezogenen, sich gegenseitig ergänzenden Kompositionsmotiven, sind Hauptfigur und Stütze eng mit einander verbunden. Diese Feststellung ist von Bedeutung da aus dem Erhaltungszustand der Statuette hervorgeht, daß zwischen Hauptfigur und Stütze eine durchgehende Verbindung fehlt. Auch die Stützenelemente und die ovale Plinthe sind nicht fortläufig mit einander verbunden[19]. Dies könnte den Verdacht erwecken, daß die Aphrodite und der Eros ursprünglich möglicherweise nicht zusammengehörten. Es ist schließlich eine bekannte Tatsache, daß antike Skulpturteile in früheren Jahrhunderten – vor allem in gewissen italienischen Werkstätten – in beliebiger Weise zusammengewürfelt wurden[20]. Ein Verdacht dieser Art könnte im vorliegenden Fall um so berechtigter erscheinen, als die beiden Teile des Bildwerkes sich, wie erwähnt, in der Qualität ihrer Ausführung unterscheiden.

Jeder Zweifel solcher Art läßt sich jedoch, unseres Erachtens, mit entscheidenden Argumenten beseitigen. Nicht nur bestehen die einzelnen Teile des Werkes aus identischem, in übereinstimmender Weise verwittertem Material, und läßt sich, wie bemerkt, in der Behandlung der Gesichtszüge von Aphrodite und Eros – trotz des Qualitätsunterschiedes – dieselbe Arbeitsweise erkennen, sondern auch in kompositorischer Hinsicht ist zwischen beiden, wie wir feststellen konnten, eine deutliche Beziehung vorhanden. Zu diesen materiellen, stilistischen und kompositorischen Andeutungen tritt jedoch noch ein weiteres Indiz das den Beweis erbringt, daß Aphrodite und Eros tatsächlich ursprünglich zusammengehören. Auf den fotografi-

[19] Dazu oben Anm. 8.

[20] Vgl. etwa die Bemerkungen und Zitate bei Ladendorf 1953, Kap. X, Exkurs B, 55-61; Gesche 1981, 335-341, bes. 338-339; Paul 1982, 15 und *passim*; Picon 1983, 16.

Abb. A. Nachzeichnung der Darstellung auf einem attisch-rotfigurigen Lekanisdeckel (Ausschnitt).

schen Aufnahmen die entstanden ehe die letzte Restaurierung endgültig stattgefunden hatte, ist an der Außenseite des linken Beines der Göttin, etwas unterhalb ihres Kniegelenkes *(Abb. 13)*, der Ansatz des (zum größten Teil verloren gegangenen) rechten Flügels des Eros zu erkennen. Die Begrenzung der äußeren Schwungfeder zeichnet sich an der Oberfläche des betreffenden Restelementes deutlich ab. Infolge eines übereifrigen Vorgehens bei der Durchführung der jüngsten Restaurierung ist dieses wichtige Detail heute leider dem Blick des Betrachters entzogen. Der Ansatz wurde vom Gußmarmor der neuen Flügelergänzung vollständig überdeckt *(Abb. 14)*. Ein entscheidender Hinweis auf die Zusammengehörigkeit von Aphrodite und Eros ging damit verloren. Dank der Existenz der umfangreichen fotografischen Dokumentation sind wir in der Lage diesem Übel abzuhelfen.

Handlung und Haltung

Die Frage ob es sich bei unserer Aphrodite um eine Darstellung ihrer 'Meergeburt', oder um eine genremäßige Schilderung ihrer 'Toilette' handelt, läßt sich – wie übrigens bei der Mehrzahl der plastischen Beispiele unseres Typs – nicht ohne weiteres beantworten. Die Geburt der Göttin, und die sich daraus ergebende Sorge um die Erhaltung ihrer eben erblühten, vollendeten Schönheit, sind als Themen in Dichtung und bildender Kunst eng mit einander verknüpft. Es war kein Zufall, daß der statuarische Typus der 'Anadyomene', typologisch gesehen, aus einem Toilettenmotiv der älteren Genrekunst entwickelt wurde *(Abb. A)*[21]. Trotz dieser typologischen Ableitung, und trotz der ursprünglichen mythologischen Motivierung, ist das Anadyomenebild der hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Plastik, weder als göttliche Alltagszene, noch als Schilderung eines mythologischen Vorgangs aufzufassen. Vielmehr handelt es sich um eine allgemeingültige Darstellungsform der Göttin,

[21] Zur engen Verbindung von Bad und Meergeburt vgl. oben Anm. 17 und unten 142 mit Anm. 77. In der nachklassischen Zeit wird das mythologische Thema der Meergeburt durch die Darstellung des Bades der Göttin gewissermaßen ins menschliche übersetzt. Vgl. dazu unten 141-142. Zur Ableitung des Motivs der statuarischen Meergeburt von Badeszenen der älteren Kleinkunst u.a.: Lullies 1954, 77 mit Anm. 398; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 205 und 424, IV Anm. 590 (mit ausführlicher Lit.); vgl. auch Brinkerhoff 1978, 57 und 59. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. A)*: attisch rotfiguriger Lekanisdeckel (um 340 v. Chr.), S. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 1838 (Ausschnitt). In der dargestellten Badezsene ist sowohl der Typus der stehenden 'Anadyomene' wie der der kauernden Aphrodite vorgebildet. Zur literarischen Ausmalung der Schaumgeborenen als Freundin des Putzes: Roscher *ML* I, 1 (1884-1886) s.v. 'Aphrodite' 401; Preller, 1894[4] I, 365-368; Gruppe 1906 II, 1365-1368. Vgl. auch die Lit. oben Anm. 17 und *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite', Einführung 2-5, und *ibid.* III, B7a-c 'Aphrodite bei der Toilette'. Erst seit spätklassischer und hellenistischer Zeit ließen genremäßige Situationsbilder wie Bad- oder Toilettenszenen, sich freilich in den Bereich der monumentalen Plastik übertragen.

in der diese unter allen Umständen von ihren Verehrern erkannt und bewundert werden konnte[22]. In der Gestaltung dieses universalen Typus sind mehrere essentielle Aspekte vom Mythos und dem Wesen der Göttin wie in einer einzigen, allumfassenden Formel eingefangen[23]. Immerhin läßt sich, zu Haltung und Handlung dieser Darstellungsform, was unsere Statuette anbelangt, Folgendes bemerken.

Die Haltung der Göttin, und die dadurch gekennzeichnete Situation, deuten auf konzentrierte Beschäftigung mit dem Trocknen und Ordnen ihres Haars. Von der Nähe anderer Wesen scheint sie sich nicht bewust. Ihr Blick richtet sich nicht auf den Beschauer, noch wendet er sich zum Eros an ihrer Seite. Sie ist nur mit sich selbst beschäftigt. Dabei neigt ihr Haupt sich nach vorn, und richtet ihr Blick sich nach unten, sodaß der Eindruck entsteht, als betrachte sie sich in einem Spiegelbild, an der Oberfläche eines Gewässers zu ihren Füßen. Mit diesem Spiegeln könnte die leichte Öffnung ihres Mundes – die Andeutung eines verstohlenen Lächelns – sehr wohl zusammenhängen[24]. Ein sich Spiegeln – gleichgültig ob es sich dabei um Benutzung eines künstlich hergestellten Handgeräts oder einer natürlichen Wasserfläche handelt – gehörte, wie andere mit der Schönheitspflege verbundene Handlungen, zu den bevorzugten Beschäftigungen der Aphrodite. In der Dichtung und in unzähligen bildlichen Darstellungen läßt diese Tätigkeit sich in vielen Varianten belegen[25]. Allerdings wäre unsere Göttin, in der aufrechten Haltung in der sie sich nach der Darstellung befindet, kaum in der Lage ihr Spiegelbild im richtigen Blickwinkel aufzufangen. Nur ein Betrachter befände sich in der dazu erforderlichen Entfernung. Dennoch ist die Vortäuschung eines sich Spiegelns, durch die Einzelheiten in ihrer Haltung und Kopfneigung, gut gelungen. Besonders die mit Empfindsamkeit dem Gesamtbild eingefügte Kopfsenkung ist bestimmend für die Wirkung die sie beim Beschauer auslöst. Das Vorhandensein dieses 'stimmungsvollen' Illusionselements unterscheidet unser Bildwerk von manchen anderen ähnlichen Typs und Inhalts.

3. STILMERKMALE UND ZEIT DER HERSTELLUNG

Versucht man, bei einer Statuette wie der unsrigen, deren Stellung innerhalb der antiken Kunstgeschichte genauer zu ermitteln, dann sind dabei die stilistischen Merkmale des zugrunde liegenden *Vorbildes* von denen der hier vorliegenden *Nachbildung* zu unterscheiden.

Im statuarischen Typus der nackten, stehenden 'Anadyomene' sind, wie seit Furtwängler öfters hervorgehoben wurde, Anklänge an klassische Vorbilder, besonders an das des Polykletischen 'Diadumenos' vorhanden[26]. Von der Plastik des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sind wir allerdings bei dem betreffenden Typus weit entfernt. Die offene Darbietung einer aufrecht stehenden, nackten Gestalt war in der Monumentalplastik jener Zeit nur männlichen Figuren vorbehalten[27]. Erst bedeu-

[22] Je mehr das einmal zur Anwendung gebrachte Motiv sich in Nachbildungen und Varianten wiederholte, desto weiter entfernte es sich von seinem ursprünglichen mythologischen Sinn. Deutlich offenbart sich dies in einem, nur noch aus alter Beschreibung und Abbildung bekannten Wandbild aus Pompei (VII,2,14, Haus d. Optatio, Tablinum) wo Aphrodite, beim Parisurteil – in der Gebirgslandschaft des Ida – in der Haltung der 'Anadyomene' erscheint: Helbig, 1868, 276 Nr. 1283b (mit ausf. Beschreibung), Taf. XVI; bei Hermann II, 1939, 28-29, Taf. 216 bereits völlig verblaßt. Vgl. auch Peters 1963, 129 Abb. 105 (nach Helbig). Für die neuere Lit.: Moormann 1988, 192, Cat. 234/1(e) (sonderbarerweise ohne Erwähnung des Zusammenhanges mit dem statuarischen Typus).

[23] Das Gleiche gilt freilich für andere allgemein geläufige Aphroditetypen, denen ursprünglich mythologische Motivierungen zugrunde lagen.

[24] Zum 'Lächeln' der Aphrodite, u.a. Hom. *Hymn*. V 49 und *passim*. Vgl. auch Roscher *ML* I, 1 (1884-1886), 401; Preller I (1894)[4], 367 und 383; *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite', Einführung 2.

[25] Für das Bildmaterial eine Anzahl Beispiele in *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III, B7c, 60-61 (Aphrodite mit Handspiegel); *ibid*. III C7a (Aphrodite sich spiegelnd in einem Schild); Caputo 1957, 378-383; Simon 1977, 348-368, bes. 358-359 (Aphrodite sich spiegelnd in einer Wasserfläche). Die natürliche Wasserfläche wurde bei der Aufstellung von Statuetten auch öfters durch die Vortäuschung einer solchen (etwa durch eine Tischplatte) ersetzt; dazu Anderson 1991, 544-562, bes. 560-561. In der Dichtung sind Schilderungen der sich spiegelnden Aphrodite verhältnismäßig selten. Sophokles beschrieb in der *Krisis*, wie die Göttin 'salbenduftend und sich spiegelnd' beim Urteilsspruch vor Paris erschien. Kallimachos bezeugt indirekt, daß Athene – im Gegensatz zu Aphrodite – weder Spiegel noch duftende Salben liebt: zu beiden Äußerungen: Jebb, Headlam & Pearson 1917, 30-31 Nr. 361, mit Angaben der Stellen. Aphrodite, sich spiegelnd im Schild des Ares, erwähnt Apollon. Rhod. *Argon*. I, 742-746, als Darstellungsgegenstand einer Stickerei mit der die Göttin bekleidet ist. Die Reihe der angeführten Beispiele ließe sich zweifellos noch um einige weitere fortsetzen.

[26] So bereits Furtwängler 1901, 177-178 und noch *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III, B4, 55; vgl. auch Neumer-Pfau 1982, 226-228 und 448 mit IV Anm. 693; Häuber 1988, 46. Zur Rezeption des klassischen Diadumenos als Vorbild für weibliche Gestalten: Himmelmann-Wildschütz l958, 1-5, bes. 4; Zanker 1974, 3-45: Die Rezeption des polykletischen Stils im späten Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit, bes. 16 Nr. 15 (Übertragung des Diadumenosmotivs auf Statuen und Statuetten der Aphrodite). Vgl., mehr allgemein, auch Maderna-Lauter 1990, 298-327, mit ausf. Angaben der Lit. Zur 'klassischen' Nacktheit: Himmelmann 1990 und Bonfante 1989.

[27] Anders verhält sich dies freilich bei Darstellungen der zweidimensionalen Kleinkunst, insonderheit der Vasenmalerei. Zu dieser 'banausischen' Nacktheit: Himmelmann 1990, 47-50.

tend später, im Rahmen einer klassizistischen Strömung in der hellenistischen Kunst, wurden solche Schemen auch auf weibliche Gestalten – besonders auf die der Aphrodite und einiger Mitglieder ihres Kreises – übertragen[28]. Dementsprechend sind in unserer Statuette gerade aus jener Epoche auffallende Stilmerkmale vorhanden. In dem fassadenhaften, auf zwei Ansichten berechneten Aufbau, in den schlanken, übermäßig in die Länge gezogenen Proportionen, in der weichen, auf Angabe von Details verzichtenden Oberflächenbehandlung, und in der kalligrafischen Führung der Umrißlinien, deren modellierende Wirkung die zweidimensionale Flächigkeit des Figurenaufbaus deutlich betont, sind charakteristische Gestaltungsprinzipien des späthellenistischen 'Klassizismus' zu erkennen.

Ebendiesen Prinzipien ist ein Werk wie das hochgerühmte aber leider verloren gegangene Vorbild der Graziengruppe *(Abb. 15)* entsprungen. Ein schlanker, leicht S-förmig geschwungener, in die Fläche gebreiteter Mädchenkörper ist hier kunstvoll zweimal mit sich selber zu einer Dreiergruppe verbunden. Den anmutigen Formen der Mädchen liegen späthellenistische Aphroditetypen zugrunde. Ihre Anordnung ermöglicht es diese auf einen Blick, in drei verschiedenen Ansichten zu übersehen[29].

Die betonte Zweiansichtigkeit des betreffenden Werkes ist bekanntlich eine beliebte Kunstformel des ausgehenden Hellenismus. Wie bei unserer Statuette, kommt diese einer möglichst gefälligen Ausbreitung des nackten weiblichen Körpers in besonders glücklicher Weise entgegen. Die gleichzeitige Betrachtung von Front- und Rückseiten unserere Aphrodite *(Abb. 2a-b, 16a-b)* fordert geradezu dazu auf sie mit den Grazien *(Abb. 15)* zu vergleichen, und zeigt – trotz der Unterschiede in Kopftypen und Bewegungsmotiven – wie nahe die betreffenden Werke sich, den stilistische Eigenschaften nach, gegenseitig berühren.

Derselben späthellenistischen Zeit entstammt, wie wir sehen werden, auch die statuarische Schöpfung die wir als das eigentliche *Vorbild* unserer Aphrodite betrachten dürfen[30]. Die Statuette selber ist dagegen – wie wir anderen charakteristischen Stilmerkmalen entnehmen können – erst bedeutend später, nicht vor der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., entstanden. Schon Furtwängler hatte, vor allem auf Grund der Form und Profilierung der Basis, die Regierungszeit Hadrians als Entstehungsperiode unseres Stückes angenommen. Andere sind ihm in dieser Ansicht gefolgt[31]. Für die Zutreffendheit dieser zeitlichen Einordnung kann man – abgesehen von der typischen Basisform – eine Reihe stilistischer Argumente namhaft machen. Ein ausgesprochen Hadrianisch-früh Antoninisches Gepräge trägt in erster Linie der strenge, scharf artikulierende Klassizismus der Gesichtszüge, der sich vom Charakter späthellenistischer Physiognomien deutlich unterscheidet. Hadrianisch-früh Antoninischem Geschmack entsprechen die Hell-Dunkel Kontraste, die von den tiefen Schattenkanälen um die glatten Gesichtsflächen hervorgerufen werden. Typisch für die genannte Epoche ist auch die Mischung freier Naturformen und altertümlich ornamentaler Züge, die wir an bestimmten Haarpartien beobachten konnten. Ähnlich steht es mit der, bei dem Spiel der rechten Hand deutlich auftretenden Tendenz, in das Idealbild einer Gottheit realistische Einzelbeobachtungen aufzunehmen. Zeitbestimmend ist auch – und nicht zuletzt – die für das Hadrianisch-früh Antoninische Formempfinden kennzeichnende Weise in der, bei unserer Aphrodite, ein gewisser kühler Akademismus der Form und eine stimmungsbetonte Haltung, zu einer ausgewogenen Einheit verbunden wurden[32]. Das Motiv des Muscheltragenden Eros und der charakteristische Typus des letzteren haben schließlich in der Plastik der genannten Periode ihre nächsten Parallelen[33].

[28] Zu dieser Übertragung u.a. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1958, 1-2 und 4; Zanker 1974, 16 Nr. 15; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 226-228. Robertson 1975, 550 und Pollitt 1986, 175-177 benachdrücken mehr allgemein die Tendenz zur Vermischung ursprünglich männlicher oder weiblicher ikonographischer Schemen während der 'klassizistischen' Spätphase der hellenistischen Kunst.

[29] Zu der späthellenistischen Graziengruppe und deren zahlreichen Nachbildungen, zusammenfassend: *LIMC* III, 1 (1986) s.v. 'Charites/Gratiae', 203-210, mit Angabe der umfangreichen Lit.; Kell 1988, 102-108; vgl. auch Moormann 1988, 54 und 285, s.n. (Beispiele d. Malerei). Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 15)*: Hadrianische Replik aus den Thermen von Kyrene: Paribeni 1959, 109 Nr. 303.

[30] Dazu unten 138-140.

[31] Furtwängler 1901, 179; vgl. auch Muthmann 1951, 103 und 219-220 ('spät Hadrianisch-früh Antoninisch').

[32] Zu den Stilmerkmalen Hadrianischer Idealplastik u.a.: Toynbee 1934; Traversari 1968; Zanker 1974, 97-117; Raeder 1983, 205-242.

[33] Für die Statuenstützen: Muthmann 1951, 102-103 und Kap. VIII Anm. 128 (mit Erwähnung der Pringsheimschen Statuette); vgl. auch Döhl 1968, 61, und unten Anm. 73 mit *Abb. 45 und 46*. Für den vorliegenden Erotentypus: rundliches, breit angelegtes Gesicht, störrischer Ausdruck, Punktbohrungen an Augenwinkeln, Mund, Kinn und Nasenlöchern, gedrungene Proportionen, auffallend flach modellierte Brust, Haar mit Scheitelzopf und lang herabfallenden am Ende eingebohrten Locken, vgl. etwa das rundplastische Beispiel Hadrianischer Zeit in Venedig: Traversari 1986, 149-150 Nr. 50 mit Lit. (hier *Abb. 11*); vgl. auch Paribeni 1959, 112 Nr. 312, und Ashmole 1929, 14 Nr. 26, sowie den Eros der Marmorreplik der 'Kauernden Aphrodite' in Neapel: Lullies 1954, 14-15 Nr. l6, Abb. 15. Ähnliche Typen erscheinen in der Reliefplastik der Periode, vgl. etwa die Fragmente Goethert 1972, 16 Nr. 87

In Hadrianisch-früh Antoninischer Zeit sind bekanntlich mehrere qualitätsvolle Varianten und Neugestaltungen des aus hellenistischer Zeit überlieferten Typus der 'Anadyomene' entstanden. Unter diesen sind die Esquilinische Venus und die Aphrodite von Kyrene, aber auch Beispiele wie die Venus Colonna *(Abb. 28)* und deren nächste Verwandten zu nennen. Auch die eben erwähnte Graziengruppe hat sich in jener Epoche, wie sich wohl verstehen läßt, einer besonderen Beliebtheit erfreut[34].
In der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite ist uns ein kleinformatiges, künstlerisch bescheidenes, aber nicht ganz unbeachtenswertes Erzeugnis derselben Zeit und Geschmacksrichtung erhalten. Etwas später, in der reif Antoninischen Plastik der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte, läßt sich allmählich eine wachsende Vorliebe für mehr barocke, mehr rein hellenistische Formen und Kompositionsschemen beobachten. In der Gestaltung des hier behandelten Werkes sind von dieser neuen Entwicklung noch keinerlei Anzeichen vorhanden.

4. ANTIK ODER NACH-ANTIK?

Antike Marmorstatuetten der hier in Rede stehenden Qualität und Größe sind in den Niederlanden, in Privatbesitz, eine seltene Erscheinung. Die Tatsache daß ein derartiges Stück dennoch lange Zeit keine Beachtung finden konnte, erklärt sich vermutlich zum Teil aus dem Umstand, daß es sich heute nicht in einer Sammlung, geschweige denn in einer spezialisierten Antikensammlung befindet, sondern als Einzelobjekt an seinen gegenwärtigen Aufbewahrungsort gelangte[35]. Zum Teil dürfte sein bisheriges Unbekanntsein auch damit zusammenhängen, daß Kenner aus den Kreisen der Fachwissenschaft und des Kunsthandels, die das Stück in den Nachkriegsjahren, allerdings immer nur flüchtig, zu Gesicht bekamen, wiederholt und unabhängig von einander, Zweifel über dessen antiken Ursprung hegten. Obwohl den Begründern dieser Zweifel die hier eher erwähnte Vorgeschichte der Statuette unbekannt war und obwohl deren Bedenken sich weniger auf eine systematische Untersuchung als auf subjektive Eindrücke stützten, können wir diese nicht leichtfertig übergehen, sondern sehen uns genötigt ihnen mit entscheidenden Argumenten entgegenzutreten[36].
Nicht nur eine eingehende deskriptive Erfassung des Stückes, wie sie eben beendet wurde, sondern bereits ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Statuette – besonders auf deren Erhaltungszustand – genügt, nach unserem Dafürhalten, um deren antiken Ursprung eindeutig festzustellen. Ein Restaurator oder Bildhauer, in welcher Zeit auch, hätte wohl kaum ein so vielumfassendes Flickwerk, wie bei unserer Aphrodite vorliegt *(Abb. 2a-b, 6, 8, 13, 36a, 38a)*, in Angriff genommen, wenn nicht das Vorhandensein einer beträchtlichen Anzahl originaler Teile diese komplizierte Wiederherstellungsweise gerechtfertigt hätte. Dahinzu kommt, daß – nach Ausweis der unterschiedlichen Materiale, und der wechselnden Technik, die wir an den verschiedenen Restaurierungen und Ergänzungen des Werkes antreffen – an diesem mehrere auf einander folgende, zum Teil zeitlich sicher weit auseinander liegende Wiederherstellungseingriffe vorgenommen wurden. Stilistische Erwägungen führen dabei, wie sich bald zeigen wird, zu der Vermutung, daß die frühesten dieser Renovierungen spätestens um 1600 n. Chr., zur Zeit des ausgehenden Manierismus, stattgefunden haben[37].
Eine Entstehung des aus so vielen, uneinheitlichen Bruchteilen aufgebauten Werkes als 'Fälschung' des fortgeschrittenen 19. Jahrhunderts – der Periode in der die Statuette von ihrem ersten uns aus den Quellen bekannten Besitzer, Alfred Pringsheim, erworben wurde – scheint so wie so aus kunst- und geschmacksgeschichtlichen Gründen nicht in Betracht zu kommen. Man hätte zu jener Zeit – der Anfangsperiode des wissenschaftlich-stilbewußten und zugleich von kontemporäner Aesthetik stark beeinflußten Sammelns – ohne Zweifel ein fragmentarisches Original einer künstlich ergänzten Antike vorgezogen[38].

(Eckfragment einer Grabara) und 34, Nr. 159 (Fragment eines frühen attischen Erotensarkophags). Vgl. auch Matz 1958, Taf. 11-12.

[34] Zur Esquilinischen Venus als Schöpfung der Zeit Hadrians, zuletzt ausführlich Häuber 1988, 35-64; anders: 'Cleopatra', 1. Jht v. Vhr., neuerdings Morena 1994. Zur Aphrodite von Kyrene: Vasori 1979, 170-176 Nr. 115 (mit ausf. Lit.). Zur Venus Colonna und deren Verwandten, unten 138-140, *Abb. 28*.

[35] Am selben Ort befindet sich allerdings noch ein Jünglingskopf aus Marmor (H. 18 Zm., wsch. aus Kleinasien, im 19. Jahrhundert in Wien erworben, vermutlich um 300 v. Chr. entstanden). Dieser stammt jedoch nicht aus der Sammlung Alfred Pringsheims.

[36] Die, nur mündlich und brieflich, geäußerten Zweifel stammten in erster Linie von Experten einiger Auktionshäuser in London. Ähnliche Bedenken wurden dann – wenngleich mit Vorbehalt – auch von mehreren Fachwissenschaftlern ausgesprochen. Diese Zweifel gründeten sich vor allem auf: a. die 'zu gute Erhaltung' des Gesichtes, b. die als 'ungewöhnlich' empfundene Anordnung des über den Rücken offen herabhängenden Haares, c. das Fehlen einer durchgehenden Verbindung zwischen Hauptfigur und Stütze und die demzufolge 'zweifelhafte' Zugehörigkeit des Eros, d. die als 'eigentümlich' bezeichnete Bearbeitung der 'unfertigen' linken Hand.

[37] Vgl. auch oben Anm. 8.

[38] Zu den Zusammenhängen zwischen Zeitgeschmack, Fälschung und Restaurierungsweise im 19. Jahrhundert, u.a. Türr 1984, 37-44 und *passim*; vgl. auch Ladendorf 1953, 60-61.

Auch die Periode des Klassizismus ist, im Hinblick auf die unakademische, handwerkliche Technik des Stückes und gewisse Mängel der plastischen Ausführung – besonders in der Gestaltung des Eros – als Zeit der Entstehung auszuschließen. Einem Bildhauer oder Restaurator dieser Epoche, geschult an den Werken Canovas, Thorvaldsens und deren Zeitgenossen, sind technische Unvollkommenheiten solcher Art nicht ernsthaft zuzumuten[39].
Ebensowenig besteht, unseres Erachtens, die Möglichkeit, die Rokoko- oder Barockperiode für den Ursprung unseres Bildwerks in Anspruch zu nehmen, aus dem einfachen aber einleuchtenden Grund, daß in Aufbau und plastischer Ausführung dieses letzteren jegliche Nähe zu einer dieser beiden – sich in ihren Äußerlichkeiten leicht verratenden – Kunstströmungen fehlt[40].
Anders verhält es sich in dieser Hinsicht – innerhalb gewisser Grenzen – zur Zeit des späten Manierismus. In der Plastik jener Epoche, besonders in den italienischen oder von Italien stark beeinflußten Kleinplastiken der betreffenden Zeit sind, zum Vergleich mit einem nach späthellenistischem Vorbild geschaffenen Werk wie unserer Aphrodite, bestimmte Anhaltspunkte vorhanden. Lange Umrißlinien, übernatürliche Dehnung von Proportionen, Eleganz der Stand- und Bewegungsmotive, glatte fließende Modellierung der Oberflächen, die die unterliegenden Knochenstrukturen weitgehend negiert, gehörten zu den Stiltendenzen die von den Manieristen bewußt gefördert wurden. Auch bestand damals eine Vorliebe dafür, um sowohl Gruppen wie Einzelfiguren, nach S-förmig geschwungenen Schemen aufzubauen. Allerdings wurden diese dabei nicht, wie unsere Aphrodite, zu einer zweidimensionalen 'Silhouette' reduziert, sondern im Gegenteil, wie in einer wirbelnd dreidimensionalen Bewegung, um eine vertikale Achse aufgezogen *(Abb. 18)*. In dieser Hinsicht ist zwischen unserem Bildwerk und Erzeugnissen des Manierismus, ein entschiedener Unterschied vorhanden.
Eine spezifische, konkret greifbare Übereinstimmung mit Werken der genannten Periode zeigt sich im Grunde genommen nur in einer Einzelheit die, bezeichnenderweise, nicht zum ursprünglich erhaltenen Teil der Statuette, sondern zu einer nachträglich angebrachten Ergänzung gehört. An der zum größten Teil in Marmor erneuerten linken Hand der Göttin sind die Knöchel nicht plastisch durchbildet, sondern (mit einem eher optischen Effekt) durch eine Reihe 'Schattengrübchen' angedeutet *(Abb. 7)*. Diese Gestaltungsweise steht nicht im Einklang mit der Modellierung der unversehrt erhalten gebliebenen Rechten *(Abb. 8)*. Vielmehr wurde hier – in einer etwas vergröberten, handwerklichen Weise – eine in der spätmanieristischen bildenden Kunst (Plastik, Graphik und Malerei) allgemein beliebte Formel angewendet[41].
Beispiele dieser Grübchenformel sind nicht nur an zahlreichen Originalwerken der Epoche vorhanden *(Abb. 17-18)*. Auch an Antikenergänzungen der betreffenden Zeit läßt ihre Anwendung sich öfters belegen. Offensichtlich wurden die gängigen Schulrezepte führender Meister ziemlich allgemein auch von den einfachen Handwerkern in den Reparaturwerkstätten antiker Bildwerke übernommen *(Abb. 19bis, 20bis)*. Bei der Mehrzahl der aus diesen Werkstätten hervorgegangenen Stücke wurden die manieristischen Ergänzungen allerdings bald wieder entfernt. Andersartige, dem Antikenverständnis anschließender Zeiten besser entsprechende, traten schon während des 17. Jahrhunderts an deren Stelle. In einigen alten

[39] Zu den idealisierenden und 'schönenden' Tendenzen der Antikennachschöpfung und Restaurierung des Klassizismus, u.a. Paul 1982, 111-168; Türr 1984, 43; vgl. auch Ladendorf 1953, 59-60. Mehr allgemein: The *Age of Neo Classicism* (1972), 185-295 ('sculpture') mit ausf. Lit., bes. Honour 1968, und Praz 1969. Vgl. auch *L' Antiquité gréco-romaine vue par les siècles des lumières* (1987); Hartman 1979, *passim*, und bes. Bergé 1994, 11-30, 209-214 (Bibl.).

[40] Für Rokoko und Barock: Paul 1982, 64-108; Türr 1984, 257-258 (Literaturverz. zu Fälschungen und Nachschöpfungen der Periode); vgl. auch Ladendorf 1953, 56-59. Interessant im vorliegenden Zusammenhang die kleinformatigen Antikennachschöpfungen Cavaceppi's und Albacini's: Bartman 1992, 8, Anm. 17, sowie die rund ein Jahrhundert älteren Statuetten der 'Galerie d'Eau' in Versailles: Paul 1982, 66 Anm. 81-83.

[41] Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung müssen wir uns auf einige typische Beispiele aus dem Bereich der Plastik beschränken. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 18)* Giovanni Bologna, 'Venus Urania', vergoldete Bronze, H. 38,8 Zm, Wien, Kunsthist. Museum Inv. 5893; vgl. Avery-Radcliffe l978-1979, 68 Nr. 12 und Avery l987, 139 Nr. 55. Für andere Beispiele aus der Werkstatt des G. Bologna, u.a. Avery-Radcliffe 1978-1979, Nr. 1, Wien 5874 (hier *Abb. 17*); *ibid.* Nr. 17, 29 und Keutner 1990, 288-289 Nr. III-IV. Zahlreiche andere Beispiele von der Hand des G. Bologna und dessen Schüler – wie etwa P. und F. Tacca, A. und G. Susini, P. Francavilla, H. Gerhardt, A. de Vries usw. – ließen sich in diesem Zusammenhang nennen. Für Adriaen de Vries vgl. etwa die um 1593 entstandene Bronzestatuette der Psyche in Stockholm: 'Prag um 1600' (1988), 149 Nr. 56, mit Abb. 56 und Farbtafel 6. Vgl. auch Weihrauch (1967) *passim*. Die Beispiele reichen bis z. Mitte d. 17. Jhts. Die 'Handgrübchen' sind zwar ein charakteristisches Merkmal manieristischer Modellierung. Zitate nach dieser Art der Oberflächenbehandlung sind jedoch, gelegentlich, auch bei anderen 'fließend' gestalteten Werken späterer Zeiten zu beobachten. Ein Beispiel dieser Art bildet die Graziengruppe aus der Werkstatt des Canova in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Kopenhagen (Inv. 1373): Hartmann 1979, Taf. 56. Dieses Beispiel, das sich eben durch die Einzelheit der 'Handgrübchen' von den sicher eigenhändigen Graziengruppen des Canova unterscheidet, genügt jedoch nicht um etwa die Ergänzung der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite als ein Erzeugnis des Klassizismus zu betrachten. Für Canovas Graziengruppen: Praz-Pavanello 1976, 124-125, Nrn. 270-272 (mit Erwähnung der Kopenhagener Gruppe im Text zu Nr. 270); vgl. auch *The Age of Neoclassicism* (1972), 207 Nr. 322.

Sammlungsbeständen – wie etwa der Sammlung Grimani in Venedig – lassen sich jedoch vereinzelt noch unberührt erhalten gebliebene Beispiele des betreffenden Ergänzungsstiles belegen *(Abb. 19-20)*[42].

Bei sorgfältiger Ausführung der Restaurierung sind – wie bei unserer Statuette – antiker Kern und manieristische Ergänzungen zu einem harmonisch wirkenden Gesamtbild verbunden. Der Eindruck des Betrachters wird dabei – trotz Unverkennbarer nicht-antiker Komponente – keineswegs in einem ungünstigen Sinn gestört. Bei manchen, von flüchtigeren Eingriffen zeugenden Beispielen (die wohl ausschließlich dekorativen Zwecken dienten) läßt sich der stilistische Zwiespalt dagegen, durch das fehlende Verständnis für das Wesen antiker Formen, im unharmonischen Resultat umso deutlicher erkennen[43].

Treffen die soeben angestellten Beobachtungen bezüglich der Linken unserer Aphrodite zu, dann ist ihre früheste, für uns greifbare Restaurierung vermutlich in die Zeit kurz vor oder um 1600 anzusetzen. Für diesen frühen Ansatz spricht, abgesehen von den stilistischen Merkmalen des betreffenden Eingriffs, auch die Tatsache, daß alle Marmorergänzungen der Figur, die dem Material und der Technik nach, derselben Renovierungsphase angehören, zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt, ihrerseits noch einmal schwer beschädigt, und dann aus den Bruchteilen sorgfältig wieder zusammengefügt wurden. Man hat sich dabei sichtbar bemüht, auch das geringfügigste noch vorhandene Fragment der alten, offenbar geschätzten Ausbesserung, aufs Neue zu verwenden[44].

Mit einer Datierung der ältesten Ergänzungen unseres Bildwerks in die Zeit kurz vor 1600 n. Chr., ist freilich die unterste Grenze, die einen Verdacht nach-antiker Entstehung des Stückes *selbst* noch rechtfertigen würde, längst überschritten[45]. Schon aus diesem Grund ist, unseres Erachtens, jeder ernsthafte Zweifel am antiken Ursprung der Aphrodite auszuschließen. Noch entschiedener gelangt man zu diesem Schluß, wenn man versucht, die Statuette vom typologischen und entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkt aus, auf ihre Zusammenhänge mit *antiken* Vergleichsstücken zu prüfen.

5. DIE TYPOLOGISCHE EINORDNUNG DER APHRODITE

Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des statuarischen Typus der stehenden ‘Anadyomene’ läßt sich mit Hilfe der neuesten Untersuchungen verhältnismäßig vollständig überblicken.

Am Anfang steht die sogenannte ‘halbbekleidete Anadyomene’ *(Abb. 22)* deren Aussehen und charakteristische Haltungsmerkmale wir aus einer Reihe verbindlicher Repliken verschiedener Größe kennen. Nach der allgemein vorherrschenden Ansicht ist der Prototyp dieser Fassung um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. entstanden. Die Göttin erscheint hier als junge Frau deren reife Körperformen ein unter den Hüften zusammengeknötetes Gewand bis zum Ansatz der Beine enthüllt. Sie steht in vorgebeugter Haltung und greift mit beiden zum Kopf erhobenen Händen ins nasse Haar. Die stark angewinkelten Arme sind eng an Oberkörper und Kopf herangezogen. Der rechte erhebt sich bis oberhalb des Scheitels. Der linke ist dagegen mit dem Ellenbogen bis auf die Hüfte herabgesenkt. Durch diese Armhaltung entsteht – wie einige kleinformatige, in der betreffenden Hinsicht vollständig erhaltene Exemplare zeigen *(Abb. 26)* – gleichsam ein Parallellogram, dessen Seiten durch die Schräge der Brüste, die scharf angewinkelten Unterarme, und die nach beiden Seiten des Kopfes geteilten Haarpartien gebildet werden. Hals und Nacken der Göttin bleiben bei dieser Fassung von den seitlich herabhängenden Haarmassen unbedeckt. Die Gesamtkomposition wirkt dreidimensional, wird durch eine sich aus dem Gewand hoch-

[42] Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 19, 19bis)*: Venus Pudica der Sammlung Grimani; vgl. dazu Traversari 1986, 27-29 Nr. 5, mit Abb. und Lit. Vgl. auch die ähnliche Restaurierung der Hände bei einer anderen Venus derselben Sammlung: Traversari 1986, 53-56 Nr. 17 (hier Abb. *20-20bis*). Erstere befindet sich heute noch an der gleichen Stelle wo Vincenzo Scamozzi 1593 ihre Aufstellung plante. Zu den beiden Skulpturenschenkungen des Kardinals Domenico (gest.1523) und des Patriarchen Giovanni Grimani (gest.1593) an den *Publico Statuario* von Venedig: *Collezioni di Antichità a Venezia* (1988) Kap. IV: ‘La famiglia Grimani e il publico statuario’, 25-40, bes. 30-33, mit ausführlichen Angaben von Quellen und Literatur. Nach den ersteren wurde der spätmanieristische Paduaner Bildhauer Tiziano Aspetti, als *scultore di fiducia* der Familie Grimani, mit der Restaurierung einer Anzahl der geschenkten Werke beauftragt. Einzelstudien zu den Antikenergänzungen des Manierismus sind kaum vorhanden. Türr 1984, 257-258 führt keine solchen auf. Einiges bei Neusser 1929, 27-42, bes. 39-42, und bei Ladendorf 1953, 56-58. Von den ‘Handgrübchen’ ist jedoch bei den dort behandelten Stücken nicht die Rede.

[43] Vgl. etwa *EA* 4008 (P. Arndt, G. Lippold 1932): Venus Pudica, Vicenza; *EA* 4111 (A. Neppi Modona 1936): Pasticcio eines Hermaphroditen, ehem. Palazzo Guicciardini, Florenz; *EA* 4845 (G. Lippold, 1943) Satyrknabe, Fulda; Venus Pudica, Museo Torlonia 24 – um nur einige mögliche Beispiele zu erwähnen.

[44] Zu diesen Marmorergänzungen oben Anm. 8. Für den frühen Ansatz der Restaurierung spricht auch die Tatsache, daß die Handgrübchen Reste einer dünnen Kalkablagerung enthalten.

[45] Zumal auch zu den in Marmor arbeitenden, stark antikisierenden, italienischen Bildhauern des späten 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts – wie etwa Antonio und Tullio Lombardo, Simone Bianco, Mosca, Bandinelli, Christophoro Romano und manchen anderen – technisch und stilistisch eine engere Beziehung fehlt. Vgl. Poeschke 1990-1992 *passim*.

schraubende Bewegung bestimmt, und zeigt sich in den Umrißen geschlossen[46]. In der Haltung kommen gegensätzliche Impulse zum Ausdruck: Vorbeugung des Oberkörpers, Armhaltung und Senkung des Kopfes zeugen von konzentrierter Beschäftigung mit der Frisur; eine scharfe Einknickung des Rumpfes in der Taille, die flach eingezogene Bauchdecke und die enge Beinstellung deuten gleichzeitig auf die Anspannung der Dargesstellten, das drohende Herabgleiten ihres locker geschürzten Gewandes zu verhindern. An der Rückseite ist dieses bereits bis auf die Oberschenkel herabgesunken[47]. Eine figürlich gearbeitete Stütze war bei dieser Fassung, nach einhelligem Zeugnis der Repliken, nicht vorhanden. Eine solche hätte den allseitigen, sich um eine senkrechte Mittelachse drehenden Aufbau dieser Version wohl zu sehr gestört.

Das Fortwirken dieser ersten, 'halbbekleideten' Fassung bildete den Hintergrund für die Entstehung einer zweiten 'unbekleideten' Version. Diese kam vermutlich um ein Jahrhundert später, um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zustande[48]. Als die älteste und getreueste Wiederholung dieses Typus ist eine sehr qualitätsvolle, wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. entstandene Statuette in Dresden, aus der Umgebung Alexandriens zu betrachten *(Abb. 23)*. In dem auftauchende Triton zu ihrer Seite ist uns vielleicht auch die ursprüngliche Form der zugehörigen Stütze erhalten. Denn in keinem anderen uns bekannten, antiken statuarischen Werk hat die – plastisch schwer zu bewältigende – Aufgabe einer Darstellung der sich über die Meereswellen erhebenden 'Anadyomene', in einer überzeugenderen Weise Gestalt bekommen[49]. Die Haltung der Göttin hat – wie das Dresdener Vorbild zeigt – in ihrer unbekleideten Fassung mancherlei Änderungen erfahren. Sie präsentiert sich in aufrechter Pose, mit geradem Rücken. Ihre Kopfsenkung ist, wie in diesem Punkt vollständiger erhaltene Wiederholungen zeigen *(Abb. 27)*, einer schräg aufwärts führenden Haltung des Hauptes gewichen[50]. Die innere Körperdrehung ist weitgehend, die Geschlossenheit des Umrißes vollständig aufgehoben. Im Bewegungsmotiv der Arme ist der starke Höhenunterschied zwischen linkem und rechtem Arm einigermaßen zurückgedrungen, indem der rechte ein wenig gesenkt, der linke dagegen etwas weiter emporgehoben wurde. Beide Arme sind mehr in die Fläche gebreitet und haben sich von Kopf und Oberkörper weiter entfernt. Die Gestalt ist dadurch wie in einer einzigen Ansichtsfläche wiedergegeben. Bei der Dresdener Statuette kommt diese Einansichtigkeit des Aufbaus auch in der fehlenden plastischen Durch-

[46] Für die wichtigste Literatur zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des statuarischen Typus der 'Anadyomene', oben Anm. 1. Zur halbbekleideten Fassung auch Denti 1985, 138-153, bes. 140-143. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 22)*: Marmorstatuette der Fondation Bodmer, Cologny-Genf, H. 83,7 Zm. und *(Abb. 26)*: fragmentarische Marmorstatuette, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Kopenhagen, H. 22 Zm., aus Ägypten. Zu diesen beiden *LIMC* II,1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III, C8, S. 77, bzw. Nr. 672 und 673 mit ausführlicher Angabe der älteren Lit. Bei der Statuette in Cologny sind der entblößte Oberkörper, und der bekleidete untere Teil der Figur – wie bei zahlreichen anderen Repräsentanten dieser Fassung – separat und in Marmor unterschiedlicher Art gebildet. Zu dieser getrennten Herstellung: Riemann 1940, 118; Bloesch 1943, 113; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 380, IV Anm. 318; vgl. auch unten Anm. 62. Replikenlisten der 'halbbekleideten' Fassung: Mustilli 1938, 38, Nr. 8; Riemann 1940, 118-119; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 377-378, IV Anm. 313. Vgl. auch die Lit. oben Anm. 1. Zur Datierungsfrage vor allem Neumer-Pfau 1982, 164-165 und 384, IV Anm. 333.

[47] Bei späteren Beispielen rutscht das Gewand auch vorn bis auf die Oberschenkel herab. Zu dieser Entwicklung: Neumer-Pfau 1982, 158; vgl. unten *Abb. 34 und 35b*.

[48] Angabe der Replikenlisten bei Neumer-Pfau 1982, 419, IV Anm. 564. Für die Literatur zu dieser Fassung und deren Datierung, oben Anm. 1. Der vermutliche Prototyp der betreffenden Version ist, in diesem Fall, nur in kleinformatigen Wiederholungen überliefert. Die Zahl der aus Alexandrien und dessen Umgebung stammenden Exemplare legt die Vermutung nahe, daß möglicherweise auch das Original sich ursprünglich in dieser Gegend befand. Dazu: Neumer-Pfau 1982, 203 und 421, IV Anm. 582, mit Angabe der älteren Lit.

[49] Dresden, Staatliche Skulpturensammlung Albertinum, Inv. 1156, H. 46.5 Zm. Vgl. Hermann 1915, 48, Nr. 196, und *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III B4c, S. 56, Nr. 196 mit Angabe der Lit. Zum Triton als Stütze, u.a. die Bemerkungen bei Budde-Nicholls 1964, 54 Nr. 86. Zwar hat das Motiv des auftauchenden Tritons neben der Göttin, bei den zahlreichen kleinen Marmorrepliken die uns von dem betreffenden Anadyomenetypus aus späthellenistischer und römischer Zeit erhalten blieben (vlg. unten Anm. 137 und Anm. 53), nur ein einziges Mal – in stark vereinfachter und veränderter Form – eine Nachfolge gefunden: Paribeni 1959, 102, Nr. 274, Taf. 134; *LIMC* II,1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite in peripheria orientali' I. S. 157, Nr. 69. Dies kann jedoch damit zusammenhängen, daß die Hersteller dieser künstlerisch zumeist durchaus anspruchslosen Figürchen, sich der Aufgabe einer Einfügung der Gestalt des auftauchenden Tritons nicht gewachsen fühlten und es deshalb bevorzugten diese durch andere, plastisch leichter zu bewältigende Elemente zu ersetzen. Für ein späteres, nur noch entfernt vergleichbares Beispiel der Motivverbindung Anadyomene-Triton, aus einer römischen Villa in Aquitanien: Bonfante-Carter 1987, 252-253 Anm. 11, Abb. g.

[50] Ein Hinweis auf die vermutliche Kopfhaltung ist u.a. in einer aus Alexandrien stammenden Marmorstatuette des Puschkin Museums (Inv. I, 1a, 2997; H. 29,5 Zm.; ehem. Samml. Goleniszew, hier *Abb. 27*) erhalten. Von Bedeutung in diesem Zusammenhang auch die bekannte Kleinbronze aus dem Fund von Galjub, sowie die Marmorstatuette einer 'Anadyomene' auf Delphin in Kairo, und ein fragmentarisches Exemplar aus Benha in Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum. Zu diesen Stücken: Ippel 1921, 154 Nr. 2273, Abb. 63; *idem*. 1922, 28 Taf. 3,7 (Bronze aus Galjub, Hildesheim, Pelizaeusmuseum Nr. 2273); Adriani 1961, 23 Nr. 85, Taf. 66, 162 (Kairo, Inv. 27454, H. 50 Zm., stark restauriert); *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite in peripheria orientali' G, S. 156, Nr. 41 (Benha), mit Abb.

bildung der Rückenansicht deutlich zum Ausdruck. Ein überwiegend frontaler Aufriß der Figur ist somit an die Stelle des dreidimensionalen, spiraligen Aufbaus der vorangehenden Fassung getreten. Auch die Anordnung des nach beiden Seiten des Kopfes geteilten Haares hat in entsprechender Weise Veränderungen erfahren[51].

Trotz der genannten Unterschiede, die mit allgemeinen Tendenzen in der Stilentwicklung der Epoche zusammenhängen, läßt die Abhängigkeit des 'unbekleideten' Typs von dem älteren 'halbbekleideten' Vorbild sich jedoch, im Hinblick auf die übereinstimmende Gebärde, nicht verkennen. Der Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Fassungen ist tatsächlich so eng, daß die veränderten Haltungsmerkmale des jüngeren Typs bald auch auf Repliken des älteren ihren Einfluß übten. Schon vor dem Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sind die beiden Versionen in typologischer Hinsicht so stark mit einander verflochten, daß sie sich im Grunde nur noch durch Hinzufügung oder Weglassung des Gewandes unterscheiden. Inhaltlich besteht jedoch, nach Ausweis der zahlreichen Beispiele, zwischen beiden Varianten, kaum ein Unterschied[52].

Für weitere Auskunft über die Entwicklung unseres Typus sind wir hauptsächlich auf das Zeugnis einer Gruppe kleinformatiger, handwerklich gearbeiteter Marmorrepliken Alexandrinischer, und mehr allgemein, östlich-mediterraner Herkunft, angewiesen. In den Einzelheiten sind diese freien Nachbildungen alle verschieden. Für den Versuch die allmähliche Formveränderung des gemeinsamen Vorbildes zu verfolgen lassen diese, von den gleichzeitigen Stilentwicklungen deutlich beeinflußten Stücke, sich demzufolge ausgezeichnet benutzen[53]. Aus den Veränderungen in Haltung, Körperbildung und Proportionen der betreffenden kleinen Figuren ist nämlich eine konsequent verlaufende, fortsetzliche Formentwicklung abzuleiten. Am Anfang sind, wie vor allem die Dresdener Statuette *(Abb. 23)* zeigt, eine plastische Rundung der Formen und natürliche Proportionsverhältnisse für die Körperbildung bestimmend. Später treten jedoch stärker abgeflächte Körperformen, eine weichere Modellierung und überlängerte Proportionen in zunehmendem Maß auf den Vordergrund. Zwei aus Ägypten stammende Beispiele im Fitzwilliam Museum, deren Qualität sich über die durchschnittliche der betreffenden Gattung deutlich erhebt *(Abb. 24-25)*, und die beide denselben Typus der 'Anadyomene' vertreten, sind dazu geeignet uns von der Art der genannten Entwicklung einen Eindruck zu verschaffen[54]. Der erste dieser beiden Torsen *(Abb. 24)* steht in seiner Formbehandlung der Dresdener Statuette nahe. Der zweite dagegen *(Abb. 25)* läßt sich, mit seinen schlanken, überlängerten Proportionen und seiner flachen Modellierung, eher Werken wie unserer Aphrodite *(Abb. 2a-b, 12a-b, 16a-b)* und der Graziengruppe *(Abb. 15)* zur Seite stellen. Auch in den Haltungsmerkmalen hat sich, wie andere Beispiele der betreffenden Gruppe zeigen, eine Weiterbildung des zugrunde liegenden Vorbildes vollzogen. Die Kopfhaltung richtet sich dabei allmählich wieder stärker nach vorn, der Höhenunterschied beider Arme wird noch weiter ausgeglichen. Aus dem, in der ersten Fassung, durch die Armhaltung gebildeten Parallellogram, ist demzufolge ein stumpfes Dreiecksmotiv geworden *(Abb. 26-27)*[55]. Aus diesen Entwicklungen, die die Figur immer stärker in die Fläche breiten, ist dann in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. die dritte, manchmal als 'klassizistisch' bezeichnete Hauptfassung der stehenden 'Anadyomene' hervorgegangen[56].

Als Hauptvertreterin dieser Version gilt allgemein die Venus Colonna *(Abb. 28)*. Dem Standmotiv und den Haltungsmerkmalen nach steht diese Statue den kleinformatigen Schöpfungen der unmittelbar vorangehenden Periode nahe. Deren überbetonte Schlankheit und in die Länge gezoge-

[51] Eine Abbildung der Rückenansicht der Dresdener Statuette bietet de Luca 1964, Taf. LII.2.

[52] Zur Verschmelzung beider Fassungen: Brinkerhoff 1978, 62 '….by the Roman age, any distinction between the precise identity of the halfdraped and nude versions had *long since* disappeared'; vgl. dazu auch Lullies 1954, 78-80; Budde – Nicholls 1964, 54; de Lachenal 1981, 310-311; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 213, Traversari 1986, 143; Picozzi 1990, 207. Umgekehrt gibt es auch späthellenistisch-römische Beispiele der nackten Anadyomene, die die ursprünglichen Haltungsmerkmale der 'Halbbekleideten' beibehalten.

[53] Für eine genaue Rekonstruktion des gemeinsamen Prototyps läßt sich von diesem uneinheitlichen Material freilich keine zuverlässige Auskunft erwarten. Als Entstehungszeit wird allgemein das ausgehende 2. und beginnende 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angenommen. Die große Mehrheit der Stücke stammt aus Ägypten und der Kyrenaika. Ihr kleines Format dürfte, zum Teil, mit der Knappheit des Marmorangebots in diesen Gebieten zusammenhängen. Ähnlich kleinformatige Stücke sind jedoch auch von anderen Fundorten im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet bekannt. Aufzählungen solcher Exemplare u.a. bei Riemann 1940, 115-117; Gassowska 1971, 101- 117; Brinkerhoff 1978, Kap. III, Anm. 11. Für das besonders reichhaltige Material aus Alexandrien und Umgebung, und aus der Kyrenaika: Adriani 1961, 19-26 *passim*; Paribeni 1959, 93-107 *passim*, und Huskinson 1975, 1-6 *passim*. Zahlreiche Einzelstücke, meist ägyptischer Provenienz, sind über öffentliche und private Sammlungen zerstreut.

[54] Budde-Nicholls 1964, Nr. 85, H. 21,6 Zm.; *ibid.* Nr. 86, H. 24,1 Zm.; beide aus Ägypten.

[55] Zu *Abb. 26-27*, oben Anm. 46 und 50. Mit einer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Gruppierung der betreffenden kleinformatigen Stücke befassen sich vor allem: de Luca 1964, 215-219, und Neumer-Pfau 1982, 201-202, 205, 212-213.

[56] Zur 'klassizistischen Fassung: Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1958, 3-4; Neumer-Pfau 1982, 225-227 (mit Angabe der Lit.).

nen Proportionen sind hier jedoch natürlicheren Formverhältnissen gewichen. Aufbau und Armhaltung sind außerdem nachdrücklicher – wenn auch in spiegelbildlichem Sinn – dem klassischen Vorbild des Polykletischen 'Diadumenos' angeglichen. Es gibt Varianten dieser Fassung – wie etwa die anfangs erwähnte Aphrodite in Baltimore *(Abb. 1)* – bei denen die Göttin ihr Haupt tatsächlich mit einer Binde umwindet[57].

In der Vorderansicht läßt sich die Venus Colonna, trotz ihrer abweichenden Kopfhaltung, Haaranordnung, und der anders gearteten Stützenform, mit der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite, in mancher Hinsicht gut vergleichen. Standmotiv, flächiger Aufbau und Führung der Umrißlinien stimmen weitgehend überein. Bei der Wiedergabe des Kontrapostes ist bei beiden eine zu augenfällige Kontrastwirkung beider Seiten vermieden. Vor allem in der Armhaltung zeigt sich eine auffallende Verwandtschaft[58]. Der rechte Arm ist bei beiden fast bis in die Waagerechte gesenkt. Der linke dagegen hebt sich seitlich bis in entsprechende Höhe. Der sich leicht zur Brust neigende Kopf ist demzufolge – hier wie dort – von einem breiten Dreiecksrahmen umschlossen. Allerdings läßt sich in den schlanken, überlängerten Proportionen der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite noch deutlich ein Anklang an die manierierte Formensprache der späthellenistischen Kunst erkennen. In den fülligeren, mehr naturnahen Formen der Venus Colonna sind solche Tendenzen jedoch, wie bemerkt, nicht mehr vorhanden.

Anders verhält es sich dagegen wenn wir die Rückenansichten beider Bildwerke miteinander vergleichen. Hier empfiehlt es sich allerdings, der weiteren Darlegung erst eine kurze, allgemeine Bemerkung zu gewissen Entwicklungen und Veränderungen im Haarschema des Anadyomenetypus vorauszuschicken.

Bei den beiden anfänglichen Versionen dieses Typs und deren zahlreichen Repliken, sind Hals und Nacken der Göttin nie von einer herabfließenden Haarmasse bedeckt. Das von den erhobenen Händen zum Auswinden erfaßte Haar teilt sich hier, seitlich des Kopfes, in zwei deutlich voneinander getrennte Partien. Deren Enden fallen, aus den pressenden Händen, nach vorn, auf Brust und Schultern herab. Erst bei der dritten, sogenannten 'klassizistischen' Fassung, deren Wiederholungen und Varianten wir – abgesehen von der Venus Colonna *(Abb. 28)* – noch aus mindestens vier anderen großformatigen Statuen, sowie auch aus einigen Beispielen in Statuettengröße kennen, werden Hals und Nacken der Göttin dem Blick des Betrachters durch eine über ihren Rücken herabwallende Haarmasse entzogen. Erst bei dieser Version sind somit, für einen Vergleich mit der Rückenansicht der Pringsheimschen Statuette *(Abb. 2a, 9, 14, 16a,96a)*, die erforderlichen typologischen Voraussetzungen tatsächlich vorhanden.

Immerhin wird auch in dieser Fassung, bezeichnenderweise, zunächst noch eine Andeutung der herkömmlichen Zweiteilung der herabfallenden Haarsträhnen beibehalten. Bei der Venus Colonna (von deren Rückseite eine fotografische Aufnahme leider bisher fehlt[59]), bei einem Torso im Cabinet des Medailles *(Abb. 29)*, bei einer kopflosen Statue aus den Thermen des Caracalla, sowie auch bei einer interessanten, in ihren Formen noch ausgesprochen späthellenistisch anmutenden Bronzestatuette stattlichen Umfangs in der Sammlung Dutuit *(Abb. 30a-b)*, sind in der über Hals und Rücken herabfallenden Lockenmasse jeweils deutlich, wenn auch mit Varianten, zwei, in der Mitte durch eine Zäsur getrennte, Hauptströme zu unterscheiden[60].

Erst allmählich, während der römischen Kaiserzeit, wurde die herkömmliche Zweiteilung aufgegeben. Bei einer Venus der Sammlung Torlonia *(Abb. 31a-b)* strömen die feuchten, sich wellenden Strähnen, ohne Andeutung einer Trennung in der Mitte, in geschlossener Masse über den Rücken der Göttin herab[61]. Eine entsprechende Anordnungs-

[57] Zu der, wahrscheinlich aus Hadrianischer oder früh Antoninischer Zeit stammenden Replik im Palazzo Colonna, Rom: Picozzi 1990, 205-207 Nr. 111 (mit ausf. Angaben der älteren Lit.). In dem Delphin ist hier vermutlich der ursprünglich zugehörige Typus der Stütze erhalten. Vgl. dazu u.a. Becatti 1971, 24-39, bes. 26-27. Zum Typus der 'Aphrodite Diadumene' und deren Ableitung von der späthellenistischen Fassung der 'Anadyomene': u.a. Neumer-Pfau 1982, 226; *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III B7e, S. 61 'Das Motiv der Aphrodite Diadumene'; und Häuber 1988, 45.

[58] Für die – im Wesentlichen sicher richtige – Restaurierung der Arme der Venus Colonna durch den Bildhauer Baldassare Mari in 1652: Picozzi 1990, 205.

[59] Der Standort der Statue, auf hohem Sockel, dicht vor einem breiten Marmorpilaster, macht es unmöglich, ohne besondere Maßnahmen, Aufnahmen der Rückseite anzufertigen. Auskunft über die Anordnung des (ziemlich schadhaften und durch späte Verschmierung entstellten) Haars auf dieser Seite verdanke ich der liebenswürdigen Hilfsbereitschaft von Herrn Dr. E.M. Moormann (Rom).

[60] Zum Torso Luynes, Paris Cabinet de Médailles Inv. 663, H. 1 M., Herkunft Rom: *LIMC* II, (1984) III, B4b, S. 55, Nr. 426, mit Lit. Zur kopflosen Statue aus den Thermen des Caracalla, im Museo Nazionale, Rom: de Lachenal 1981[b], 309-312. Für Auskunft über die (nie abgebildete) Rückenansicht dieser Statue bin ich wiederum Herrn Dr. Moormann für seine freundliche Hilfe zu Dank verpflichtet. Zur Bronzestatuette der Sammlung Dutuit, Paris (ehem. Samml. Castellani, Rom), H. 29,7 Zm.: Petit 1984, 85 Nr. 29; vgl. für die Datierung des Stückes Gropp-Dammann 1952, 156 Anm. 14.

[61] Für die Venus Torlonia (ehem. Samml. Cesarini), Rom, hier *Abb. 31a-b*,: Gasparri 1971, 110 Nr. 1 (mit Angabe der älteren Lit.); vgl. auch Bieber 1977, 64 und 69 Anm. 35, mit Abb. 225-226; Hartmann 1979, 162 mit Anm. 9 und Taf. 113,2.

weise läßt sich, mit Variationen in den Einzelheiten, bei zwei ungefähr gleichzeitigen Marmorfiguren in Statuettenformat beobachten.

Bei einem Stück handelt es sich um einen wahrscheinlich spät Hadrianischen oder früh Antoninischen Torso in Cagliari, der in der Nähe, bei Porto Torres gefunden wurde *(Abb. 32)*. Die über den Rücken herabfallende Haarmasse ist hier schattiger modelliert und etwas weniger tief herabgeführt. Aber auch bei diesem Stück ist das breit über den nackten Rücken herabwallende Haar als kompakte, ungeteilte Masse wiedergegeben[62]. Dem Torso aus Porto Torres läßt sich, was die Rückenansicht anbelangt, eine vollständig erhaltene Marmorstatuette der 'halbbekleideten' Anadyomene zur Seite stellen *(Abb.33)*. Diese befindet sich in Berlin und soll, wie verlautet, von einem Fundort auf Kreta stammen. Das vermutlich in Antoninischer Zeit entstandene Stück zeigt die Göttin in der für die 'klassizistische' Fassung üblichen Haltung. Sie erscheint hier mit Sandalen und einem unterhalb ihres Schoßes zusammengeknotetem Gewand. Als Stützfigur dient ihr ein senkrecht in die Tiefe tauchender Delphin, der einen Tintenfisch im Maul hält *(Abb. 34)*, ein anekdotisches Motiv das sich, im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr., bei figürlichen Statuenstützen – besonders im östlichen Mittelmeergebiet – einer gewissen Beliebtheit erfreute[63].

In der *Rückenansicht (Abb. 33)* zeigt die Berliner Statuette, wie gesagt, mit dem Torso aus Porto Torres *(Abb. 32)*, was die Haarpartie anbelangt, deutlich Verwandtschaft. In der *Vorderansicht (Abb. 34)* läßt das nämliche Stück sich dagegen – wie kein anderes uns bisher bekannt gewordenes – der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite zur Seite stellen. Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Figuren erstrecken sich – wie vor allem aus den Vergleichstafeln *(Abb. 35a-b – 39a-b)* hervorgeht – bis in geringfügige Einzelheiten. Sie umfassen nicht nur Haltung, Kopfwendung, Gesichtstypus, Position der Hände und vor allem das charakteristische Anordnungsschema des Haares, sondern auch die Maße beider Gestalten. Sowohl deren Gesamthöhen (ausschließlich der Basen), wie ihre einzelnen Proportionen, lassen sich genau mit einander vergleichen[64].

Die typologischen und proportionalen Übereinstimmungen der betreffenden Figuren sind tatsächlich so groß, daß kein Zweifel darüber bestehen kann, daß sie beide in Anlehnung an ein gemeinsames, ähnlich formuliertes und proportioniertes Vorbild entstanden sind. Dabei ist es – im Hinblick auf die eher erwähnte Typenverflechtung der 'unbekleideten' und 'halbbekleideten' Anadyomene – geradezu als bezeichnend zu betrachten, daß dasselbe Vorbild für Vertreter *beider* Variationsarten Verwendung finden konnte[65].

An einen direkten Werkstattzusammenhang der betreffenden Stücke ist zwar, angesichts ihrer weit auseinander liegenden Herkunft und gewisser qualitativer Unterschiede – besonders in der Gesichtsbildung – nicht zu denken. Die Tatsache, daß eine auffallend enge Verwandtschaft zwischen beiden besteht, läßt sich jedoch keinesfalls bestreiten[66].

[62] Zu dem Torso aus Porto Torres: Equini-Schneider (1979) 17 Nr. 1, mit Abb. und Lit. Der Umstand daß es sich bei diesem Stück so gut wie sicher um den entblößten *oberen* Teil einer *halbbekleideten* Anadyomene handelt, deren separat gearbeitete untere Hälfte mit dem Gewandstück heute fehlt, ist in unserem Zusammenhang nicht von Bedeutung. Denn die halbbekleidete und unbekleidete Anadyomene sind, vom typologischen Gesichtspunkt aus, seit Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., als Varianten eines einzigen Typus zu betrachten; dazu oben 137 und Anm. 52. Für die separate Herstellung beider Teile der 'halbbekleideten' Variante, oben Anm. 46.

[63] Zu dieser Statuette: Conze 1891, 13 Nr. l8; Furtwängler 1901, 179; Reinach *RSGR* II (1908)^2, 339,1; Muthmann 1951, 98 und 226 (Datierung in Antoninische Zeit); Neumer-Pfau 1982, 158 und 382, IV Anm. 327. Marmorfiguren kleinen Formats der Aphrodite sind auch sonst aus Kreta bekannt: *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s. v. 'Aphrodite' 78, Nr. 690 (Statuette aus Kydonia, Museum Chania); Catling-Waywell l977, 85-99, bes. 91-99. Beziehungen zu Funden aus Zypern, Rhodos und bes. der benachbarten Kyrenaika sind deutlich vorhanden. Für Aufnahmen und Auskünfte sind wir Frau Dr. Heres zu Dank verpflichtet. Das Material der Statuette ist ein feinkörniger weißer Marmor. Die Oberfläche ist stark gereinigt und übergangen (wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Intensität). Die fehlenden Arme, zwischen Handgelenk und Schulter, ursprünglich vielleicht separat gearbeitet (mit derselben Möglichkeit ist bei der Pringsheimschen Statuette zu rechnen). Die unvollständig ausgearbeitete Rückseite des Delphins weist hinten und links eine Art von Markierung auf in der Form von horizontal eingetieften Strichen (hinten ein kurzer zwischen zwei längeren, links ein langer). Vermutlich handelt es sich um eine Beschädigung. Die regelmäßige Form wirkt allerdings befremdend. Vielleicht ist auch mit der Möglichkeit eines bewußt angebrachten Merkzeichens zu rechnen (Fixpunkt am Block, das beim Kopierverfahren in irgendeiner Weise eine Rolle spielte?). Vergleichbares ist uns nicht bekannt. Zu den üblichen warzenförmigen Fixpunkten der Kopistenpraxis lassen die Striche sich nicht in Verbindung setzen. Zur Technik der Kopisten, zuletzt Bartman 1992, 66-72 und 202 (mit Angabe der neuesten Lit). Für das *Octopusmotiv* der Delphinstütze: Muthmann 1951, Kap. VIII, 98-100, mit Besprechung der wichtigsten Beispiele (darunter die Berliner Statuette aus Kreta). Vgl. auch hier Abb. 46.

[64] Höhe (ohne Basis) 59 Zm.; Abstand Fußplatte-Nabel 35,5 Zm.; Nabel-Scheitelkrone 23,5 Zm; Kinn-Scheitelkrone 9,1 Zm. All diese Einzelproportionen stimmen genau mit denen der Pringsheimschen Statuette überein. Die vorn und links gerade abgeschnittene, hinten und rechts leicht gerundete, zum Einlassen in einen Sockel gearbeitete Basis senkt sich nach vorn. H. hinten 6,7 Zm.; vorn 4 Zm.

[65] Vlg. oben 137, Anm. 52.

[66] Die Unterschiede in der Marmorarbeit lassen sich am ehesten durch Annahme verschiedener Herstellungszentren und -traditionen, sowie vielleicht auch durch einen – wenn auch nur geringen – zeitlichen Abstand zwischen beiden Figuren erklären. Gemeinsam ist beiden die 'metallische' Schärfe der

Mit der Feststellung dieses engen Zusammenhanges ist ein Hauptziel unserer typologischen Argumentation erreicht. Die Pringsheimsche Aphrodite fügt sich hier lückenlos in die vorangehende Entwicklung ein, und ihr *antiker* Ursprung scheint somit gesichert. Aber damit sind die Möglichkeiten der Beweisführung noch nicht erschöpft. Denn nicht nur das Erscheinungsbild der Göttin selbst, auch ihre Verbindung mit dem Stützenmotiv des muscheltragenden Eros, läßt sich als antikes Überlieferungselement erweisen.

6. DER EROS MIT DER MUSCHELSCHALE

Das Motiv des muscheltragenden Eros ist uns, in der antiken Plastik, als freistehendes Bildwerk, als figürlich gearbeitete Statuenstütze in Verbindung mit Aphrodite, und in Reliefbildern erhalten.
Von den freistehenden Exemplaren ist nur ein einziges nahezu vollständig erhalten. Dieses zeigt *(Abb. 40)* einen Eros in knabenhafter, leicht vorgebeugter Gestalt, der zwischen seinen gesenkten Armen ein muschelförmiges Becken vor sich herträgt, indem er es mit dem rechten Oberschenkel zusätzlich unterstützt. Der Typus dieser Schalenträger entwickelte sich, durch Umbildung älterer Vorläufer, gegen Ende des Hellenismus, gleichzeitig mit dem Prototyp einer Gruppe ähnlich gestalteter weiblicher Figuren *(Abb. 41)*, bei denen es sich gewöhnlich um Darstellungen von Nymphen, gelegentlich aber auch um Bilder der Liebesgöttin handelt. Fundumstände, Einzelheiten der technischen Ausführung und Darstellungen in der Malerei legen nahe, daß die Vertreter beider Gattungen vor allem bei der Schmückung von Brunnen und Gärten, das heißt in einem vorwiegend dekorativen Zusammenhang, Verwendung fanden[67].
Sowohl die Statuenstützen wie die Reliefbilder entstanden erst später, während der römischen Kaiserzeit. Die ursprünglich knabenhafte Erscheinungsform des Eros ist hier einem stark veränderten, mehr frontal angelegten, ins puttenhaft kindliche verwandelten Typus gewichen. Gleichzeitig damit ist die Muschelschale zumeist, aus ihrer ursprünglich waagerechten (der Funktion als Wasserbecken entsprechenden) Position, in einen nahezu senkrechten Stand, vor dem Bauch des Eros, verschoben. Die frühesten Beispiele die-

Gesichtszüge und des Haares, die in gewissen Hinsichten an Bronzewerke erinnert. Dies bedeutet allerdings nicht, daß es sich bei dem zugrunde liegenden Vorbild um eine Bronzearbeit handelt. Metallisch scharfe Bearbeitung des Marmors, an Haar und Gesichtszügen, läßt sich bekanntlich von Trajanischer bis früh Antoninischer Zeit oft als bewußt angewandtes Stilmittel beobachten. Von direkter Abhängigkeit von Vorbildern in Bronze ist dabei gewöhnlich nicht die Rede. Die weitgehende formale und proportionale Übereinstimmung beider, in der Ausstattung sonst unterschiedlich behandelten Stücke wirft freilich die wichtige, wenn auch keineswegs leicht zu beantwortende Frage auf, wie solche an verschiedenen Orten verfertigten Marmorfiguren sich, der Entstehungsweise nach, zu einander verhalten. Auf welchem Wege, mit welchen Hilfsmitteln wurden Übereinstimmungen wie sie hier vorliegen, auf Marmorerzeugnissen so verschiedener Herkunft übertragen? Die auffallend genaue proportionale Übereinstimmung beider Stücke rechtfertigt die Vermutung, daß das gemeinsame Vorbild ebenfalls kleinformatig war und dieselben Dimensionen aufwies. Die Verschiedenheit der Rückenansichten legt nahe, daß wir bei der Übertragung des Vorbildes Zwischenstufen, mit der Möglichkeit einer Einführung von Varianten, anzunehmen haben. Die unterschiedliche Gestaltung der Basen scheint darauf hinzuweisen, daß die (zum Einlassen in einen Sockel gearbeitete) Statuette aus Kreta für Aufstellung an einem von vornherein bestimmten Platz verfertigt wurde, während die Pringsheimsche Aphrodite (auf ringsum profilierter Plinthe), als bewegliches Dekorationsstück, an verschiedenen Stellen ihre Aufstellung finden konnte. Zur Übertragungsproblematik bei kleinformatigen Werken, zuletzt Vermeule 1988, 135-142 und besonders Bartmann 1992, 51-87, spez. 66-72.

[67] Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 40)* St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. A 855; H. 1.38 M. Die Zugehörigkeit des Kopfes ist umstritten: vgl. Waldhauer II (1931), Nr. 126, Taf. 27; und Döhl 1968, 44 und 60 L 1: 'Zugehörigkeit des Kopfes von Waldhauer wohl zu Unrecht bezweifelt'. Zu dem Typus: di Filippo 1964-1965, 570-574, Gruppo II 'Eros con la conchiglia'; Döhl 1968, 44-48: 'Der Eros mit der Muschelschale', vlg. auch 60-61 (Replikenliste); *LIMC* III, 1 (1986) s.v. 'Eros' V A, S. 877, Nr. 303; vgl. auch Riecke 1978, 42 mit Anm. 83. Die Formvorstellungen die hinter der knabenhaften Fassung des Eros mit der Muschelschale stehen, führen zum Teil auf ältere (spätklassische und frühhellenistische) Vorbilder zurück. Der Typus ist gewissermaßen als eine frontale Umbildung des bekannten Lysippischen Bogen(ent)spanners zu betrachten. Dafür spricht schon die Tatsache, daß man lange Zeit die Fragmente beider Typen in derselben Replikenliste aufzuführen pflegte. Erst durch die eben erwähnten neueren Untersuchungen sind diese klar von einander getrennt. Bei dem Pringsheimschen Eros sind – trotz aller Veränderung – Scheitelzopf und Stirnlocke *(Abb. 10)* noch als Zeugnisse der nachhaltigen Fortwirkung des ursprünglichen Vorbildes zu verstehen. Vgl. etwa die Köpfe bei di Filippo *o.c.*, Taf. I und IV, 6-7 (bzw. Padua, Museo del Liviano; und Venedig, Museo Archeologico), sowie Dörig 1973, 127 mit Abb. 17-18 und 19-20 (bzw. Kopenhagen und Brussel). Zu den *weiblichen* Parallelfiguren: Wuilleumier 1946, 195-198 (Replikenliste); Kapossy 1969, 12-14 (Replikenliste); Döhl 1968, 45-47 und Anm. 194 (Repliken), sowie 196-199 und Anm. 206a (Datierung). Vgl. auch Becatti 1971, 27-32; Caputo-Traversari 1976, 59-60 Nr. 38; de Lachenal 1981[a], 186-189 Nr. 3; Moormann 1988, 44-45, 53 (Darstellungen in der Malerei). Die Zahl solcher Figuren dürfte mehrere Dutzende von Beispielen umfassen. Ihre Deutung als 'Nymphen' wird u.a. durch das Vorkommen des betreffenden Typus auf Weihreliefs für die Nymphen als zutreffend erwiesen: Forti 1951, 161ff.; Becatti 1971, 32 und Taf. XXXVI. Für eine Identifizierung bestimmter Exemplare mit Aphrodite spricht dagegen die Tatsache, daß der Typus von späthellenistischen Aphroditefiguren abgeleitet wurde (Becatti 1971, 27-32), sowie auch der Umstand, daß es sich in gewissen Fällen – wie etwa bei einer Anzahl kaiserzeitlicher Terrakotten aus Ägypten – eindeutig um Darstellungen der Aphrodite handelt. Zu diesen: Weber 1914, 124 Nr. 178 und Abb. 18. Für die Bedeutung der Muschel für Aphrodite, mehr allgemein: Bratschkova 1938, 8-14; und unten 142 mit Anm. 77.

ser ins puttenhafte abgewandelten Fassung sind uns nicht in statuarischer Form, sondern in den bereits erwähnten Reliefbildern erhalten. Drei Grabaltäre Flavischer Zeit zeigen, in ihren Hauptdarstellungen, jeweils die gleiche, offensichtlich von einer gemeinsamen Vorlage abgeleitete Szene *(Abb. 42a-b, 43)*[68]. In der Mitte kauert Aphrodite bei ihrem Bade. Zwei kleine, geflügelte Erosfiguren gehen ihr dabei zur Hand. Der eine gießt aus einem auf seiner Schulter lastenden Krug Wasser über ihren Rücken. Der andere hält mit beiden Händen eine muschelförmige Schale in Bereitschaft. In der Vorlage dieser Bilder waren allem Anschein nach drei, ursprünglich selbständige, dreidimensionale, statuarische Typen in eine zweidimensionale Darstellung übertragen. Die Figur der kauernden Göttin geht eindeutig auf die berühmte frühhellenistische Schöpfung des Doidalses zurück. Der Eros mit dem Krug auf der Schulter ist gleichfalls von einem eigenständigen, aus mehreren Replike bekannten, wohl späthellenistischen statuarischen Vorbild abzuleiten[69]. Entsprechendes läßt sich, in solchem Zusammenhang, und im Hinblick auf die Existenz des knabenhaften freistehenden Vorläufers, für den kindlichen Eros mit der Muschelschale vermuten, obwohl in diesem Fall ein rundplastisch gearbeitetes Exemplar der gleichen Fassung fehlt. Nur in der Flächenkunst sind uns Darstellungen solcher Stücke erhalten *(Abb. C)*[70].

Erst im zweiten Jahrhundert der Kaiserzeit wird das Motiv des muscheltragenden Eros auch in den Formenschatz der mit der Aphrodite verbundenen *Statuenstützen* aufgenommen[71]. Eroten mit mancherlei anderen für die Toilette der Göttin benötigten Geräten waren dem Muschelträger in dieser Rolle – besonders in der Kleinkunst *(Abb. 44)* – längst vorangegangen[72]. Zumeist erscheinen die Eroten mit der Muschelschale an den kaiserzeitlichen Statuenstützen, wie nicht nur das Beispiel unserer Statuette *(Abb. 2a-b, etc.)*, sondern auch andere Aphroditefiguren der Hadrianisch-Antoninischen Periode zeigen *(Abb. 45-46)*, in Verbindung mit anderen Attributen und figürlichen Elementen die, in einem weitläufigeren Sinn, der Welt des Meeres und der Göttin angehören[73]. Zwischen den Erosfiguren dieser Stützen und denen der eben erwähnten Reliefs ist, typologisch gesehen, eine auffallende Verwandtschaft vorhanden. Bei beiden Gruppen handelt es sich um denselben, ins kindliche abgewandelten, gleichsam verkleinerten Typus. Bei beiden ist die in Bereitschaft gehaltene Muschelschale aus ihrer ursprünglich waagerechten Position in eine schräge oder fast senkrechte Stellung vor dem Leib des rundlich gebildeten Trägers verschoben. Frontalität und Einansichtigkeit des Motivs werden durch diese Veränderungen weiter betont. Die plastische Selbständigkeit von sowohl Schale als Träger geht dabei weitgehend verloren. Gerät und Erosfigur sind den Formen nach nicht mehr scharf von einander zu trennen *(Abb. 5, 10, 12a, 35a)*, sondern scheinen gleichsam mit einander verwachsen. Diese Unklarheit in der plastischen Durchbildung mag zum Teil mit der handwerklichen Qualität der Ausführung solcher, als nebensächlich empfundenen Stützenelementen zusammenhängen[74]. Zum Teil läßt die genannte Erscheinung sich, im vorlie-

[68] Zu diesen Grabaltären (heute bzw. in London, Rom und Nazzano): Boschung 1989, 10-11 mit Anm. l9 (Angabe der älteren Lit.).
Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 42a-b)* Reliefbild an der Grabara des M. Coelius Superstes im Br. Museum, Inv. 2360 (aus Samml. Townley); vgl. Altmann 1905, 161-162 Nr. 203; Boschung 1987, 106 Nr. 819, Taf. 41. Vgl. auch Bober-Rubinstein 1986, 63-64 Nr. l9, Abb. 19 und l9a (Zeichnung des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Album des Pierre Jacques in der Bibl. Nat., Paris). Danach hier *Abb. B*.

[69] Zum Eros mit dem Krug als freistehende Figur: Lippold, *Vat. Kat.* III,2 (1956) 220-221 Nr. 85, Taf. 100 (mit Lit. und Aufführung der bekanntesten Repliken); vgl. auch Matz 1958, 76-78; Döhl 1968, 45 und Anm. 195; Kapossy 1969, 41-42 (Repliken); Neudecker 1988, 236 Nr. 68.7 und Taf. X,4.: Exemplar aus der sog. Cynthia-Villa in Tivoli.
Für eine Darstellung des Typus in Relief: Lorenz 1988, 54 (Winterputto auf dem Würzburger Jahreszeitenaltar).

[70] Ein freistehendes Exemplar, auf selbständigem Sockel (unsere *Abb. C*) erscheint z.B. auf dem Rückseitenbild eines römischen Bronzespiegels aus dem dritten Viertel des 2. Jhts. n. Chr.: Zahlhaas 1975[a], 76 Nr. 24 mit Taf. 22 (die Muschel S. 53 versehentlich als 'Girlande oder Halskette' beschrieben).

[71] Für die Stützen: Muthmann 1951, 102-103 und Anm. 128 (mit Aufzählung einer Anzahl von Beispielen). Hinzuzufügen sind Stücke aus Leptis Magna, im Museum von Lucera und aus der ehem. Sammlung de Clercq, hier *Abb. 45 und 46*.

[72] Überblick der einzelnen Varianten in *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' *passim*; *ibid.* III, 1 (1986) s.v. 'Eros' *passim*. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 44)*: Tonfigur, Ermitage 472 (ehem. Sabouroff).
Auch die kleinformatigen Marmornachbildungen der Anadyomene späthellenistischer Zeit, aus Ägypten und dem östlichen Mittelmeergebiet sind gelegentlich schon mit Stütz- oder Begleitfiguren in der Gestalt eines Eros verbunden: vgl. Gassowska 1971, 106 Nr. 31 und 107 Nr. 33 (bzw. Auktion II, Ars Antiqua Luzern 1960, Nr.55; und Krakau, Muzeum Narodowe Nr. 1169).

[73] Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 45)*: Marmorstatue der Aphrodite Anadyomene, vom Rand eines Wasserbeckens des Theaters von Leptis Magna, H. 1,92 M.; inschriftlich datierbar in die Jahre 256-258 n.Chr. Vgl. dazu Caputo-Traversari 1976, 61-63 Nr. 41.
(Abb. 46): Marmorstatuette der ehem. Sammlung de Clercq, Paris, H. 1,14 M. Vgl. de Ridder IV (1906), 17-19 Nr. 15. Hinzuzufügen ist eine Pudica Statue in Lucera: Felletti Maj 1951, 63 Nr. 32, abgebildet bei Pagenstecher 1914, 49 Abb. 25, vgl. auch 51-52 (das Stück wurde wursch. zur Zeit Friedrichs II. von anderswo nach Apulien überführt). Ohne Delphin erscheint der Eros mit Muschelschale u.a. bei einer Venus in Neapel und einer heute verschollenen Statuette der ehem. Samml. Trubert, Paris: Muthmann l951, Kap. VIII, Anm. 128.

[74] Vgl. oben 129.

Abb. B. Hauptdarstellung von der Grabara des Coelius Superstes, nach der Federzeichnung im Album des Pierre Jacques, Bibl. Nat., Paris.

ABb. C. Nachzeichnung des Reliefbildes auf der Rückseite eines Bronzespiegels aus Baba Donina – Mogila (Bulgarien).

genden Fall, jedoch vielleicht auch daraus erklären, daß das Erosmotiv der Stützen nicht direkt von rundplastischen Vorbildern, sondern indirekt von deren flächig angelegten Umbildungen in Reliefszenen abgeleitet wurde[75].

Jedoch nicht nur in rein formaler Hinsicht, auch inhaltlich sind die Schalenträger der Stützen mit denen der eben erwähnten Reliefbilder zu verbinden. Aus dem Darstellungszusammenhang dieser Bilder geht eindeutig hervor, daß es sich bei dem 'Eros mit der Muschelschale' an den Grabaltären, nicht etwa um den Träger eines 'Meeressymbols', sondern um einen Badegehilfen der Göttin handelt. In diesem Sinn sind zweifellos auch die ähnlich charakterisierten Schalenträger der Statuenstützen zu deuten[76]. An den Grabaltären ist allerdings das Muschelmotiv, wenn auch nicht der Muschelträger, noch in anderem Sinn auf die Persönlichkeit der Liebesgöttin bezogen. Bei zwei der drei uns bekannten Beispiele dieser Art ist die Badeszene ausdrücklich von einer großen, rahmenden Muschel umgeben *(Abb. 43)*. Diese letztere wird in einem Fall außerdem von zwei übers Meer schwimmenden Tritonen getragen. In dieser Anwendung des Muschelmotivs ist offensichtlich eine Anspielung auf den Geburtsmythus und die Meeresfahrt der Göttin vorhanden[77]. In wiefern auch bei den Statuenstützen gelegentlich Gedanken an diese Thematik mitspielen, läßt sich aus den Einzelheiten der Darstellungsweise nicht mit derselben Sicherheit erschließen. Zwar sind die Eroten mit der Muschelschale an diesen Stützen – wie die beiden hier abgebildeten Beispiele zeigen *(Abb. 45-46)* – wiederholt mit Vertretern der Meereswelt, insonderheit mit Delphinen, verbunden[78]. Als zuverlässigen Hinweis auf das Bestehen einer genau bestimmbaren thematischen Absicht kann man diese Kombinationen jedoch – im Hinblick auf die wandelbare Anwendung von Motiven und deren Mischungsträchtigkeit an kaiserzeitlichen Statuenstützen – kaum betrachten. Es ist in dieser Hinsicht bezeichnend, daß die beiden hier in Rede stehenden Darstellungskomponenten: 'Delphin' und 'Eros mit Muschelschale', im Fall der Pringsheimschen Statuette und deren nächster Parallele aus Kreta, nicht in Zusammenhang mit einander, sondern jeweils als Einzelmotive erscheinen.

Bei der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite befindet sich allerdings hinter dem Eros, anstelle eines Delphins, der schlanke, gefäßförmig profilierte Pfeiler, aber auch bei diesem handelt es sich um ein allgemein geläufiges Element, ohne streng verbindliche inhaltliche Bedeutung, das wir von den Stützen mehrerer anderer kaiserzeitlicher Aphroditestatuen, beziehungsweise Statuetten, kennen[79].

Den Bildhauern antiker Kopistenwerkstätten wurde bei der Auswahl und Verbindung von Stützenmotiven nachweisslich, innerhalb gewisser Grenzen, eine erhebliche Freiheit gelassen. Sie verfügten über ein reichhaltiges Répertoire unterschiedlicher Bildelemente, von denen einige jeweils am besten zu einem bestimmten statuarischen Typus paßten. Die Ansammlung und allmähliche Auslese dieses Répertoires hatte im Laufe

[75] Die Verschiebung der Muschel in eine senkrechte Position erfolgte auch bei den weiblichen Parallelen. Sowohl in den zweidimensional angelegten Darstellungen der Weihreliefs (vgl. oben Anm. 67), wie bei manchen freistehenden Figuren. Vgl. etwa die Beispiele bei Kapossy 1969, 96, Abb. 1-3, und Manderscheid 1981, 122 Nr. 477 mit Lit., und Taf. 48 (Timgad).

[76] Anders Döhl 1968, 45: '…Der Eros dient dazu das Ambiente des Meeres zu veranschaulichen indem er die Muschel vorzeigt…', und *ibid.* Anm. 191: '…man darf diesen Eros (der Statuenstützen) *nicht* als Helfer beim Bade verstehen…'.

[77] Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 43)*: Grabaltar des M. Albius Graptus, Rom, Museo Nuovo Capitolino Nr. 2101: Mustilli l939, 29-30 Nr. 13, Taf. XXIII,79; Helbig[4] II (1966), 475-476: '…in spätflavischer Tradition…aber wohl im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. entstanden…'(E. Simon); Boschung 1987, 103 Nr. 763, Taf. 31: '…flavisch…'.

Zur Beziehung der Muschel zu Geburt und Meeresfehrt der Aphrodite: Loeb 1979, 82-84 (Muschelgeburt); *ibid.* 84-85 (Muschelfahrt), mit Quellen und Lit. Zu den Darstellungen dieser Themen auch Metzger 1951, 69-72 und 67-69; *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' VIII, A3 und 4, S. 116-117 (nur die griechischen Beispiele). Für die Darstellungen der römischen Kaiserzeit, besonders auf Mosaiken, u.a. Lassus 1965, 175-191 mit Abb. 1-19; Dunbabin 1978, 154-158. Nach einer im Schrifttum erst relativ spät auftauchenden, in den bildlichen Darstellungen jedoch bereits für das 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nachweisbaren Überlieferung, wurde Aphrodite an der Meeresoberfläche aus einer Muschel geboren, und in einer geöffneten Muschel von Tritonen (bzw. Seekentauren) von Kythera nach Zyperns Gestaden getragen.

Während dieser Fahrt beschäftigte sie sich, den Darstellungen nach, ausschließlich mit ihrer Toilette, besonders mit dem Auswinden und Ordnen ihrer nassen Haare. Eroten gingen ihr dabei mit Spiegel, Salben, Binden und anderen Mitteln des Putzes und der Ausschmückung zur Hand.

Für die muschelförmige Schale als charakteristisches Toilettengerät: Zahlhaas 1975[b], 530-531 und 537.

[78] Für die Möglichkeit daß der Delphin sich, in solchen Fällen, auser auf die Meereswelt, auch auf die Themen von Meergeburt und Meeresfahrt bezieht, spricht möglicherweise die im antiken Schrifttum und in bildlichen Darstellungen bezeugte Variante, ein Delphin hätte die Göttin in Zypern ans Land getragen: dazu Gruppe II (1906) 1349, Anm. 1; vgl. auch *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite IV E6, S. 100-101 Nrn. 977-986: Aphrodite' auf Delphin reitend.

[79] Die drei in Rede stehenden Elemente: Eros mit Toilettengerät (oder Fackel), Delphin, und schlanker, gefäßförmig profilierter Pfeiler, sind öfters, innerhalb eines selben Bildwerks als Stützenelement alle gleichzeitig vorhanden. Genannt sei hier das Beispiel einer, der Pringsheimschen Aphrodite in der Formbehandlung nicht unähnlichen, wursch. Hadrianischen Statuette in Venedig. Das Gerätstück mit dem der Eros ausgestattet war ist hier allerdings verloren gegangen: Traversari 1986, 143-145 Nr. 48; H. 78 Zm.

mehrerer Jahrhunderte stattgefunden[80]. Im Fall der nackten und halbbekleideten 'Anadyomene' waren, außer Gefäßen und Meereswesen, Eroten mit den verschiedensten Attributen, bereits in hellenistischer Zeit – vor allem an Erzeugnissen der Kleinkunst *(Abb. 44)* – in zahlreichen Varianten vertreten, wenn auch der 'Eros mit dem Muschelbecken' als Begleiter der Göttin in jener Periode fehlt. In den kaiserzeitlichen Werkstätten des 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts ist diese Variante dagegen – sowohl als Einzelmotiv, wie in Verbindung mit gewissen anderen Bildelementen – ausdrücklich vorhanden. Die Motive unserer Statuette lassen sich folglich, auch in dieser Hinsicht, mühelos aus antiker Überlieferung erklären.

Bedenkt man, im Lichte der vorangehenden Betrachtungen, wieviele – einem nachantiken Hersteller, welcher Epoche auch, wohl kaum zugängliche oder bewußte – stilistische, typologische und ikonographische Einzelheiten, die ausnahmslos auf *antiken* Ursprung deuten, sich in dem hier behandelten Bildwerk zusammenfinden, so dürfte es weit mühsamer erscheinen einen Nachweis seiner post-antiken Entstehung, als den seines antiken Ursprungs zu erbringen. Auch wäre es wohl merkwürdig zu nennen, wenn ein Kenner vom Range Furtwänglers, zu einem Zeitpunkt wo er, als einer der ersten, begonnen hatte eine Anzahl nicht-antiker Werke, nach wissenschaftlichen Kriterien, aus dem Bestand der antiken Denkmäler zu streichen, das vorliegende Stück, ohne Bedenken, in gerade diesen Bestand aufgenommen hätte[81].

7. Bemerkungen zur ursprünglichen Aufstellung und Inszenierung

Aus Funden und Darstellungen von kleinformatigen Marmorfiguren unseres Typs geht hervor, daß sie sowohl zu religiösen wie dekorativen Zwecken verwendet wurden. Aufstellung fanden sie als Weihgeschenke in Heiligtümern – wie etwa im Aphroditetempel von Kyrene – als Kultstatuen in kleinen Schreinen als Andachtsbilder in Gemächern und an Orten die in erster Linie weiblichen Besuchern vorbehalten waren *(Abb. 49, 51)*[82]. Am häufigsten dienten sie jedoch ohne Zweifel als Dekorations- und Ausstattungsstücke in privaten Häusern, Villen und Gärten. Im Hinblick auf die Beziehungen des Anadyomenetyps zum Wasser, ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß Figuren der betreffenden Art auch in Baderäumen und an Brunnenanlagen öfters einen Bestimmungsort fanden[83].

Abgesehen von dem, mangels hinreichender Auskunft nur im Allgemeinen zu erörternden Problem der Art der Verwendung, ist in unserem Zusammenhang auch die Frage nach der ursprünglichen Aufstellungsweise von Bedeutung. Jedes plastische Bildwerk, auch das kleinformatige, bedarf einer gewissen räumlichen Inszenierung. Erst durch diese kommen seine formalen und inhaltlichen Eigenschaften voll zur Geltung und wird seine Beziehung zum Betrachter eindeutig

[80] Eine umfassende Untersuchung zur ikonographischen Überlieferungsproblematik der figürlich gearbeiteten Stützen einzelner statuarischer Typen, steht, soweit wir sehen, noch aus. Muthmann 1951 hat seine Aufmerksamkeit vor allem den Fragen der stilistischen und chronologischen Entwicklung kaiserzeitlicher Stützenformen zugewendet. Einiges, besonders die Überlieferung der Delphinstützen betreffend, findet sich bei Becatti 1971, 24-38.

[81] Furtwängler 1899.

[82] Für die Weihgeschenke aus dem Aphroditetempel von Kyrene, im Br. Museum: Smith-Porcher 1864, 77, 95-96 und 102 Nr. 50-60; vgl. auch Huskinson 1975, 1-6 Nrn. 2-3, 5-7, 9, 11 mit Abb. und Lit. Für Aphroditefiguren ähnlichen Formats aus dem Isistempel von Pompei: Riemann 1940, 118 Nr. 9-10; vgl. auch Neumer-Pfau 1982, 379, IV, Anm. 315; Denti 1985, 141 Anm. 12.
Als Kultbild erscheint die Gestalt der 'Anadyomene' in den Darstellungen kaiserzeitlicher Münzen: Bernhart 1936, Taf. 8, 289-290: Bronzemünzen d. 3. Jhts., Saitta, Lydien; und auf Gemmen: *AGDS II* (1969), 169 Nr. 455, Taf. 80 (hier *Abb. 47*), Karneol, Berlin: 'Anadyomene in Tempel'. Vor allem aber auf ägyptischen Terrakotten der römischen Kaiserzeit: Weber 1914, 122 Nr. 2-3; Kaufmann 1915, 91-93 Taf. 30, Nr. 232-233; Castiglione 1953, 474 Abb. 2; *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite in peripheria orientali' G, S. 157, Nr. 54 mit Abb.; *ibid.*, 158 Nr. 82 mit Abb. ('Anadyomene' im Inneren eines kleinen Schreins).
Für die Aufstellung kleinformatiger Bildwerke unseres Typs in Räumen die in erster Linie dem weiblichen Geschlecht vorbehalten waren (Bad, Frauengemach u.d.); vgl. unsere *Abb. 49* und 51.
In Papyrusurkunden der mittleren und späteren Kaiserzeit, ist wiederholt von Bronzestatuetten der Aphrodite, und dazu passenden Holzkästchen die Rede, die als *Brautsgeschenke* zu den 'Paraphernalien' der Mitgift Neuvermählter gehörten. Es ist anzunehmen, daß es sich bei diesen Bronzen um Beispiele des in Ägypten so stark verbreiteten 'Anadyomene' Typus handelt. Der Brauch solcher Schenkungen hing nach Burkhalter 1990, 51-60, bes. 58-59, in erster Linie mit der von Rom aus verbreiteten, Tradition des *Lararіums* zusammen. Es fragt sich jedoch, ob die betreffenden Dokumente nicht auch auf die Funktion der zahlreichen sehr kleinformatigen Marmorrepliken der 'Anadyomene' aus Ägypten, die seit späthellenistischer Zeit entstanden, in gewisser Hinsicht einen Rückschluß erlauben.

[83] Für Statuetten in Privathäusern hellenistischer Städte (Priene, Pergamon, Delos, Kyrene, Alexandrien, Tarent, Pompei usw.): Neumer-Pfau 1982, 2 und 255-256, I, Anm. 4 (bes. Statuetten der Aphrodite) mit Lit.; vgl. auch Dwyer 1979 und bes. Kreeb 1988, 43-46 (Art der Aufstellung), 57-59 (Material und Thematik), 93-100 (Fundstätten); mehr allgemein auch Bartman 1992, 31-48, bes. 39-42: 'display'. Für die römische Kaiserzeit auch Neudecker 1988, 31-38 und 271 s.v. 'Aphrodite'.
Für Gärten und Brunnen: Grimal 1943, 49-51 (Aphrodite); Kapossy 1969, 12-18 (Aphrodite); mehr allgemein Jashemski 1979; Zanker-Dohl 1979 (gegen Grimals Deutung des Gartens als religiöse Landschaft); de Caro 1987, 77-133. Für Thermen: Manderscheid 1981, 32-33 (Aphrodite) und *passim*.

festgelegt. Die Gestaltungsprinzipien eines dreidimensionalen, plastischen Werkes sind nun einmal von dessen Aufstellungsweise nicht zu trennen. Dasselbe gilt auch für Stücke die – wie vermutlich unsere Statuette – in einer Kopistenwerkstatt auf Vorrat gearbeitet und dann zum Verkauf angeboten wurden. Zwar blieben bei solchen Erzeugnissen, aus naheliegendem Grund, Ort und Art der Verwendung bis zum Augenblick der Erwerbung ungewiß. Dennoch hat man, wie wir annehmen dürfen, auch bei diesen Stücken – wenigstens in Erstverwendung – sowohl den formalen Anforderungen des plastischen Werkes selbst, wie auch denen des jeweils vorherrschenden Zeitgeschmacks, nach Möglichkeit Rechnung getragen[84].

Leider verfügen wir nur selten über direkte, zuverlässige Angaben in Bezug auf die ursprüngliche Aufstellungsweise eines kleinformatigen Stückes. Die große Mehrzahl der erhaltenen Beispiele stammt von Fundstellen die dem Ort der anfänglichen Aufstellung nicht mehr entsprechen, oder Herkunftsunterlagen stehen – wie im Fall unseres Stückes – überhaupt nicht zur Verfügung. Versuche um der Frage ihrer einstigen Inszenierung einige Klarheit abzugewinne, sind demzufolge hauptsächlich auf indirekte Hilfsmittel angewiesen.

Bereits im formalen Aufbau des betreffenden Bildwerkes selbst sind dazu vielfach nützliche Anweisungen vorhanden. Bei unserer Statuette liegt, wie wir feststellen konnten, das künstlerische Ziel ihres Aufbaus vor allem in der vorderen und hinteren Hauptansicht beschlossen. Die Inszenierung eines aus solchen Prinzipien hervorgegangenen Werkes dürfte allenthalben eine zweiseitige Sichtbarkeit beanspruchen. Die zierlichen Umrüße der Figur sollten dabei in einer bildhaften 'Silhouette' zur Geltung kommen. Fensterartige Durchblicke, offene Nischen, Durchgänge, Interkolumnien und freistehende Pergolabögen gehören zu den rahmenden Architekturformen die sich zu einer derartigen Präsentation besonders eigneten. Beispiele einer solchen Inszenierung sind uns aus der mittleren Kaiserzeit, sowohl *in situ* als auch in mehreren Darstellungen erhalten[85].

Für Anadyomenefiguren unseres Typs läßt sich allerdings, weder aus Funden noch aus Darstellungen, ein Beispiel dieser Art ausfindig machen. Für die in ihrem Aufbau sehr verwandte Graziengruppe *(Abb. 15)* dagegen, ist Aufstellung nach solchen Prinzipien in einigen Fällen nachzuweisen[86].

Allerdings sind uns, gerade im Fall der Grazien, auch Zeugnisse einer völlig anders gearteten, im Grunde 'allseitigen' Aufstellungsweise erhalten. Auf den Reliefbildern einer Gruppe attischer Tonlampen, die der Werkstatt eines Töpfers namens Elpidephoros entstammen, wo sie im zweiten Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. verfertigt wurden, sieht man die Grazien, in Statuettenformat, neben einer lebensgroßen Statue der Aphrodite.

Die drei Schwestern stehen auf einem hohen, rechteckigen Sockel der das kleinformatige Werk für den Betrachter auf die richtige Augenhöhe hebt *(Abb. 48)*. Die betreffenden Tonlampen gehören zu einer Gruppe, deren Reliefbilder u.a. Darstellungen gewisser bekannter Kult- und Votivstatuen attischer Heiligtümer umfassen. Ein gewisser Zeugniswert kann diesen einfachen Lampenbildern somit nicht abgesprochen werden. Die hier zutagetretende allseitige, stark erhöhte Präsentation eines, seinem Wesen nach, ein- oder zweiansichtigen Werkes, dürfte mit dem verkleinerten Maßstab des letzteren zusammenhängen[87].

[84] Bei späterer Wiederverwendung konnte die Aufstellungsweise solcher leicht transportierbarer Stücke freilich manche überraschende Veränderung erfahren. Dies zeigt z.B. der Befund in dem am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts entdeckten, aber leider seitdem zerstörten, sog. *Lararium* der späteren Kaiserzeit, in der Nähe von S. Martino ai Monti in Rom. Götterstatuetten verschiedener Arten und Zeiten waren hier, zusammen mit einer großformatigen Statue der Isis-Fortuna und mehreren kleinen Büstenbildern des Serapis – wie in einer Antikensammlung des 17. oder 18. Jahrhunderts – auf architectonisch gerahmten Regalen, in drei Reihen übereinander angeordnet: Visconti 1885, 27-38 Taf. III-V; Vermeule 1977, 63-64; zuletzt ausführlich Vitozzi 1993, 221-243. Die Statuetten befinden sich heute in den Kapitolinischen Museen.

[85] Ein (allerdings großformatiges) Beispiel *in situ* liefern die leichten, freistehenden Pergolaarchitekturen mit Statuen, am sog. *Canopus* der Villa Hadrians: Aurigemma 1961, 100-133, bes. 110ff. mit Taf. VI-VII; gute Abbildungen bei Kraus 1967, Abb. 98 b.

Aufstellung von Skulpturen in Interkolumnien und offenen Pergolabögen spiegelt sich auch in den Darstellungen gewisser Campanareliefs: Rohden-Winnefeld 1911, 144-153 Taf. LXX-XII-LXXXIII; CXLII,2; CXLIII; vgl. auch Borbein 1968, 197 Anm. 1064. Dasselbe gilt von dekorativen Reliefplatten in Marmor, wie die Beispiele in der *Galleria delle Statue* und dem *Gabinetto delle Maschere* im Vatikan: Helbig[4] I (1963), 112-113 Nr. 147, und 154 Nr. 209. Gute Abbildungen bei Andreae 1973, Taf. 442-444.

[86] Dazu Manderscheid 1981, 25 und 103 Nr. 285-286 mit Taf.7: Kyrene, 'große' Thermen, Frigidarium, Raum G; Graziengruppen in den nördlichen und südlichen Interkolumnien beiderseits des axialen Durchgangs zwischen den Raumteilen G und G'.

Zu diesem Aufstellungsschema vgl. auch Bartman 1988, 211-225: 'Decor et duplicatio'.

[87] Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 48)*: Lampe im Br. Museum, Inv Q 3270. Dazu Bailey III (1988), 409 Nr. Q 3270 mit Taf. 119. Zu den betreffenden Lampen auch Schwarzenberg 1966, 38 mit Anm. 8. und *LIMC* III, 1 (1986) s.v. 'Charites/Gratiae', 207 Nr. 66-74 (mit Lit.). In Athen 'Stadt der Grazien' (Eurip., *Heraklid.* 379-380) war die Gruppe der drei Schwestern den Einwohnern zweifellos gut bekannt. Möglicherweise war das Urbild des berühmten plastischen Werkes sogar dort in einer späthellenistisch-klassizistischen Werkstatt entstanden.

Zu dieser Vermutung führen auch die Darstellungen einiger kaiserzeitlicher Denkmäler, die uns ähnlich allseitig aufgestellte Anadyomenefiguren in Statuettenformat vor Augen führen.
Von Interesse sind, in diesem Zusammenhang, zunächst die aus dünnem vergoldeten Bronzeblech getriebenen Rückseitenbilder einiger griffloser runder Bronzespiegel, die jeweils dieselbe, auf gleicher Vorlage beruhende, Badeszene wiederholen *(Abb. 49)*. Sie gehören zu einer erst neuerdings durch Veröffentlichung besser bekannt gewordenen Gattung kaiserzeitlicher Reliefspiegel die – der Verbreitung und den Fundumständen nach – einigen kleinasiatischen Werkstätten des 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. entstammen[88]. Dargestellt sind zwei in Profilansicht wiedergegebene, unbekleidete Mädchen zu beiden Seiten eines runden Waschbeckens auf hohem, geriefeltem Fuß. Die Symmetrie des Bildaufbaus, die auffällige Rolle des leeren Grundes, und die Umrißbetonung bei den eigentümlich streng in die Fläche gebundenen Figuren, deuten darauf hin, daß die betreffenden Stücke aus der Zeit Hadrians stammen[89]. Im Hintergrund, in der Mitte, befindet sich eine Statuette der nackten, stehenden 'Anadyomene', deren kleinformatige Ausführung, flächiger Aufbau und Haltungsmerkmale denen unserer Aphrodite in allem wesentlichen entsprechen. Sie steht, in Augenhöhe, auf einem säulenförmigen Sockel, und ist – in dem dargestellten Zusammenhang – wohl als die göttliche Schutzherrin der badenden Frauen aufzufassen. Wie die Graziengruppe der Lampenbilder läßt dieses Weihgeschenk oder Andachtsbild sich, in der vorliegenden Aufstellung, scheinbar von allen Seiten umschreiten. Allerdings ist, trotz dieser augenscheinlich allseitigen Präsentation, für den Betrachter des Spiegelreliefs, in Wirklichkeit die entscheidende Hauptansicht des Bildwerkchens festgehalten. Auch bei anderen Beispielen der Flächenkunst, die den Anadyomenetypus vor Augen führen, läßt dieselbe, zweifellos bewußte Absicht sich, bezeichnenderweise, immer beobachten *(Abb. 50)*[90].
Den Darstellungen der Hadrianischen Bronzespiegel kann man ein interessantes Mosaikbild derselben Periode, aus Antiochien, zur Seite stellen. Hier erscheinen, wiederum vor einem leeren Grund, drei Hauptdarsteller aus der Liebestragödie der Phaidra – Phaidra selbst, ihre Amme, und der durch die erhaltene Liebesbotschaft empörte Hippolyt – wie auf einer schmalen Theaterbühne, sich pathetisch gebärdend, nebeneinander *(Abb. 51)*. Als einziges Dekorationsstück zur Begleitung der betreffenden Szene, erblickt man am linken Bildrand, auf einem hohen, rechteckigen Postament, eine Statuette der Aphrodite. Ihre Gegenwart in der Darstellung soll wohl bezwecken, dem Betrachter des Mosaikbildes den Ort der Handlung und die Art der Leidenschaften die im Spiel sind, zu verdeutlichen[91]. Als Erscheinungsform der Göttin ist – dem Ernst und der sittsamen Strenge der Situation entsprechend – nicht die nackte, sondern die halbverhüllte Variante des Anadyomenetypus gewählt. Für den Aufbau der Figur, und den damit verbundenen, typischen Haltungsmerkmalen sind, wie wir wissen, mit diesem Wechsel der Varianten keine wesentlichen Veränderungen verbunden. Bemerkenswert ist es in unserem Zusammenhang nur, daß in der betreffenden Darstellung das Postament, und die sich darauf befindliche Statuette, offensichtlich mit Absicht, von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus wiedergegeben wurden. Die dem Betrachter frontal zugewendete Statuette ist, dem

Erhöhte Aufstellung bringt eine kleinformatige Statue selbstverständlich besser zur Geltung. *Umschreitbarkeit* rückt sie in ein näheres Verhältnis zum Betrachter. Und gerade diese Nähe, mit der darin enthaltenen Aufforderung zu einem eingehenden Beschauen, bildet bei Marmorskulpturen in Statuettenformat – vorausgesetzt daß sie künstlerisch genug Qualität besitzen – den besonderen Reiz. Zur Aufstellungsaesthetik kleinformatiger Skulpturen im Altertum vgl. auch Bartman 1992, 39-42 und 170-171 (mit Lit.).

[88] Zur Gattung: Zahlhaas 1975[a]. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 49)*: Spiegel in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 1978.158, Durchm. 13 Zm. Ein Exemplar mit identischer Darstellung befindet sich im Virginia Museum of Art, in Richmond. Dazu Vermeule 1976, 30-31 Abb. 4 und 39, Nr. 4; vgl. auch *LIMC* II, 1 (1984) s.v. 'Aphrodite' III B4c, S. 56, Nr. 452, und Vermeule-Comstock 1988, 78-80 Nr. 94, mit Abb. und Lit.

[89] Zur Datierung in die Zeit Hadrians: Mandel 1988, 35 mit Anm. 238 und 239. Vgl. auch Zahlhaas 1975[a], 38-43, bes. 41-42.

[90] Zur Verbreitung des Typus auf kaiserzeitlichen Münzen, vor allem in Kleinasien: Bernhart 1936, 33 Nr. 201-203 mit Taf. 5 (halbbekleidete Anadyomene); und *ibid*., 43-46 Nr. 270-292 mit Taf. 7-8 (nackte stehende Anadyomene); vgl. auch Brinkerhof 1978, 67-69.
Für eine Aufzählung von Beispielen auf Gemmen: Traversari 1986, 143. Hier abgebildet *(Abb. 50) AGDS* I,3 (1972), 14 Nr. 2175, Taf. 188: ovaler Ringstein aus Sizilien, 1.38 x 1.03 Zm., Karneol, München, wsch. 1. Jht. v. Chr.

[91] *Abb. 51*: Antiochien, 'House of the red pavement', Raum I; dazu Levi 1947, 68-75, bes. 71-75. Für die Datierung des Mosaiks in die Zeit Hadrians: *ibid*., 625: Appendix I, s.v. 'House of the red pavement'.
In der Tragödie des Euripides befindet eine Aphroditestatue sich tatsächlich auf der Bühne, vor dem Eingang des Palastes; vgl. dazu Eurip., *Hippolyt*, 99-102.
Die von Phaidra überhörte Begegnung zwischen Amme und Hippolyt wird dort 601-637 geschildert. Ein beschriebener *Pinax* spielt dabei allerdings keine Rolle. Von einem solchen ist erst, in anderem Zusammenhang (857-880), nach dem tragischen Tod der Heldin, die Rede. Die ganze Handlung vollzieht sich im Trauerspiel des Euripides vor dem Eingang des Palastes von Trözen. Auf dem Mosaikbild, dessen Darstellung – wie das Fehlen von Masken erweist – nicht unmittelbar von dem Theater, sondern von anders gearteten Bildquellen beeinflußt wurde, scheint es sich eher um einen Innenraum, wohl dem 'Frauengemach' der Phaidra zu handeln.

perspektivisch, in Seitenansicht dargestellten Sockel gegenüber, fast um einen Viertelschlag, im Sinne des Uhrzeigers, weiter gedreht. Dank dieser Drehung ist, auch in der hier bestehenden Situation, die für den Eindruck des Bildwerks bestimmende vordere Hauptansicht festgehalten. Die Bedeutung gerade dieser Ansicht wird, durch die betreffende Darstellungsweise, noch einmal in einleuchtender Weise betont.
Bei ähnlich isolierter und erhöhter Aufstellung kleinformatiger Skulpturen unseres Typs – auf Sockel, Säule oder Tisch – in der plastischen Ausstattung wirklich existierender Räumlichkeiten, hat man wahrscheinlich in den meisten Fällen ebenfalls den Versuch gemacht, der Bedeutung der Hauptansicht nach Möglichkeiten Rechnung zu tragen. Blickfeld und Bewegungsfreiheit des Betrachters ließen sich dabei, mit Hilfe einfacher Inszenierungsmittel, wie etwa einer abschließenden Rückwand, oder seitlicher Architekturkulissen, verhältnismäßig leicht in jeder erwünschten Weise begrenzen[92].
Der leere Grund, beziehungsweise der begrenzende Bildrand, hinter den Statuetten in den beiden eben besprochenen Darstellungen *(Abb. 49, 51)*, sind vielleicht als die zweidimensionale Analogie solcher räumlich-reëllen Lösungen aufzufassen.

8. SCHLUßBEMERKUNG

Aus der römischen Kaiserzeit sind uns, in öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen, zahlreiche Marmorskulpturen kleinen Formats erhalten. Kaum eine Gestalt war in dieser Form so beliebt wie die Aphrodite, die menschlichste und vielleicht auch wandelbarste der antiken Götter. Ihre Darstellung in Statuettenform umfaßt eine Unzahl unterschiedlicher Typen, Fassungen und Varianten, deren Vorbilder ursprünglich, in spätklassischer und hellenistischer Zeit, während einer allmählichen Entwicklung, zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten und an verschiedenen Orten entstanden. Für die Kenntnis dieser einzelnen Prototypen, deren Fortbildung, Abwandlung und Verschmelzung, ist das vielgestaltige kleinformatige, der Forschung nicht immer leicht zugängliche Material von besonderer Bedeutung. Mit der soeben wiedergewonnenen, und erneut besprochenen Pringsheimschen Aphrodite, ist uns ein bescheidenes, aber dennoch in mancher Hinsicht interessantes Beispiel der betreffenden Denkmälergattung erhalten[93]. Die Authentizität des Stückes und sein antiker Ursprung lassen sich, im Lichte der vorgehenden Ausführungen, nicht bezweifeln. Unstimmigkeit und Befremdendes umgeben diese Aphrodite nur wenn man versucht, sie kunstgeschichtlich an ungeeigneter Stelle einzuordnen.

LITERATUR

Adriani, A. 1961, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* (serie A, volume II), Palermo.
AGDS 1975 = *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* I-IV, München-Wiesbaden 1968-1975.
Altmann, W. 1905, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin.
Amelung Vat. Kat. 1903-1908 = W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I-II, Berlin.
Anderson, E.B. l991, Metamorphoses in water, *Latomus* 50, 544-562.
Andreae, B. 1973, *Römische Kunst*, Freiburg Br.
L'Antiquité gréco-romaine vue par le siècle des lumières 1987 = Actes du colloque 'L'Antiquité gréco-romaine vue par le siècle des lumières', Tours Nov.-Dec. 1985, *Caesarodunum* 22bis (1987), 1-510.
Ashmole, B. 1929, *A catalogue of the ancient marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford.
Aurigemma, S. 1962, *La Villa Adriana*, Rom.
Avery, Ch. 1987, *Giambologna, the complete sculptures*, London.
Avery, Ch. and A. Radcliffe 1978-1979, *Giambologna sculptor to the Medici*, Ausst. Edinburgh-London-Wien.
Bailey, A. 1975-1988, *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum* I-III, London.
Bartman, E. 1988, Decor et duplicatio, pendants in Roman sculptural display, *AJA* 92, 211-225.
Bartman, E. l991, Sculptural collecting and display in the private realm, in *Roman art in the private sphere*, 71-88, Ann Arbor.
Bartman, E. 1992, Ancient sculptural copies in miniature, *Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 19, Leiden.
Becatti, G. 1971, Ninfe e divinità marine, ricerche mitologiche, iconografiche et statistiche, *Studi Miscellanei* 17.
Bérard, Cl. 1974, Anodoi, essai sur l'imagerie des passages chtoniens, *Biblioteca Helvetica Romana* XIII.
Bergé, W. ua. 1994, *Heimwee naar de Klassieken. De beelden van Mathieu Kessels en zijn tijdgenoten, 1815-1840*, Ausstellung Noordbrabants Museum, 's Hertogenbosch.
Bernhart, M. 1936, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen, eine numismatische Materialsammlung*, München.
Bieber, M. 1966[2], *The sculpture of the Hellenistic age* (2e Aufl.), New York.

[92] Im Fall der Statuette aus Kreta ist Beabsichtigung einer solchen Begrenzung der Ansichtsmöglichkeiten aus der unvollständigen Ausarbeitung der Rückseite abzuleiten.

[93] Zu dem vielseitigen kunst- und kulturgeschichtlichen Interesse dieses kleinformatigen Materials, zuletzt Vermeule 1988, 135-142 und besonders Bartman 1992.

Bieber, M. 1977, *Ancient copies, contributions to the history of Greek and Roman art*, New York.
Bloesch, H. 1943, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz, 50 Meisterwerke aus dem klassischen Altertum in öffentlichem und privatem Besitz*, Erlenbach-Zürich.
Bober, P.P and R.O. Rubinstein 1986-1987, *Renaissance artists and antique sculpture. A handbook of sources*, New York-London.
Bonfante, L. 1989, Nudity as a costume in classical art, *AJA* 93, 543-570.
Bonfante, L. and C. Carter 1987, An absent Herakles and a Hesperid: late antique marble group in New York, *AJA* 91, 247-257.
Borbein, A.H. 1968, Campanareliefs, typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen, *RM* Ergänzungsheft 14.
Boschung, D. 1987, Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms, *Acta Bernensia* 10.
Boschung, D. 1989, Nobilia Opera, zur Wirkungsgeschichte griechischer Meisterwerke im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, *AntK* 32, 8-15.
Bratschkova, M. 1938, Die Muschel in der antiken Kunst, *BIBulg* 12, 1-131.
Brendel, O. 1930, Weiblicher Torso in Oslo, *Die Antike* 6.
Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1978, *Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite, studies in the history of their development*, Diss. Harvard.
Budde, A. and R. Nicholls 1964, *A catalogue of the Greek and Roman sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Cambridge.
Bulle, H. 1912[2], *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum* (2e Aufl.), München-Leipzig.
Caputo, G. 1957, Sculture di Leptis Magna III: Venere specchiantesi in acqua, *PP* 12, 378-383.
Caputo, G. e G. Traversari 1976, Le sculture del teatro di Leptis Magna, *Monografie di Archeologia Libica* XIII.
Castiglione, L. 1952, A terracotta box from Roman Egypt, *ActaArchHung* 1, 471-493.
Catling, H.W. and G.B. Waywell 1977, A find of Roman marble statuettes at Knossos, *BSA* 72, 85-99.
Collezioni di Antichità a Venezia 1988 = *Collezioni di Antichità a Venezia nei secoli della republica; dai libri e documenti della Biblioteca Marciana* (a cura di Mario Zorzi), Ausst. Venedig 1988.
Collezioni della Galleria Borghese 1981 = *I Grandi Musei: Collezioni della Galleria Borghese* (a cura di S. Staccioli e P. Moreno), Mailand 1981.
Denti, M. 1985, Afrodite Pudica semipanneggiata, questioni di iconografia, *ArchCl* 37, 138-153.
Derksen, J.J.V.M. l990, De Venus van Kortrijk, *VerAmstMeded* 49, 26-30.
Döhl, H. 1968, *Der Eros des Lysipp, frühhellenistische Eroten*, Diss. Göttingen.
Dörig, J. 1973, Le Dionysos de l'Hélicon, œuvre de Lysippe, *Antike Plastik* XII, Berlin.
Dörig, J. 1975, *Art antique, collections privées de la Suisse romande*, Ausst. Genf-Coligny.
Dunbabin, K.M.D. 1978, *The mosaics of Roman North-Africa. Studies in iconography and patronage*, Oxford.
Dwyer, E. 1982, *Pompeian domestic sculpture. A study of five Pompeian houses and their contents*, Rom.
E.A. 1893-1947 = P. Arndt, W. Amelung, G. Lippold, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, München.
Equini-Schneider, E. 1979, *Catalogo delle sculture romane del museo nazionale 'G.A. Sanna' di Sassari e del comune di Porto Torres*, Sassari.
Fabriczy, G. von 1903, Adriano Fiorentino, *JbPreussKunstsamml*. 24, 71-98.
Falke, O. von 1914/1923, *Die Majolikasammlung Alfred Pringsheim*, Bnd. I (1914), Bnd. II (1923), Leiden.
Felletti Maj, B.M. 1951, Afrodite Pudica, *ArchCl* 3, 33-65.
Feuchtmayr, K. und A. Schädler 1973, *Georg Petel 1601-1634*, Berlin.
Filippo, E. di 1964-1965, Una replica della testa dell'Eros con l'arco di Lisippo nel museo Liviano, *AttiVenezia* CXXIII, 527-584.
Forti, L. 1951, Rilievi dedicati alle Ninfe Nitrodi, *RendAccNapoli* XXVI (1952), 161-191.
Furtwängler, A. 1899, *Neuere Fälschungen von Antiken*, Berlin-Leipzig.
Furtwängler, A. 1901, Aphrodite Diadumene und Anadyomene, *Helbings Monatsberichte über Kunstwissenschaft und Kunsthandel* I, 4, 177-181.
Gasparri, C. 1980, Monumenti per servire allo studio del museo Torlonia di scultura antica, *MemAccLinc* (classe d.Lett.) 24,2.
Gassowska, B. 1971, *Polycharmos Z Rodos, jako twórca pomnika Afrodyty anadyomene*, Warschau.
Gesche, I. 1981, Antikenergänzungen im 18. Jahrhundert, Johann Joachim Winckelmann und Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, in 'Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert' (ed. H. Beck, P. C. Bol, W. Prinz, H. v. Steuben), *Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst* 9, Berlin.
Goethert, F.W. 1972, *Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preußen im Schloß Klein-Glienicke bei Potsdam*, Mainz.
Gonzenbach, V.V. 1969, Der griechisch-römische Scheitelschmuck und die Funde in Thasos, *BCH* 93, 885-945.
Grimal, P. 1943, *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux premiers siècles de l'empire*, Paris.
Gropp-Dammann, H. 1952, Venus Anadyomene, *JbHambKuSamml*. 2, 153-157.
Gruppe, O 1906, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte I-II, *HdKlassAltWiss* V, 2, 2-1, München.
Habich, G. 1906, Anadyomene, *MüJb* 1, 92-98.
Hartmann, J.B. 1979, *Antike Motive bei Thorvaldsen. Studien zur Antikenrezeption des Klassizismus*, Tübingen.
Häuber, R. Chr. 1988, Zur Ikonographie der Venus vom Esquilin, *KölnJbVFrühGesch* 21, 35-64.
Helbig, W. 1868, *Die Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv erschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig.
Helbig[4] 1963-1972 = W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (4e völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, herausgeg. von Hermine Speyer) I-IV, Tübingen.
Herrmann, P. 1906-1950 = P. Herrmann und F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, München.

Herrmann, P. 1915, *Königliche Skulpturensammlung Dresden. Verzeichnis der antiken Originalbildwerke*, Dresden.
Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N. 1958, Eine römische Bronze in Oxford, *MarbWPr* 1958, 1-8.
Himmelmann, N. 1990, Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst, *JdI*. 26 Ergh., Berlin-New York
Honour, H. 1968, *Neo Classicism*, Harmondsworth.
Huskinson, J. 1975, Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum, C*orpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain II*, 1.
Illustrated Bartsch, 1978 = *The illustrated Bartsch* Bnd. 26-27: Marcantonio Raimondi [herausgeg. d. Konrad Oberhuber), New York.
Ippel, A. 1921, *Denkmäler des Pelizaeus Museums zu Hildesheim*.
Ippel, A. 1922, *Der Bronzefund von Galjub*, Berlin.
Jahemski, W. 1979, *The gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius*, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Jebb, R.C., W.G. Headlam, and A.C. Pearson 1917, *The fragments of Sophocles I-III*, Cambridge.
Kapossy, B. 1969, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit*, Zürich.
Kaufmann, C.M. 1915, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, Leipzig-Kairo.
Kell, Kl. 1988, Formuntersuchungen zu spät- und nachhellenistischen Gruppen, *SaarStArchAGesch*. 2
Keutner, H. l990, Nesso rapisce Deianeira, in *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Scultura* (a cura di F. Carinci, H. Keutner, L. Musso, M.G. Picozzi) 285-289, Nr. lll-IV.
Keutner, H. 1992, Carlo di Cesare del Palagio. Eine Bronzevenus aus dem Garten der Burg Trausnitz, *MüJb*. 43, 93-109.
Kraus, Th. 1967, Das römische Weltreich, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* Bnd. 2, Berlin.
Kreeb, M. 1988, *Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Ausstattung Delischer Privathäuser*, Chicago.
Lachenal, L. de l981[a], Statua acefala di ninfa semipanneggiata con conchiglia su base antica modenata, in *Museo Nazionale Romano: le sculture* (a cura di A. Giuliano) I,2, 186-189, Nr. 3.
Lachenal, L. de 1981[b], Statua femminile tipo Afrodite anadyomene, su base ovale ad essa pertinente, *ibid.* I,2, 309-312, Nr. 13.
Ladendorf, H. 1953, Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie, Vorarbeiten zu einer Darstellung ihrer Bedeutung in der mittelalterlichen und neueren Zeit, *AbhLeipzig* 46, Heft 2.
Lassus, J. 1963, Venus marine, in *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris.
Levi, D. 1947, *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton.
LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich-München 1981ff.
Lippold, G. 1923, *Kopien und Umbildung griechischer Statuen*, München.
Lippold Vat. Kat 1956 = G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, 2, Berlin.
Loeb, E.H. 1979, *Die Geburt der Götter in der griechischen Kunst der klassischen Zeit*, Diss. Jerusalem.
Lorenz, Th. l988, Römischer Rundaltar mit einem Fries von Jahreszeitenputten, *Antike Plastik* l9, Berlin, 49-57.
Luca, G. de 1964, Piccolo torso femminile a Genova, *ArchCl* 16, 213-225.
Lullies, R. 1954, *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, München.
Maderna-Lauter, C. 1990, Polyklet in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit. Die Rezeption polykletischer Formen im hellenistischen Osten, in *Polyklet der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, Ausst. Liebighaus, Frankfurt a. Main, Mainz.
Mandel, U. 1988, Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die Oinophorengruppe und Verwandtes, *PergForsch* 5, Berlin-New York.
Manderscheid, H. l981, Die Skulpturenausstellung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen, *Monumenta Artis Romanae* XV, Berlin.
Mariani, L. 1914, L'Aphrodite di Cirene, *Bd'A* 1914, 177-185.
Matz, F. 1958, Ein römisches Meisterwerk, der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York, *10 Ergh. JdI*, Berlin.
Metzger, H. 1951, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle*, Paris.
Moormann, E.M. 1988, *La pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica*, Scrinium, Monographs on History, Archaeology and Art History II, Assen.
Moreno, O. 1994, Scultura Ellenistica I-II, Rom.
Mustilli, D. 1939, *Il Museo Mussolini*, Rom.
Muthmann, F. 1951, *Statuenstützen und dekoratives Beiwerk an griechischen und römischen Bildwerken. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der römischen Kopistentätigkeit*, Heidelberg.
Neudecker, R. 1988, Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien, *Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur* 9, Mainz.
Neumer-Pfau, W. 1982, Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftlichen Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen, *Habelts Dissertationsdrucke*, Reihe Kl. Arch. 18, Bonn.
Neusser, M. 1929, Die Antikenergänzungen der florentiner Manieristen, *WienerJbKunstgesch* II, 27-42.
Pagenstecher, R. 1914, Apulien, *Berühmte Kunststätten* Bnd. 65, Leipzig.
Paribeni, E. 1959, Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene. Statue e rilievi di carattere religioso, *Monografie di Archeologia Libica* V, Rom.
Paul, E. 1982, *Gefälschte Antike, von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, Wien-München.
Peters, W.J.T. 1963, *Landscape in romano-campanian mural painting*, Assen.
Petit, J. 1984, *Bronzes antiques de la collection Dutuit, Grecs, Hellénistiques, Romains et de l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris.
Picon, C.A. 1983, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, 18th-century restorations of ancient marble sculpture from English private collections*, Ausst. 'The Clarendon Gallery', London.
Picozzi, M.G. l990, Statua di Afrodite anadyomene, in *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma, Sculture* (a cura di F. Carinci, H. Keutner, L. Musso, M.G. Picozzi), Rom, 205-207 Nr. 111.
Poeschke, J. 1990/1992, *Die Skulptur der Renaissance in Italien*, I-II, München.

Pollitt, J.J. 1986, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge.
Prag um 1600, 1988 = *Prag um 1600, Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II*, Ausst. Essen, Villa Hügel 1988.
Praz, M. 1969, *On Neoclassicism* (Übersetzung u. Neubearbeitung der ital. Urausgabe von 1940), London.
Praz, M. e G. Pavanello, 1976, *L'Opera completa del Canova, presentazione di Mario Praz; apparati critici e filologici di Giuseppe Pavanello*, Mailand.
Preller, L. 1894[4], *Griechische Mythologie*, bearb. von C. Robert (4e Aufl.) I-II, Berlin.
Pringsheim Collection 1939 = *The Pringsheim Collection, catalogue of the renowned collection of superb Italian majolica, the property of Dr. A. Pringsheim of Munich* I-II, Auktion Sotheby's, 7-8 Juni 1939, London 1939.
Raeder, J. 1983, Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli, *Europäische Hochschulschriften*, Reihe 3, Archäologie 4, Frankfurt a. Main-Bern.
Rasmussen, J. 1983, Die Majolikasammlung Alfred Pringsheim in den Schriften Thomas Manns, *JbKuGewHamb* 2, 111-124.
Reeder, E.D. 1988, *Hellenistic art in the Walters Art Gallery* (with essays by B.S. Ridgway, A.F. Stewart, R.S. Bagnall, B. Barr-Sharrar), Baltimore.
Reinach RPGR 1922 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la peinture Grecque et Romaine,* Paris.
Reinach RSGR 1897-1930 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire Grecque et Romaine* I-VI, Paris.
Riecke, A. 1978, Die Kopien der Leda des Timotheus, *Antike Plastik* 17, Berlin.
Ridder, A. de l906, *Collection de Clercq IV: les marbres, les vases peints et les ivoires*, Paris.
Riemann, H. 1940, Kerameikos: *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen II. Die Skulpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in römische Zeit*, Berlin.
Robertson, M. 1975, *A history of Greek art* I-II, Cambridge.
Rohden, H. von – H. Winnefeld 1911, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit. Die Antiken Terrakotten* IV, 1, Berlin-Stuttgart.
Rolley, Cl. 1970, Nattes, rubans et pendeloques, *BCH* 94, 551-565.
Roscher M.L. 1884-1937 = W.H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I-VI, Leipzig.
Schwarzenberg, E. 1966, *Die Grazien*, Bonn.
Sieveking, J. 1906, Antike Kunstschätze in Münchener Privatbesitz, *MüJb* 1, 146-153.
Simon, E. 1959, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin.
Simon, E. 1969, *Die Götter der Griechen*, München.
Simon, E. 1977, Götter und Heroenstatuen des frühen Hellenismus, *Gymnasium* 85, 348-368.
Smith, A.H. 1904, *The later Greek and Graeco-Roman reliefs, decorative and architectural sculpture in the British Museum* (Catal. of sculpture in the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities III), London.
Smith, R.M. and E.A. Porcher 1864, *History of the recent discoveries at Cyrene made during an expedition to the Cyrenaica in 1860-1861*, London.
Tomei, A. 1992, Statue di terracotta del Palatino, *RM* 99, 171-228.
Toynbee, J.M.C. 1934, *The Hadrianic school. A chapter in the history of Greek art*, Cambridge.
Traversari, G. 1968, *Aspetti formali della scultura-neoclassica a Roma dal I al III secolo d. C.*, Rom.
Traversari, G. 1986, *La statuaria ellenistica del museo archeologico di Venezia*, Rom.
Türr, K. 1984, *Fälschungen antiker Plastik seit 1800*, Berlin.
Vesori, O. 1979, Statua acefala dell'Afrodite da Cirene, in *Museo Nazionale Romano: le sculture* (a cura di A. Giuliano) I,1, S. 170-176, Nr. 115.
Vermeule, C.C. 1976, Roman pictorial mirrors, in *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* XIII, 1-2 (catal. to the exhibition 'Recent Acquisitions'), 25-39.
Vermeule, C.C. 1977, Greek sculpture and Roman taste. The purpose and setting of Graeco-Roman art in Italy and the Greek imperial East, *Jerome Lectures* 12th ser., Ann Arbor.
Vermeule, C.C. 1988, small statues in the Greek world, *RepCypr* 2 (1988), 135-142.
Vermeule, C.C. and M. Comstock 1988, *Sculpture in stone and bronze, additions to the collections of Greek, Etruscan and Roman art, l971-1988, in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston.*
Visconti, C.L. 1885, Del larario e del mitreo scoperti nell'Esquilino presso la chiesa di S. Martino ai Monti, *BullCom* 13, 27-38, Tav. III-V.
Vitozzi, S. Enzoli 1993, Le sculture del 'larario' di S. Martino ai Monti. Un contesto recuperato, *BullCom* 95, 221-243.
Waldhauer, O. l928-1936, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage* I-III, Berlin-Leipzig.
Watzinger, C. 1927, *Die Griechisch-Ägyptische Sammlung Ernst v. Sieglin II,1: Malerei und Plastik*, Leipzig.
Weber, W. 1914, *Die aegyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin.
Weihrauch, H.R. 1967, *Die europäischen Bronzestatuetten des 15.- 18. Jahrhunderts.*
Wuilleumier, P. 1946, La nymphe de St. Colombe (Rhône), *Gallia* 4, 195-198 .
Zanker, P. 1974, *Klassizistische Statuen. Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.
Zanker, P. e H. Dohl 1979, *La scultura, Pompeii 79* (ed. F. Zevi) 177-210, Neapel.
Zahlhaas, G. 1975a, *Römische Reliefspiegel, Kataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München* 17, Kallmünz.
Zahlhaas, G. 1975b, Über die Auswirkungen der weiblichen Schönheit, *Gymnasium* 82, 527-544.

September 1994

NACHTEGAALLAAN 28
NL-3722 AB BILTHOVEN

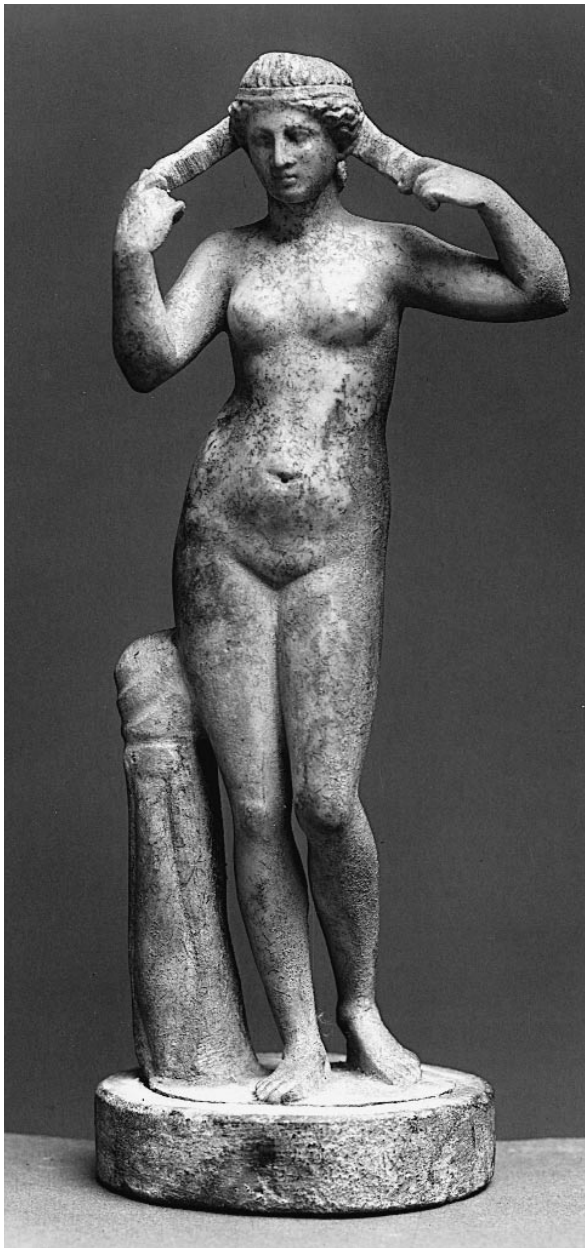


Abb. 1. 'Diadumene'. Marmorstatuette (ehem. Nelidow), Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Abb. 2a.

Abb. 2b.

Abb. 2a-b. 'Anadyomene'. Marmorstatuette (ehem. Pringsheim, München), Privatbesitz (Aufnahme nach *Entfernung des Überzugs, aber* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 3a-b.. 'Anadyomene'. Elfenbeinstatuette (ehem. Pringsheim, München), Kunstgewerbemuseum, Köln.

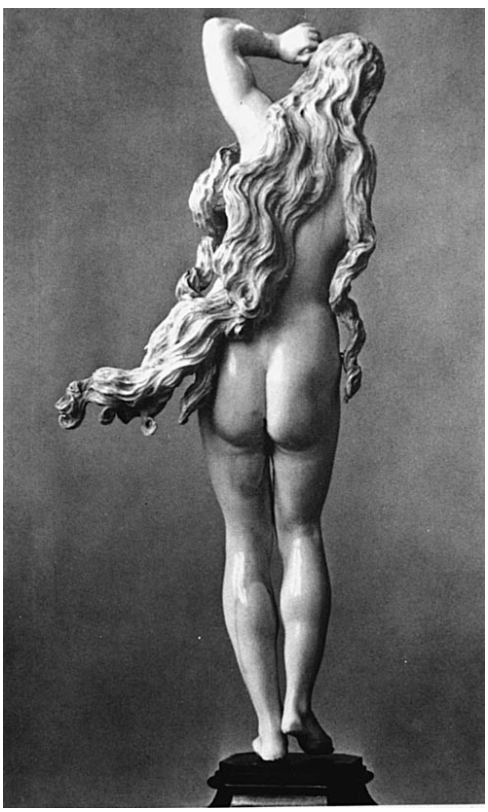


Abb. 3b.

Abb. 4. Marmorstatuette ehem. München (alte Aufnahme, mit Überzug der die Bruchstellen an Armen und Beinen bedeckt).

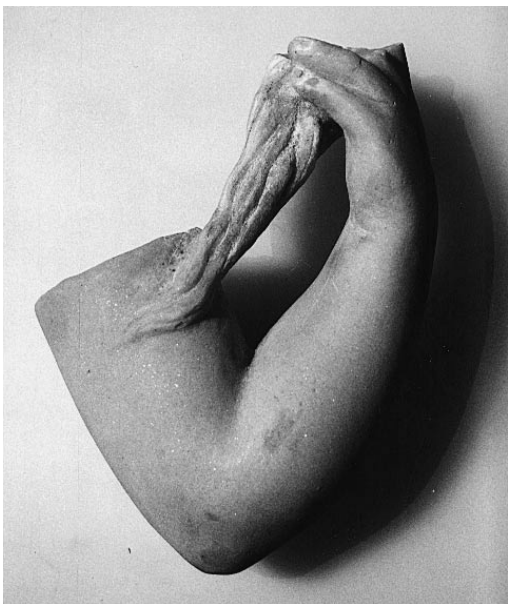
*Abb. 5. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. 3/4 Vorderansicht (*nach *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 6. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Frontale Teilansicht des Gesichtes (Aufnahme nach *Entfernung des Überzugs,* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 7. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Teilansicht von Kopf und Brust (Aufnahme nach Abschluß der Restaurierung. An der linken Brust Netzwerk von Verfärbungen, durch entfernte Wurzelfasern an der Oberfläche des Marmors zurückgelassen; vgl. auch Abb. 21bis)

Abb. 8. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Seitliche Teilansicht des Kopfes, mit Haltung der rechten Hand (Aufnahme nach *Entfernung des Überzugs,* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 9. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Teilansicht der Rückseite des Haares, mit inkorrekter Restaurierung der linken Hand (Aufnahme nach *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*



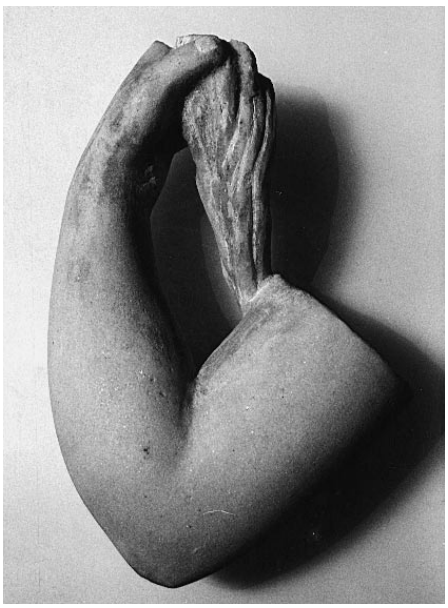


Abb. 9bis. Gipsmodell mit richtiger Restaurierung des Daumens der linken Hand (Vorder- und Rückseite).

Abb. 10. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. frontale Teilansicht des Eros, mit noch deutlich erkennbarer Stirnlocke (alte Aufnahme der Vorkriegszeit).

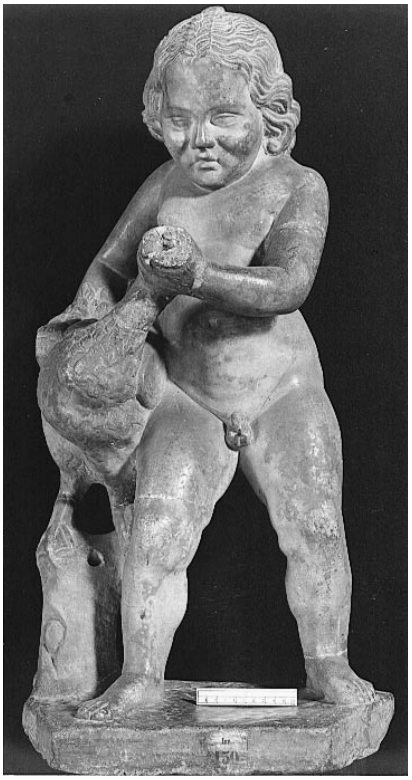


Abb. 11. Knäblein mit Ganz. Marmorstatuette, Museo Archeologico, Venedig.

Abb. 12a Schrägansicht

Abb. 12b. Seitenansicht.

Abb. 12a-b Marmorstatuette ehem. München. (Aufnahmen nach *Entfernung des Überzugs,* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 13. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Teilansicht der unteren Partie von hinten. Flügelansatz des Eros am linken Bein der Aphrodite erkennbar (Aufnahme nach *Entfernung des die Brüche bedeckenden Überzugs, aber* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 14. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Ansicht von hinten. Der Flügelansatz des Eros mit Gußmarmor bedeckt (Aufnahme nach Abschluß der Restaurierung).

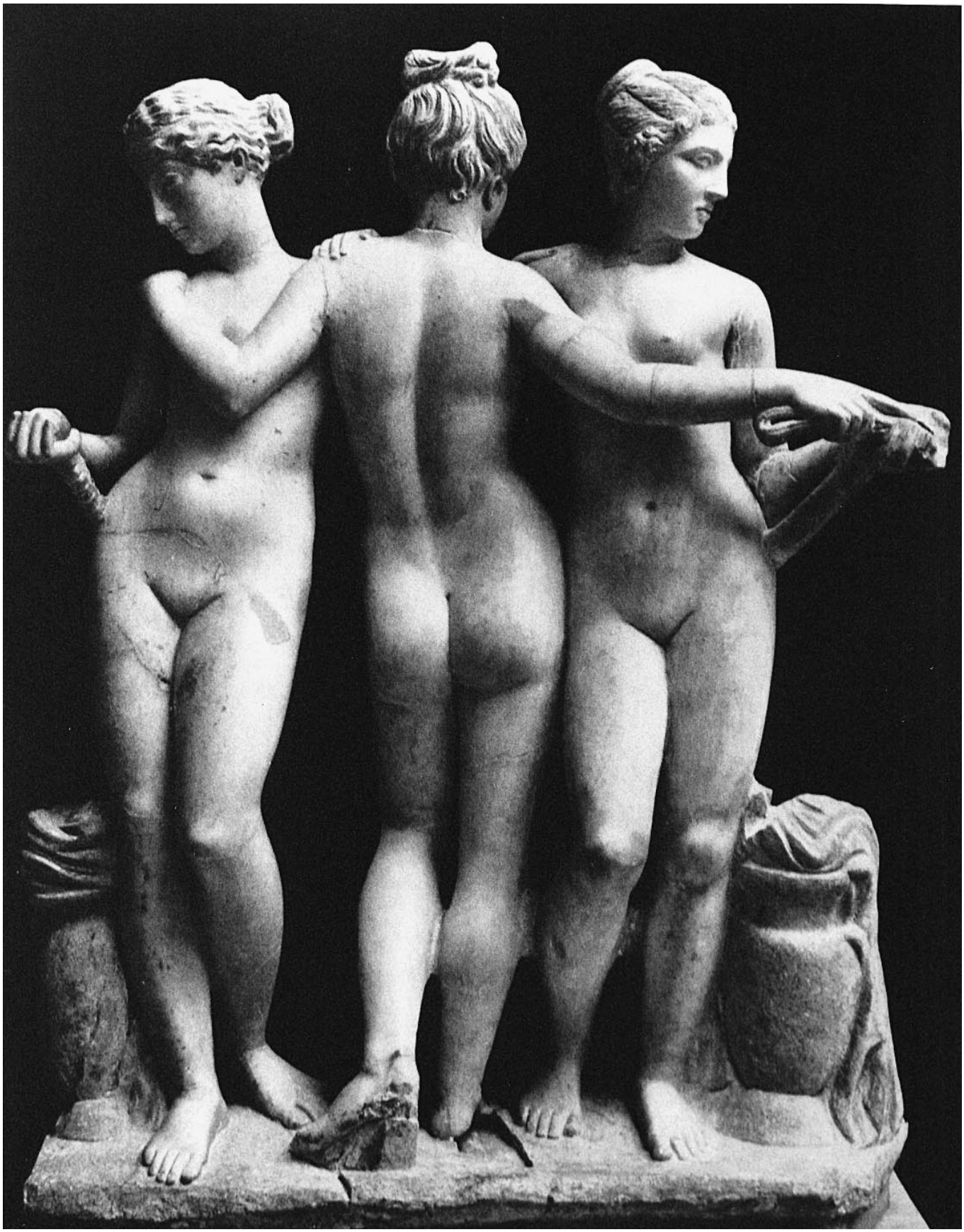


Abb. 15. Marmorgruppe der drei Grazien, Kyrene.

Abb. 16a. Rückenansicht.

Abb. 16b. Vorderansicht.

Abb. 16a-b. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. (Aufnahmen nach *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

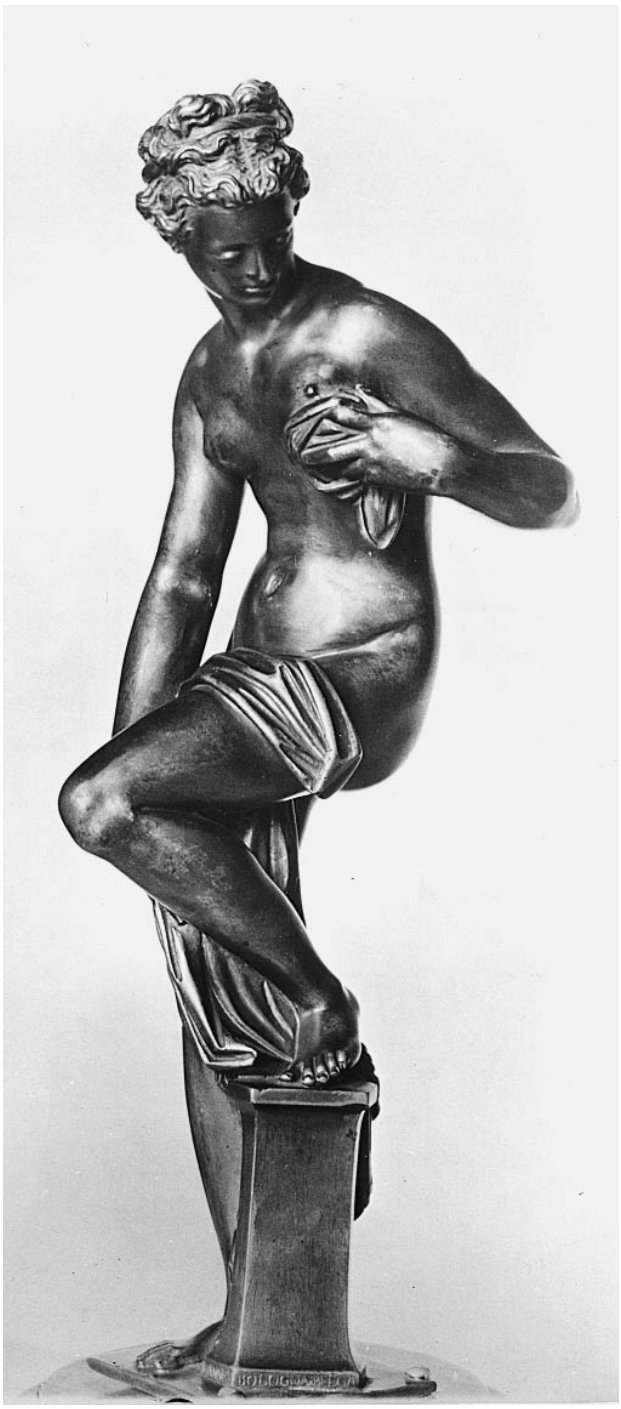


Abb. 17. 'Badende'. Bronzestatuette des Giovanni Bologna, Kunsthist. Museum, Wien.

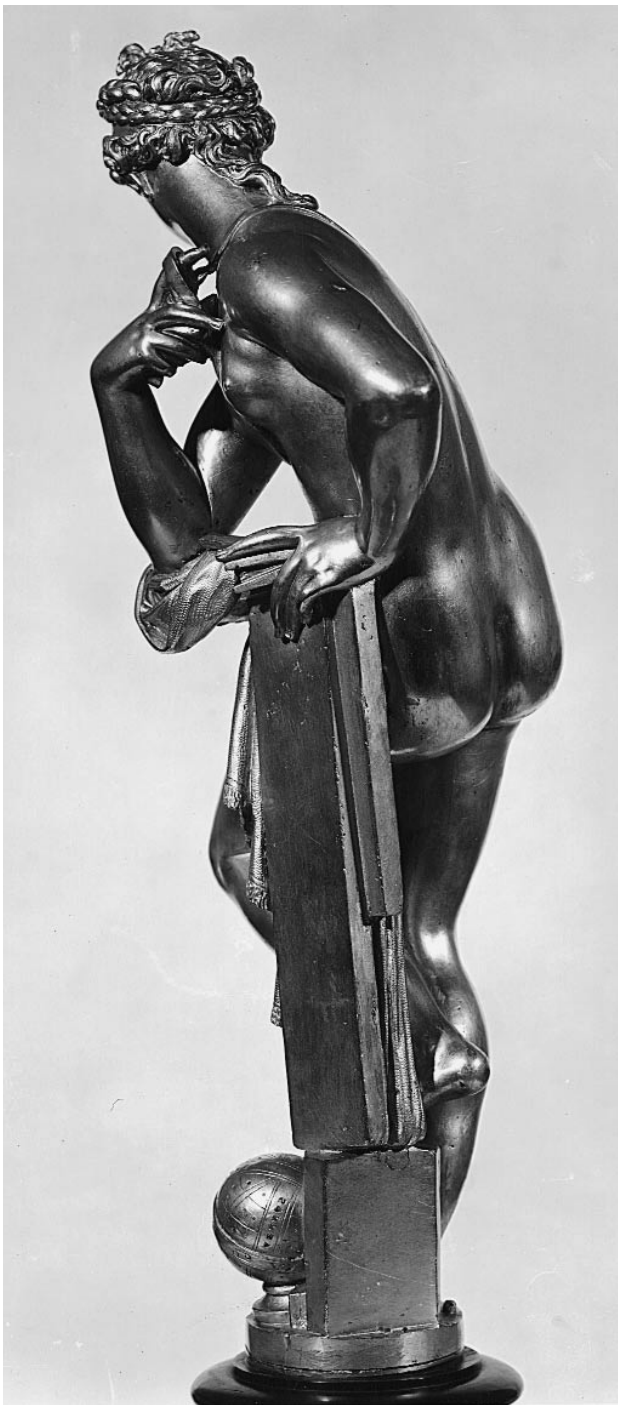


Abb. 18. 'Urania'. Bronzestatuette des Giovanni Bologna, Kunsthist. Museum, Wien.

Abb. 19. Venus Pudica. Marmorstatue aus der Samml. Grimani, Museo Archeologico, Venedig.

Abb. 19bis. Ausschnitt.

Abb. 20. Halbbekleidete Venus Pudica aus der Samml. Grimani, Museo Archeologico, Venedig.

Abb. 20bis. Ausschnitt.

Abb. 21. Stiertötende Victoria. Marmorstatuette aus der Grabung G. Hamiltons in der sog. 'Villa des Antoninus Pius' bei Lanuvium, British Museum, London (Samml. Townley). An Brust und Bauch ein Netzwerk von hellen Verfärbungen, durch entfernte Wurzelfasern an der Oberfläche des Marmors zurückgelassen, vgl, Abb. 7 und 21bis).

Abb. 21bis. Marmorstatuette ehem. München. Teilansicht Vorderseite. Um die linke Brust ein Netzwerk dunkler Verfärbungen, durch Entfernung alter Wurzelfasern zurückgelassen (Aufnahme nach *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 22. 'Halbbekleidete Anadyomene'. Marmorstatuette ehem. Samml. Ruesch, Fondation M. Bodmer, Cologny-Genève.

Abb. 23. Nackte stehende Anadyomene mit Triton, Marmorstatuette aus Ägypten, Albertinum, Dresden.

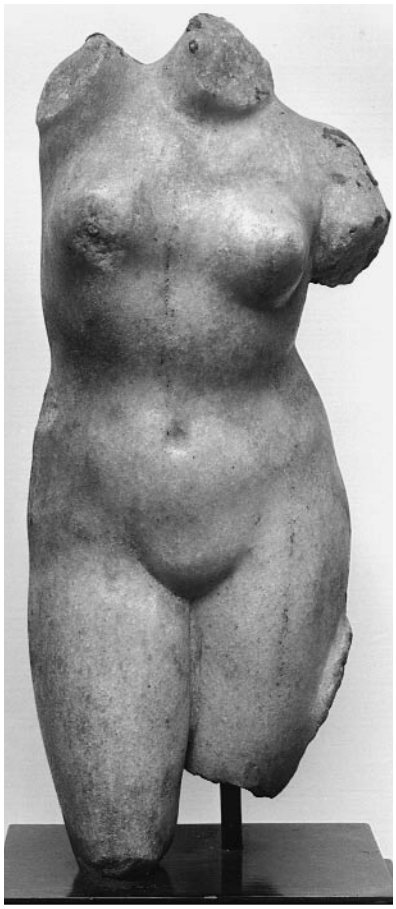


Abb. 24. Torso einer nackten Anadyomene. Fragment einer Marmorstatuette aus Ägypten, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Abb. 25. Torso einer nackten Anadyomene. Fragment einer Marmorstatuette aus Ägypten, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Abb. 26. Obere Hälfte einer halbbekleideten Anadyomene. Fragment einer Marmorstatuette aus Ägypten, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Kopenhagen.

Abb. 27. Nackte Anadyomene. Fragmentarische Marmorstatuette aus Ägypten, Puschkin Museum, Moskau.

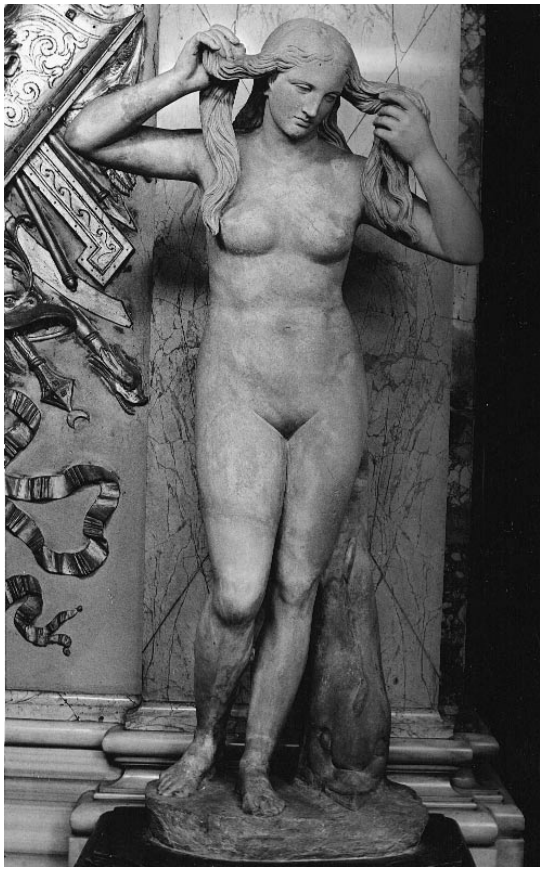


Abb. 28. 'Venus Colonna'. Marmorstatue im Palazzo Colonna, Rom.

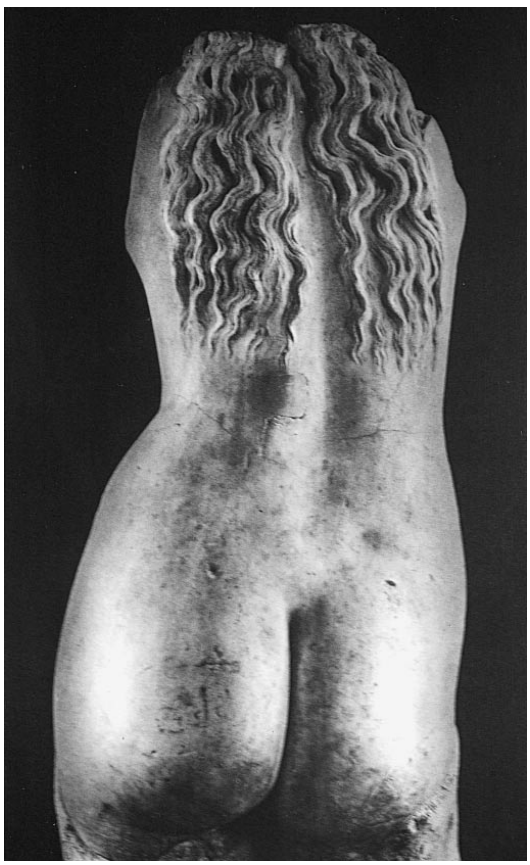


Abb. 29. Torso 'Luynes'. Rückseite, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

Abb. 30a. *Abb. 30b.*

Abb. 30a-b. Nackte Anadyomene. Bronzestatuette der Samml. Dutuit (ehem. Castellani), Paris (Eros wsch. nicht ursprünglich zugehörig).

Abb. 31a.

Abb. 31b.

Abb. 31a-b. Aphrodite anadyomene. Marmorstatue des Museum Torlonia, Rom.

Abb. 32. Torso einer 'Anadyomene'. Rückseite einer fragmentarischen Marmorstatuette aus Porto Torres, Museum Sassari.

Abb. 34. Vorderansicht derselben Statuette

Abb. 33. Rückseite einer halbbekleideten 'Anadyomene'. Teilansicht einer Marmorstatuette aus Kreta in Berlin.

Abb. 35a.

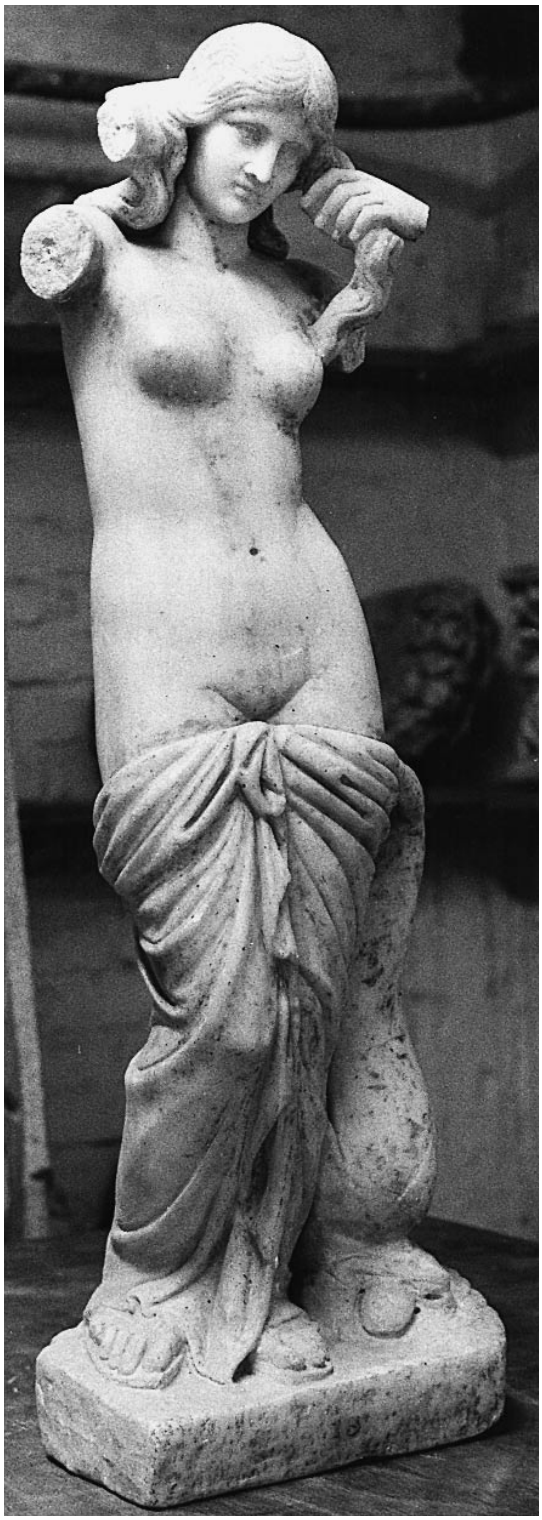


Abb. 35b.

Abb. 35a-b – 39a-b. Einzelvergleiche zwischen der Marmorstatuette ehem. München und der Statuette aus Kreta in Berlin (35a, 37a, 39a: Aufnahmen nach *Abschluß der Restaurierung; 36a und 38a: Aufnahmen* nach *Entfernung des Überzugs, aber* vor *Abschluß der Restaurierung).*

Abb. 36a.

Abb. 36b.

Abb. 37a.

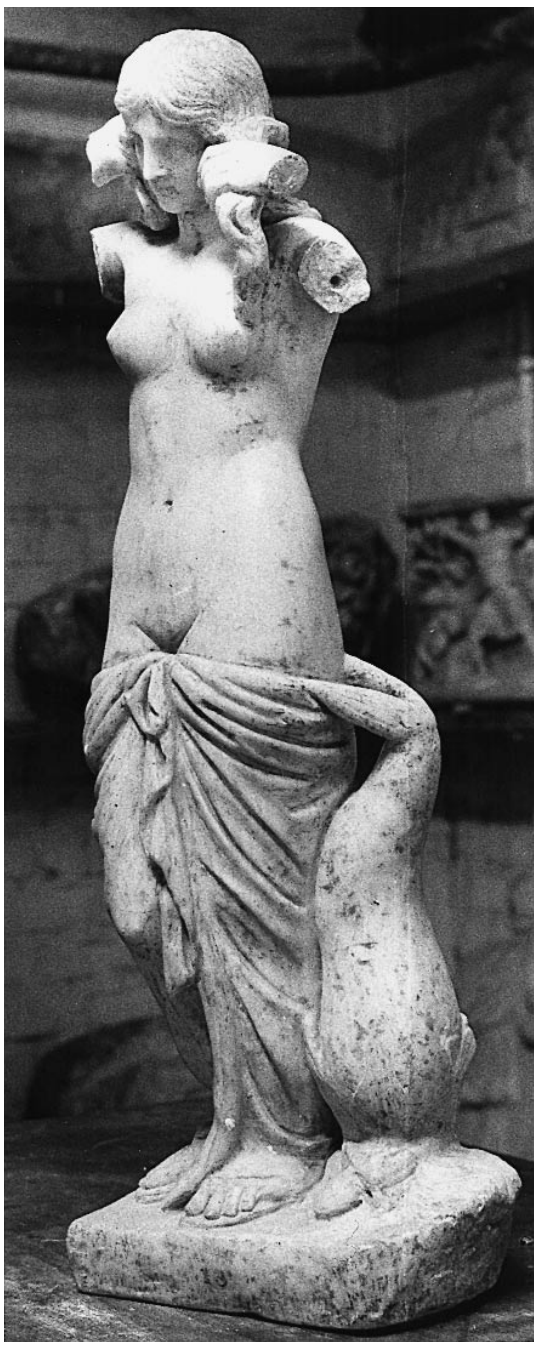


Abb. 37b.

Abb. 38a.

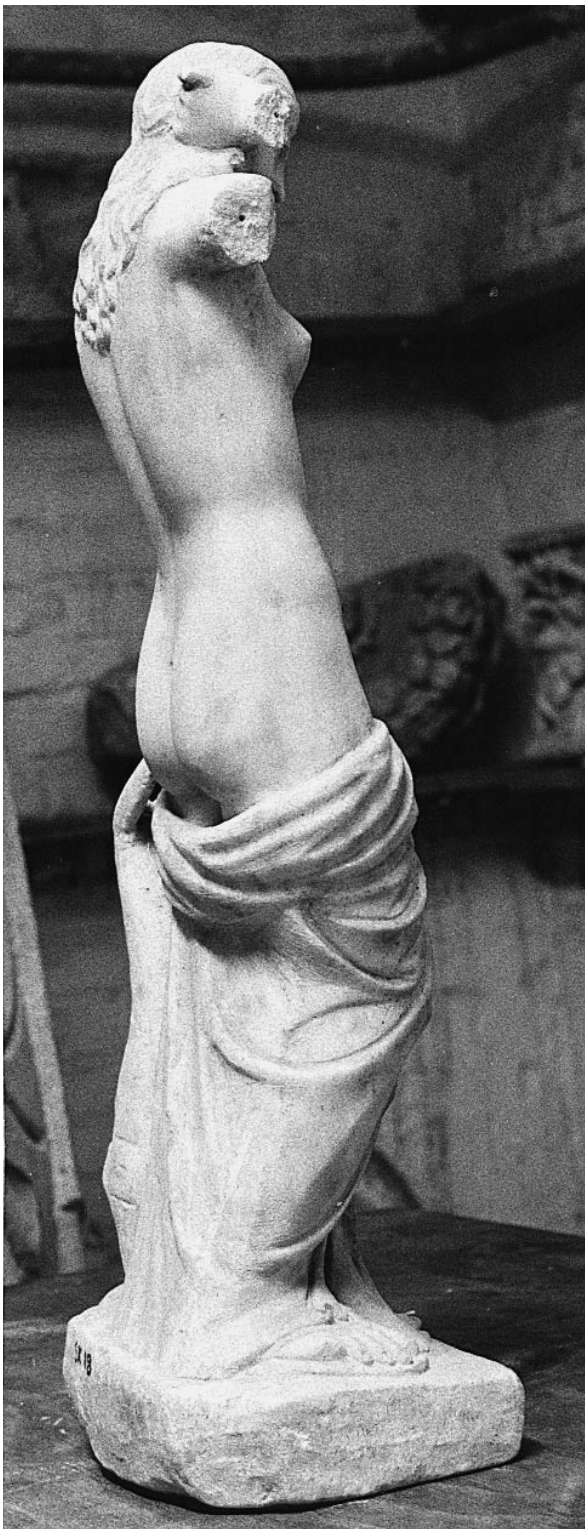


Abb. 38b.

Abb. 39a.

Abb. 39b.

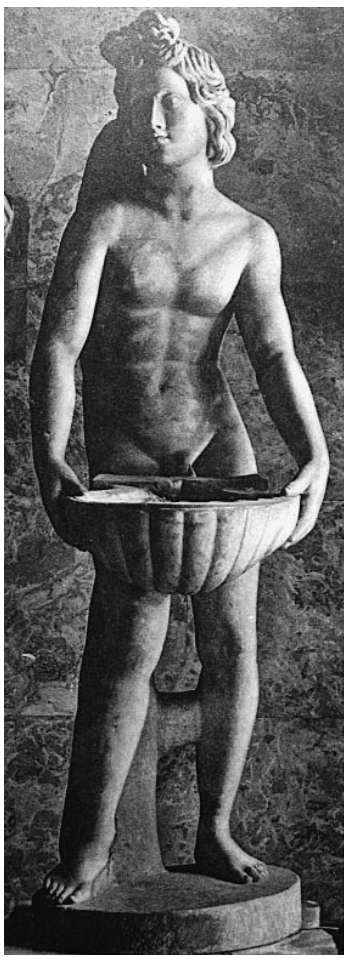


Abb. 40. Eros mit Muschelschale. Marmorstatue der Ermitage.

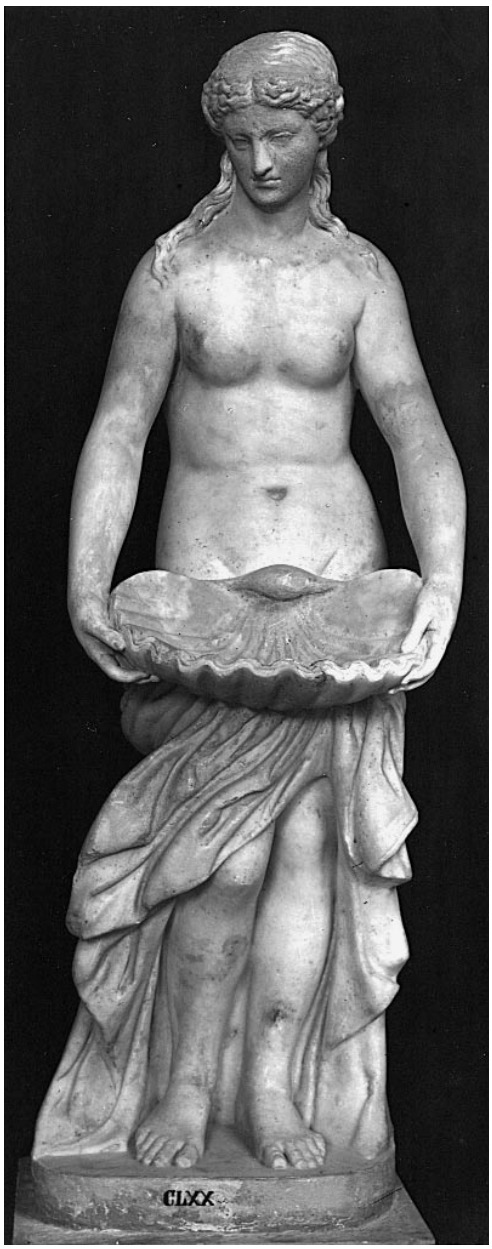


Abb. 41. 'Nymphe' mit Muschelschale. Marmorstatue der Villa Borghese, Rom (stark ergänzt).

Abb. 42a. Grabara des Coelius Superstes. Samml. Townley, British Museum.

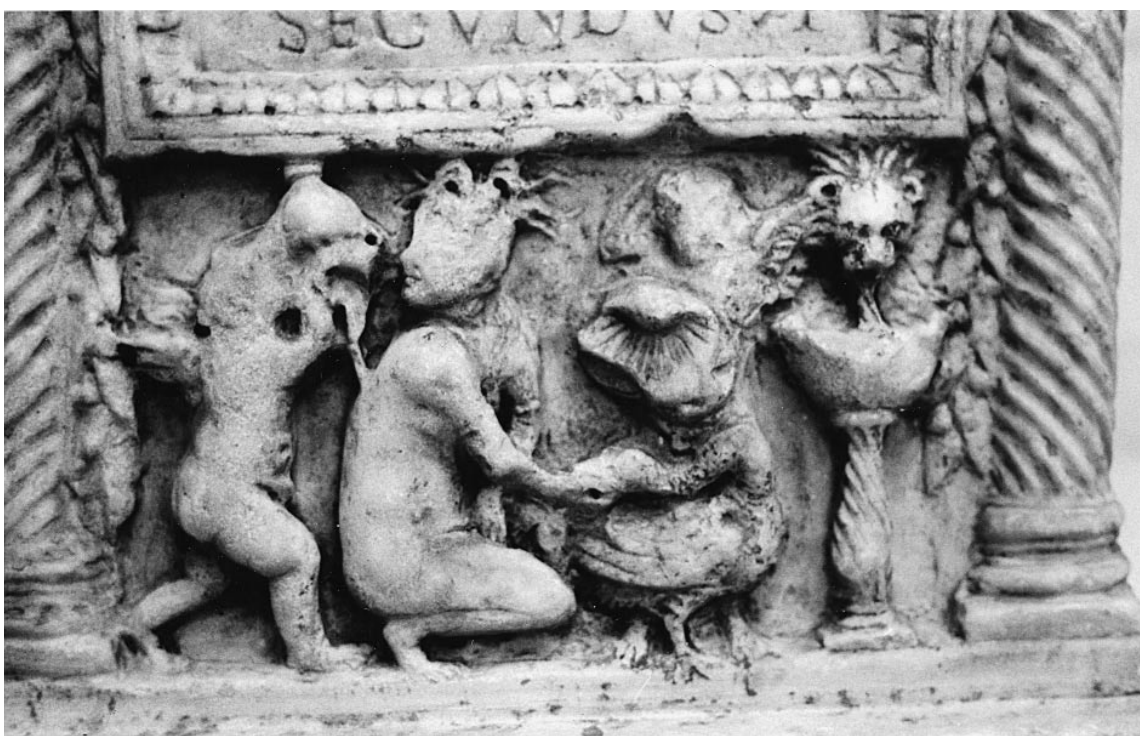


Abb. 42b. Grabara des Coelius Superstes. Samml. Townley, British Museum (Ausschnitt).

Abb. 43. Grabara des Albius Graptus, Museo Nuovo, Rom.

Abb. 44. Halbbekleidete Aphrodite 'anadyomene' und Eros. Tonstatuette hellenistischer Zeit, Ermitage, St. Petersburg.

Abb. 45. Aphrodite 'anadyomene' und Eros mit Muschelschale auf Delphin. Marmorstatue einer Brunnenanlage im Theater von Leptis Magna, Museum Tripoli.

Abb. 46. Halbbekleidete Venus 'pudica' und Eros mit Muschelschale auf Delphin mit Tinterfisch. Marmorstatuette, ehem. Samml. de Clercq, Paris.

Abb. 47. Aphrodite im Typus der 'Anadyomene', als Kultbild in einem Tempel. Darstellung eines Ringsteines, Karneol, Staatl. Kunstsamml., Berlin.

Abb. 48. Attische Tonlampe mit Darstellung der Aphrodite (Pandemos) und der drei Grazien, British Museum, London.

Abb. 49. Badende Mädchen bei Statuette der Aphrodite 'anadyomene' auf hohem Sockel. Rückseitenbild eines Bronzespiegels, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Abb. 50. Aphrodite 'anadyomene' und Eros mit Spiegel. Darstellung eines Ringsteines, Karneol, Staatl. Münzsamml., München.

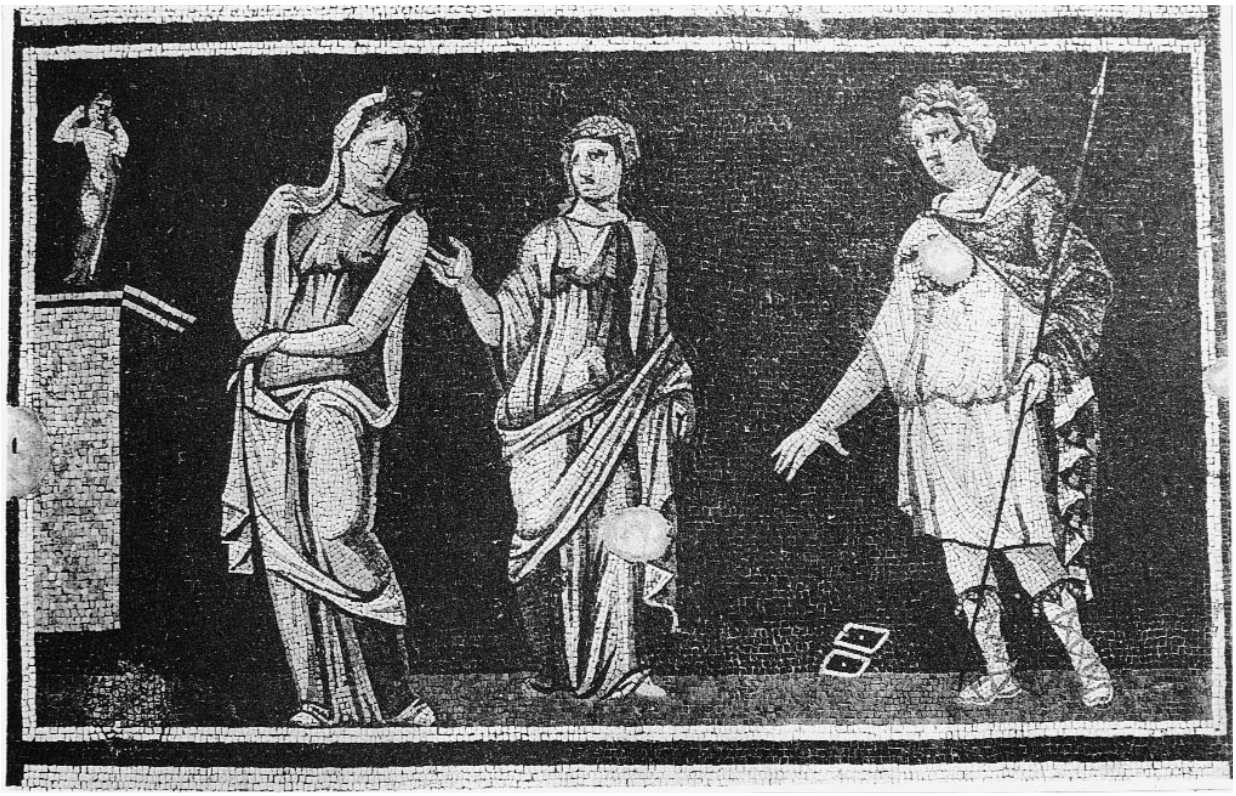


Abb. 51. Phaidra, Hippolyt und Amme vor einer Statuette der halbbekleideten Aphrodite 'anadyomene'. Mosaikbild, 'House of the red pavement', Zimmer 1, Antiochien.

Early 'Tyrrhenian': Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter

Jeroen Kluiver

1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'Tyrrhenian' should be reserved for the Attic vases decorated – and probably also potted – by one of the eight 'Tyrrhenian' artisans whose work we can now recognize; it is irrelevant whether these vases are neck-amphorae or other forms, nor is the decorative scheme determinative. 'Tyrrhenian', in short, is the name of a style held in common by the Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter, Kyllenios Painter, Castellani Painter, Pointed-Nose Painter, Guglielmi Painter and Fallow Deer Painter[1].

It is useful to define the term rigorously because confusion results if more than one meaning is attached to it, as has sometimes been done in the past, referring not only to a style but also to a decorative scheme as such as well as to a type of neck-amphora. If a vase is considered 'Tyrrhenian' because its decorative scheme is the same as that of many 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphorae (floral motif or animals on the neck, figures in the main frieze, animals and base-rays below), then the name would also apply to the O.L.L. Group and, for instance, even some neck-amphorae by Lydos and the KX Painter which share the scheme while being painted in different styles. Another example is the Archippe Painter, who has more than once been considered a member of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group proper[2]. Instead, that painter's vases, consisting mostly of hydriae, as well as the O.L.L. Group, need each to be considered separately[3].

Although this article concentrates on the work of three early 'Tyrrhenian' painters, the features

This is my third article in a series on the 'Tyrrhenian' Group. The first, titled 'The Tyrrhenian Group: its Origin and the Neck-Amphorae in The Netherlands and Belgium', comments on Carpenter 1984 and focuses on the Group's Athenian character, including petrographic research done by H. Kars (*BABesch* 67 (1992), 73-109). In the second, 'The Potter-Painters of Tyrrhenian Neck-Amphorae; a Close Look at the Shape', I examine the shape, arguing that potter and painter were most likely one and the same man (*BABesch* 68 (1993), 179-194). I wish to express my gratitude, above all, to Professor H.A.G. Brijder for his patient assistance and many useful observations. Professor C.J. Ruijgh has kindly helped me to read the inscriptions and has provided the comment on them. Dr Vincent Tosto improved my English – I profited greatly from his competent advice. Dr Alain Pasquier generously allowed me to study the 'Tyrrhenian' pottery in the Louvre and to publish my photographs. Similarly, I thank Dr Anna Maria Esposito and Dr Francesco Nicosia, Florence, and Dr Patrizia Aureli, Dr Albertina Corsini and Dr Anna Maria Moretti, Rome, for letting me study the 'Tyrrhenians' in their care and for allowing to publish my photographs. Antonie Jonges helped me with my drawings. Michiel Bootsman advised me on how to make better photographs and kindly printed my negatives. Pieter Heesen provided photocopies of publications and illustrations from all over the world and discovered some obscure amphorae. Professor Gerard J.M. Bartelink, Dr Rolf Blatter, Dr Herbert Cahn, Roald Docter, Aafke Langedijk and Dr Yasemin Tuna-Nörling also supplied me with photographs or information. This research would not have been possible without the cooperation of the staffs, to whom my thanks, of some 40 European museums, universities and private collections. Further, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Allard Pierson Foundation, Amsterdam; the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the Hague; the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome; and the Dutch Institute at Rome.

[1] The definition is based on the work of H. Thiersch, who recognized the Group's Attic nature, and D. von Bothmer 1944, who identified the eight hands. For the find-places see Kluiver 1992. Add 'Tyrrhenian' found in Ionia: column krater, Clazomenae (Prometheus Painter); volute krater, Phocaea (Fallow Deer Painter); frr. of pyxis, Phocaea; all of which will be published by Y. Tuna-Nörling in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Athenian Potters and Painters*, 1-3.12.1994 (forthcoming). In addition, from the acropolis of Velia in Magna Graecia: L. Cicala, C.A. Fiammenghi, R. Maffettone and L. Vecchio, 'Velia: Saggi di scavo sull'Acropoli', in *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti del Trentaduesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto 1992), 750 pl. LXI, most probably by the Castellani Painter. Also, from Thasos: J.-J. Maffre, 'Les importations de céramique attique à Thasos pendant la première moitié du VIe siècle av. J.-C.', in *Μνημη Δ. Λαζαριδη*, 1990, 416, IV-34, fig. 35. See also J.Y. Perreault, in 'Céramique et échanges: les importations Attiques au proche-orient du VIe au milieu du Ve siècle avant J.-C. Les données archéologiques', *BCH* CX, 1986, I, 149, 151, 172, where amphorae from Tell Soukas and Bassit are identified as 'Tyrrhenian'.

[2] Carpenter 1983, 1984; Krauskopf 1980. For the Archippe Painter see D. von Bothmer, Six Hydriai, *AK* 12, 26-29; A. Bernhard-Walcher, Zwei tyrrhenische Hydrien in Wien, *Forschungen und Funde*, *Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch* (Insbruck 1980) 69-76; Shapiro 1989a, 74 n. 75: 'the hydriae of the Archippe Group are close to, but not part of, the larger "Tyrrhenian" Group'.

[3] Some stylistic traits of the O.L.L. vases are noted in Bothmer 1977b. For differences in shape between the 'Tyrrhenians' and the amphorae of the O.L.L. Group see Kluiver 1993, 182 fig. 6; and for bibliographical references see Kluiver 1992, n. 4.

described in Chapter 2 apply to the work of all the Group's painters. This survey defines the Group's characteristics with regard to, among other things, the standard decorative scheme and its variations as well as the ornaments and figures[4]. It is based on more than 250 neck-amphorae and occasional amphorae of other type, many of which have not yet been adequately published. The decoration is discussed according to its place on the vase, going from the rim down to the foot.

The starting point for an understanding of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group remains, of course, the study by H. Thiersch, whose discussion of the Group's common traits is still valid. Below, we focus, instead, on the stylistic traits of the three individual painters, as discussed in Chapters 3-5, respectively. In each of these chapters, I first list the painter's vases, with the neck-amphorae divided into larger and smaller, followed by any other forms the painter may have decorated. The larger amphorae are arranged according to the painter's early, middle and late periods; within each period, however, the order is the same as that found in *ABV* and *Para*[5]. Then, I describe the painter's decorative schemes, favourite subject matter and stylistic traits in both painting and drawing. It serves little purpose to examine the compositions of the scenes because they hardly differ from painter to painter; evidently they were either influenced by common models or copied from each other[6]. In addition, the inscriptions found on the vases of the Prometheus Painter and the Timiades Painter are listed in Sections 3.6 and 4.6. Professor C.J. Ruijgh kindly helped me to read them, and the explanation and comment are his; the 'Notes' comprise my marks.

The comment at the end of each chapter on a painter mainly contains my arguments regarding the relative chronology as presented in the list of each oeuvre. Chapter 6 concludes the article by attempting to identify the direct precursors of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group and to date the careers of the three painters under consideration. I do not deal with the iconography[7], though a list of subjects is found in the Appendix.

2 DECORATIVE SCHEMES AND ORNAMENTS: EARLY AND LATE NECK-AMPHORAE

2.1 *Rim and neck*

The upper section of the inner neck and the top and outside of the rim are usually solid black. I know of only two vases where the topside of the rim is reserved[8], and a dozen others which show a band of connected open and closed buds, tongues, myrtle or ivy on the outside of the rim[9]. Red lines often surround the rim, inside and out, as well as both edges.

The neck usually has floral patterns, although animals, composite creatures and figure scenes are not unknown.

Floral patterns

As a rule, the same floral is seen on both sides of the neck, either a palmette-lotus festoon or a palmette-lotus cross. In some instances there is a festoon on one side, a cross on the other[10].

A festoon, as illustrated in *Fig. 1*, may be placed above, below or between dilute black lines[11]. It consists of three to eight elements (four to six being commonest), connected by a single long stem. Each element is composed of a palmette, lotus and small horizontal bar between them which, as if a ring, binds two stem loops (there may also be two 'rings', one above the other). *Fig. 2* shows the curve of the stem, which may start and end in a distinctive manner[12]. The lotus and the palmette are usually of unequal height; and therefore the rings are usually at different horizontal levels. The out-

[4] My following article will deal with the remaining five painters.

[5] In my lists, details are reported only about the vases not found in *ABV* or *Para*.

[6] Mayer-Emmerling, 162.

[7] For an iconographical study see S. Mayer-Emmerling, *Erzählende Darstellungen auf "tyrrhenischen" Vasen* (diss. Frankfurt 1982).

[8] Pointed-Nose Painter: Berlin F 1712 (*ABV* 96.12; *Add2* 25); Fallow Deer Painter: Brussels, Theodor 168 (Kluiver 1992, no. 10, figs. 38-47, 66).

[9] BUDS Fallow Deer Painter: New York market (Royal Athena Galleries, *One Thousand Years of Ancient Greek Vases from Greece, Etruria & Southern Italy*, 8 no. 27); Pointed-Nose Painter: London market (ex Hirschmann G 40, Bloesch [ed.], *Griechische Vasen der Sammlung Hirschmann* [Zurich 1982], no. 13, 34-37, 96); and Leipzig T 3323, *ABV* 96.9; *Add2* 25); Guglielmi Painter: Munich 1433 (*ABV* 95, 98.37; *Para* 36, 37; *Add2* 26); Paris, Niarchos collection (*ABV* 102.103, *Para* 36, 39); Vulci VG 64216 (*Para* 36, 41, *Add2* 28). Also Berlin 4841 (*ABV* 97.22). TONGUES Fallow Deer Painter: Brussels, Theodor 168 (Kluiver 1992, no. 10, figs. 38-47, 66); Louvre C 10503 (*ABV* 101.84; *Para* 38); Louvre E 846 (*ABV* 100.77; *Para* 38). MYRTLE Guglielmi Painter: Villa Giulia 74961 (Moretti, 206 no. 17, pl. 51). IVY Castellani Painter: Florence 3773 (*ABV* 95.8, 683; *Para* 34, 36; *Add2* 25; Esposito and Tommaso, pl. 21).

[10] See Timiades Painter, Section 4.3, below; Pointed-Nose Painter: Kiel B 510 (*CVA* 1, pls. 10.1-4, 11.1-3, fig. 10); Louvre E 844 (*ABV* 94, 100.72; *Add2* 27).

[11] On one amphora, exceptional in many ways, a black band runs below the festoon: London market (ex Hirschmann G 40), see n. 9.

[12] A.E.J. Holwerda, Korinthisch-Attische Vasen, *JdI* 5, 1890, 240, suggests that the ornament imitates a metal one in which the stem was made of wire.

line of the individual tips of the lotus petals is rarely painted[13].
A palmette-lotus cross, as in *Fig. 3*, consists of two lotus flowers on the vertical axis, two horizontal palmettes, a ring and four stems. Two stems form two horizontal figure eights between the plants. Each of the other stems passes behind a lotus, with ends curling through the loops formed by the first stems[14]. Moreover, there are two floral crosses composed of four palmettes only, as seen in *Fig. 4*[15].
The floral chain is rare. It consists of a series of figure eights joined by rings. Of the three known examples, one chain is of the usual palmette-lotus type, one has alternately pairs of palmettes and pairs of buds, and the third has pairs of palmettes alternating with pairs of lotus flowers[16].
Lotus cuffs and palmette cores are always red; occasionally added red marks one or more sepals, alternate palmette leaves, or rings[17]. Rarely, added white has been applied on the spiky lotus sepal[18], as dots between or next to the parallel strokes on lotus and palmette[19], or in the void within the loop of the stem[20]. The spiky lotus sepal may be omitted in festoons and crosses on amphorae by most of the later painters. In some festoons the lotus cuffs are decorated with incised motifs: meander, wavy line, checkers, running dogs[21]. On some necks the lotus petals are not indicated[22]. The plastic ring at the base of the neck is red.

Non-vegetal neck decoration
Animals, composite creatures and human figures appear on the necks of only a few amphorae. The animals comprise ram, goat, panther; the composite creatures sphinx, siren, boar-cock, panther-cock and one with parts of panther, cock and siren as well as human arms and hands. Among the few figure scenes, we see small komoi or satyrs[23] and, once, a narrative depicted on each side of the neck: a warrior arming and the duel over a dead warrior; each scene is flanked by tongue-bands and bordered above by myrtle[24].

2.2 *Shoulders*

The shoulder frieze, which is the highest of the various friezes, often extends down to a point slightly above the body's greatest diameter[25]. It is filled with narrative scenes, decorative animals or combinations of these.
Red and black shoulder-tongues border the top of the main frieze. The band may be continuous; more often, however, it is interrupted under one or both handles. The tongues are separated by dividing-lines connected at their lower ends by one or two horizontal lines. If there are two horizontal lines, the thicker one, painted over the thinner one, may undulate, giving the tongues curving lower ends. Continuous bands may lack one or two cores under a handle, whereas the undulating line is uninterrupted. The tops of the tongues overlap the plastic ring and are covered with added red. Often the added red of the cores has been applied directly on the clay[26]. Very seldom the undulating line is par-

[13] See Prometheus Painter, Section 3.5, below. The painted tips of the petals are more obvious on the amphora Louvre E 829 (*ABV* 104.121), which I, in contrast to Beazley, do not consider 'Tyrrhenian'; if so, this would be the only occurrence in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group in which all the tips of the lotus petals have the curving contour which is usually reserved for palmette leaves.
[14] The crosses are never placed between lines, although an amphora by the Pointed-Nose Painter has a line above: Louvre E 837 (*ABV* 103.110; *Para* 39).
[15] See Timiades Painter, Section 4.3, below.
[16] Palmette-lotus chain: body of Florence 3773 (see above, n. 9). With double elements: Florence 115094, neck fr. (Timiades Painter, 43); and Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9). There is a 'garland' composed of palmette-and-bud elements on the Prometheus Painter's belly amphora (36); see Section 3.2, below.
[17] Red rings occur in most oeuvres. For the Prometheus Painter, see Section 3.5, below; Fallow Deer Painter: Munich 1430 (*ABV* 101.92; *Add2* 27).
[18] Goltyr Painter: see Section 5.5, below. Castellani Painter: Basle market frr. (Cahn N 299; unpublished); Cologne AI 297 (Mayer-Emmerling's no. 17 (not 18), Louvre C 10702bis (*Para* 35, 40), Louvre E 843 (*ABV* 95.7; *Para* 34, 36; *Add2* 25), Louvre E 848 (*ABV* 98.47; *Para* 35, 37) and others.
[19] *E.g.* Castellani Painter (in frieze II): Berlin F 1708 (ABV 683.72bis), Civitavecchia 1706 (*ABV* 99.60; *Para* 35, 38), Karlsruhe ß 2423 (*ABV* 100.65, 684; *Add2* 27), Leipzig T 3324 (*ABV* 98.36; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26), Leipzig T 4225 (*Para* 35, 40; *Add2* 28), Louvre C 10702 (*ABV* 683.60*quater*; *Para* 35, 38), Florence 3773 (see n. 9).
[20] Castellani Painter: Leipzig T 4225 (see n. 19); Guglielmi Painter, with red dots on white: Vulci VG 64216 (see n. 9).
[21] See Prometheus Painter, below; see also London market (ex Hirschmann G 40) and Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9). Note also the dinos fragments attributed by D. von Bothmer, H.A. Cahn and J. Frel to the Kyllenios Painter in R. Blatter, Dinosfragmente mit der kalydonischen Eberjagd, *AK* 5, 1962, 45-47 fig. 1; Kreuzer 40-41 no. 32; M.B. Moore, Giants at the Getty, *GVGetMus* 2, 1985, 21-40 figs. 1-6, 9, 18, 22 and M.B. Moore, Giants at the Getty – Again, *GVGetMus* 4, 1989, 33-40 figs. 2a, 4a, 7a.
[22] Pointed-Nose Painter: Louvre E 844 (see n. 10); London market (ex Hirschmann G 40) and Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9).
[23] All the necks showing animals, composite creatures, satyrs and komoi are on amphorae by the Timiades Painter; see below, Section 4.3.
[24] Castellani Painter: Florence 3773 (see n. 9).
[25] Two vertical black zones, one below each handle, occasionally divide the main frieze into two sides. See Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter and Goltyr Painter, below. Pointed-Nose Painter: Syracuse (*ABV* 100.67; *Para* 38); Krannert Art Museum (a belly amphora, in W.G. Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections*, Chicago 1979, 50-51 no. 30). London market (ex Hirschmann G 40: n. 9).
[26] For exceptions in the work of the Prometheus Painter, see below. Among other examples, Kyllenios Painter: Berlin F 1704 (*ABV* 96.14, 683; *Para* 36; *Add2* 25), Dresden (*ABV* 105.1), Gotha ZV 2477 (*ABV* 101.80; *Para* 38), Bonn 37 (*ABV* 99.58, 684; *Para* 38; *Add2* 26); Guglielmi Painter: the Hague 608/821 (*ABV* 98.38, 683; *Para* 36, 37; *Add2* 26; Kluiver

alleled by a lower line[27]. In a handful of amphorae the shoulder-tongues have been omitted or replaced with ivy[28].

Inscriptions often appear in the shoulder field. Most of those found on the amphorae of the Prometheus Painter and Timiades Painter are meaningful; whereas most of those found in other painters' work are nonsense. Only the Goltyr Painter's amphorae are completely devoid of inscriptions.

2.3 *Lower body*

Friezes divide the lower body of most amphorae. Two or three friezes are normal, but their number varies from one to five[29]. Most of them show animals and composite creatures: siren, sphinx, boar, ibex and he-goat[30], bull, fallow deer, fawn, ram, panther, lion, cock, swan, goose, flying eagle, seated eagle, owl[31]. The commonest are ram, panther, siren and sphinx. The figures of the different friezes are usually arranged according to axial symmetry, which may be strong or weak – often stronger on the obverse – although it may also be altogether absent.

A palmette-lotus festoon often fills a lower frieze, as a rule directly below the main frieze (II). Other types of floral ornament are rarely found on the lower body: a band of open and closed buds[32], and palmette-lotus chain[33]. The friezes with florals are often narrower than the other lower friezes.

The friezes are enlivened by many vegetal ornaments, spirals, objects and occasional human figures[34]. Sometimes a lower frieze has a figure scene[35]. And one amphora shows a row of grazing geese[36].

Moreover, 29 larger and smaller amphorae, many by the Castellani Painter, have a black lower body, without base-rays[37]. Additional variations can also be noted on a few other amphorae[38].

The single line that as a rule separates the friezes may be replaced with a double, triple or quadruple line[39]. A band of dicing runs below the main frieze of many late amphorae, consisting of two or three rows of staggered dots, bordered above and below by glaze lines[40]. Frieze I may be bordered below by a red line between double black lines[41]. On more than 20 amphorae a black band, often bordered by red lines, divides the lowermost frieze and base-rays[42]. One or more red lines surround

1992, 85-86 no. 6, figs. 23-29, 62); Munich 1432 (*ABV* 102.98; *Para* 36, 38; *Add2* 27).

[27] See Prometheus Painter, below.

[28] Omitted: Berlin belly-amphora (Prometheus Painter, 36), Louvre E 858 (Castellani Painter; *CVA* 1, pl. 6.1-8). Ivy: Berlin F 1712 (see n. 8; Pointed-Nose Painter) and the Bowdoin frr. (*ABV* 100.71; *Add2* 27).

[29] Five friezes on the body: Roman market, Basseggio (*ABV* 97.25; *Para* 35, 37) and Florence 3773 (see n. 9), both by the Castellani Painter.

[30] Thiersch, 105-106, notes two kinds of male goats: 'Steinbock' (ibex; mostly on early vases) and 'Ziegenbock' (he-goat).

[31] The seated eagle is seen on an amphora in the Blatter collection (Blatter 1980, fig. 4; Fallow Deer Painter). The only owl is seen on Villa Giulia 50652, by the Castellani Painter (*ABV* 98.42, 683; *Para* 35, 37; *Add2* 26).

[32] Castellani Painter: Berlin F 1708 (see n. 19) and Roman market, Basseggio (see n. 29). And also on London market (ex Hirschmann G 40: see n. 9).

[33] Castellani Painter: Florence 3773 (see n. 9). See also the section on neck florals, above; and the florals on the dinoi attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (see n. 21).

[34] For three earlier painters see 'Subjects', below. The other painters will be the subject of my following article.

[35] Earlier vases: Prometheus Painter, below; also on other 'Tyrrhenian' vases, see my next article.

[36] Orvieto, Faina 2663 (*ABV* 683.77bis, Guglielmi Painter).

[37] The list was first compiled by Mommsen, 8, n. 30, and then added to by Bothmer 1976, 435. For the Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter and Goltyr Painter, see below. Castellani Painter: Amsterdam B 11989 (Kluiver 1992, no. 8, figs. 34-37, 64), Berlin F 1702 (*CVA* 5, pl. 17.1-4), Louvre E 858 (see n. 28), Louvre E 865 (*ABV* 100.66; *Para* 35, 38), Louvre E 867 (*ABV* 103.113; *Para* 35, 39), Geneva market and Zurich market (mentioned by Bothmer 1976, 435 and Bothmer, Review of *CVA* Berlin 5, by Heide Mommsen, *Gnomon* 54, 315-317, 1982, 316), two in the London market (Cat. Charles Ede, *Pottery From Athens* vi, 1979-80, no. 22; and Cat. Sotheby's, 1 July 1963, no. 135), Conservatori 136 (*Para* 39), Villa Giulia (Bothmer 1957, 10, no. 47), Vulci VG 64216 (see n. 9). Pointed-Nose Painter: Syracuse 10599 (*ABV* 100.67; *Para* 38). Half-black amphorae by the Kyllenios Painter, Fallow Deer Painter and the Guglielmi Painter have not come down to us, insofar as I know. H. Mommsen states in *CVA* Berlin 5, pl. 17 that half-black 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae have broader shoulders than the ones with animal friezes. Strictly speaking, this is not so: many of the smaller 'Tyrrhenians' are half-black and they are not 'grundsätzlich bauchiger'.

[38] The lower body of Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9) is filled with florals, black bands and lines; an amphora recently in the London market (ex Hirschmann G 40, see n. 9) adds two tongue-bands to this combination. On Montpellier 143 (41) by the Timiades Painter, three lotus-palmette friezes, each above a black band, cover the entire body. The bodies of two amphorae are almost entirely black: Utrecht ARCH 434 (see Goltyr Painter, 101, below), with tongues at the top of the shoulder; and Louvre E 828 by the Timiades Painter (70), tongues above a palmette-lotus festoon.

[39] Double, triple and quadruple lines are commonly found on the Kyllenios Painter's amphorae, often bordering the main frieze.

[40] The three main variations are equally distributed: a double dot row between either double or triple lines; and a triple dot row between double lines. Other variations are extremely rare.

[41] Leipzig T 4284 (*CVA* 2, pl. 10.1); Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9). An ivy band once occupies this place: Bowdoin frr. (see n. 28).

[42] For the Prometheus, Timiades and Goltyr Painters, see below. Castellani Painter: Berlin F 1708 (see n. 19), Civitavecchia 1706 (see n. 19), Louvre E 831 (*ABV* 103.108; *Para* 35, 39; *Add2* 27), Oxford 1984.884/1072 (unpubl.). Guglielmi Painter: Basle BS 466 (*Para* 40: Basle market), Chiusi 1804 (*ABV* 101.83; *Add2* 27), Louvre C 10504 (*Para* 41), Louvre E 830 (*ABV* 102.105; *Para* 36, 39), Louvre E 833 (*ABV* 95, 99.57, 684; *Para* 36, 38), Louvre E 834 (*ABV* 100.69; *Para* 38), Munich 1431 (*ABV* 102.99; *CVA* 7, pls. 315.3, 316.1, 317.1-4), Orvieto 2663 (*ABV* 683.77bis), Orvieto

the body, most often above the tips of the rays or at the top of the black section of the amphorae with lower black bodies. At the foot there are single base-rays; their bases are solid with the gloss of the foot[43]. The outer foot is black and may be marked by one or more red lines.

3 THE PROMETHEUS PAINTER

3.1 *Introduction*

The name, chosen by D. von Bothmer in 1944, derives from the main scene of Florence 76359 (2), where Herakles shoots the eagle to free Prometheus[44]. Bothmer considers this painter the earliest in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group.[45]

There are generally two difficulties connected with his oeuvre. Some observers find the hand hard to recognize in all the attributed vases; others cannot easily distinguish him from the Timiades Painter, although we are clearly dealing with two painters[46]. Below, I attempt to make both matters clearer. Three vases attributed to the Prometheus Painter are deleted from my list, and six are added, including one which both Y. Tuna-Nörling and D. von Bothmer also assign to the painter. The oeuvre now consists of about 37 vases. The chief differences between the Prometheus and Timiades Painters are listed in the Comment at the end of Chapter 4.

3.2 *The oeuvre*

a. Larger neck-amphorae

Early period

1. PARIS, LOUVRE E 852, fragmentary. *(Figs. 27-31) ABV* 96.13; *Add2* 25; [D. von Bothmer]
2. FLORENCE 76359. *ABV* 97.28; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26; Esposito and Tommaso, pl. 20 [D. von Bothmer]
3. NEW YORK 07.156.7 and 56.128, frr. *ABV* 99.51, 684; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
4. PARIS, LOUVRE E 866. *ABV* 100.68; *Para* 38 [Bothmer 1944, 'Timiades Painter', Bothmer *CVA*: 'Prometheus Painter']
5. ATHENS, N.M. (ex Küsnacht, Hirschmann G 30; *Figs. 2, 6, 50*: profile and section) H. 35.7; D. 22.2; Rim D. 15.5; Foot D. 11.8; composite handles. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Herakles and Amazons; IB, Jockeys on horses trotting to l.; meaningful inscr. (A, B); below, floral; lines: 1-1; black zone; 26 rays. Bibl.: *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, Cat. Sotheby's 9th December 1993, 120-121, no. 53 notes mistakenly 'Timiades Painter' [D. von Bothmer]
6. CERVETERI. From Cerveteri. *(Figs. 11, 24-25)* H. 42.4; D. 24.8-25.0; Rim D. 15.9; Foot D. 12.7. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Herakles and the Hind of Keryneia; IB, Satyrs in vineyard; meaningful inscr. (A, B); below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 2-1-1-1; 26 rays. Bibl.: Schauenburg 1979, pls. 4.9-11, 5.12; Kossatz-Deissmann, pl. 1a-c [J. Kluiver]

Middle period

7. FLORENCE 70993. *ABV* 95.6, 683; *Para* 36; *Add2* 25; Esposito and Tommaso, pl. 19 [D. von Bothmer]
8. BERLIN F 1705, fragmentary. *(Fig. 7) ABV* 96.16, 683; *Add2* 25 [D. von Bothmer]
9. ROME, CONSERVATORI 85. *(Figs. 5, 12-13) ABV* 96.17; *Para* 36 [D. von Bothmer]
10. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10698. *ABV* 96.20 (C 10697); *Para* 37 [D. von Bothmer]
11. ROME, VATICAN 16440. *ABV* 98.39; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
12. GENEVA MF 156. *ABV* 99.49, 684; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
13. COPENHAGEN Chr. VIII 323. *ABV* 102.97, 684; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
14. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10505. H. 42.0-42.2; D. 25.3; Rim D. 15.6-15.9; Foot D. 13.3. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Frontal quadriga; IB, Horse-race to left; below, three animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1-1; 21 rays. Unpublished (the reference in *Add2* 'Louvre C 10506' is false) [D. von Bothmer]
15. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10510, fragmentary. *(Fig. 32)* Pres. body H. 29.0; Foot D. 12.6. IA and B, Horse-race to l., dogs; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; 22 rays. Unpublished [D. von Bothmer]
16. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10517, fragmentary. *(Fig. 26)* Rim D. 17.0-17.4. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Animals (sphinx, betw. cocks, betw. panthers); IB, Animals (at least one siren and three panthers or lions); below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1-1; rays. Unpublished [D. von Bothmer]
17. CERVETERI. From Cerveteri. *(Figs. 9, 35)* H. 40.4-41.6; D. 24.6; Rim D. 16.0-16.3; Foot D. 12.9. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Herakles and Amazons; IB, Horse-race to l.; meaningful inscr. (A, B); below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1-1; 19 rays. Bibl.: M. Moretti, *Cerveteri* (Novara 1978) 58, pl. 80; Kluiver 1993, fig. 7 (profile and section); Bothmer, in Schauenburg 1979, n. 20: 'Timiades Painter' [J. Kluiver]

2664 (*ABV* 102.100, 684; *Para* 38; *Add2* 27), Vatican 34526 (*ABV* 95, 99.56, 684; *Para* 36, 38), the Hague 608/821 (see n. 26). Also on London market (ex Hirschmann G 40: n. 9) and Leipzig T 3323 (see n. 9). Black zones: Prometheus Painter (below) and the Pointed-Nose Painter's Louvre E 862 (*ABV* 102.94), Freiburg market, Puhze (*KdA*, cat. 5, no. 171). Insofar as I am aware, black bands are not found on the amphorae of the Kyllenios Painter and the Fallow Deer Painter.

[43] The base-rays of the Fallow Deer Painter's amphora once in the New York market are double (see n. 9). On Berlin F 1712 by the Pointed-Nose Painter (see n. 8), a glaze line runs below the bases of the rays.

[44] Bothmer 1944, 165. The name does not derive from the liberation scene on the Berlin column krater (32), as stated in Schauenburg 1980, 96.

[45] Regarding the horse-races by this painter, Bothmer 1977a, 264, remarks: 'Wenn der Prometheus-Maler an der linksgerichteten Bewegung festhält, so steht er ganz in der Tradition der Siana-Schalen, und es überrascht daher nicht, dass er der früheste der "tyrrhenischen" Vasenmaler ist.'

[46] *E.g.* H. Mommsen in CVA 4 Berlin 5, 28. See Kluiver 1993, 200, and n. 82 for a review of Bothmer's remarks on the subject.

Late period

18. PARIS, LOUVRE E 851. *ABV* 97.24; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]

19. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10518, fragmentary. *(Figs. 33-34) Para* 40 (C 10515); *Add2* 28 [D. von Bothmer]

20. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 74989. From Etruria. *(Figs. 8, 10)* H. 39.7-40.0; D. 25.0; Rim D. 15.9; Foot D. 10.7-11.0. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 4; B, 5); IA, Herakles fights Hydra; IB, Man (warrior?) with wreaths, betw. cocks, betw. sirens; below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1-1; 19 rays. Bibl.: Mayer-Emmerling, no. 61; Moretti, 206-207, no. 18; Schauenburg 1980, pls. 31a-b, 32a [D. von Bothmer]

21. COPENHAGEN 15070. H. 39.35; D. 23.65. Neck: palmette-lotus cross (A, B); IA, Fight (two three-groups), meaningful inscr.; IB: horse-race to l.; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 2-1-1; rays. Unpublished [J. Kluiver]

22. BASLE MARKET. H. 42.5. Neck: Palmette-lotus festoon (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Herakles and Amazons; IB, tripod betw. horses both of which overlap a warrior, betw. chimaerae; below, 3 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1-1; rays. Bibl.: *MuM* Dezember 1977, *Antike Vasen; Bücher über Archäologie*, Sonderliste R, 8, 38, no. 19 [H.A. Cahn]

22bis. "Location unknown" From Lavinium. Neck: Palmette-lotus festoon (B, 5); IA, Herakles and Amazons; IB, 5 mounted warriors trotting to l.; meaningful inscr. (A, B); below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 2-2-2; black band; rays. Bibl.: M. Guaitoli, Lavinium: Nuovi dati dalle Necropoli, in *Archeologia Laziale* XII, 2, 1995, 551-562, figs. 10-13.

b. Fragments

23. OXFORD G 137.53, fr. *ABV* 96.11; *Add2* 25 [M.B. Moore][47]

24. ZURICH MARKET, frr. Lower body black. Unpublished [D. von Bothmer]

25. FLORENCE 115085, 115104 (ex 010, 013), 12 frr. Confronting sphinxes, cock; fawn betw. panthers; rays. Horse-race to l.; below, panther, siren; panther, boar. Unpublished [D. von Bothmer]

26. FLORENCE 205550, 5 frr. IA, Duel (Achilleus and Memnon); woman in long peplos, holding a wreath, horseman with shield to l., part of a second horse; II, parts of 2 sirens; lines: 1. Unpublished [J. Kluiver]

c. Smaller neck-amphorae

27. PARIS, LOUVRE E 864[48]. *ABV* 97.33, 683; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]

28. PARIS, LOUVRE E 854. *ABV* 101.89 [D. von Bothmer]

29. LIVERPOOL 56.19.19. *ABV* 103.118 (Norwich 7); *Para* 39 [D. von Bothmer]

30. NEW YORK 59.11.25. *Para* 40; *Add2* 28 [D. von Bothmer]

31. NEW YORK 56.11.4. H. 30.9; D. 21.0; Rim D. 13.7; Foot D. 10.6-10.9. Neck: palmette-lotus cross (A, B); IA, Warrior, betw. cocks; IB, Animals (two butting rams); lower body black. Bibl.: *MuM* Cat. xvi, 30 June 1956, 23-24, no. 83, pl. 18; *CVA* 4, pl. 4 [D. von Bothmer]

d. Forms other than neck-amphorae

32. BERLIN F 1722, column-krater. *ABV* 104.124; *Para* 39; *Add2* 28 [D. von Bothmer]

33. ATHENS, ACR. 696 fr., column-krater. *ABV* 104.125 ('O.L.L. Group') [D. von Bothmer]

34. MANISA 5876 frr., column-krater. From Klazomenai. On handle plate, head of woman overlaps head of man; siren(?) below handle; IA, Herakles fights Hydra; meaningful inscr.; below, 1 animal frieze; lines: 2-2; black band, rays. Bibl.: B. Kreuzer: 'Timiades Painter' in *Attische Exportkeramik in Klazomenai*, no. 4 (Freiburg 1988; unpubl. thesis); Tuna-Nörling [D. von Bothmer, J. Kluiver, Y. Tuna-Nörling]

35. LEIDEN PC 47 (xiv 3), round-shouldered hydria. *ABV* 104.126 [D. von Bothmer]

36. BERLIN Inv. 31139, belly-amphora. H. 30.5; D. 20.0-20.7; Rim D. 13.3-13.5; Foot D. 10.4-10.7. Neck A, palmette-lotus festoon (6); B, connected elements of palmette and lotus bud (7); no tongues; IA, Hoplites on trotting horses; IB, Siren betw. sirens; below, 1 animal frieze; lines: 1-1; black band; 20 rays. Bibl.: Moore, 40, no. A 197; Schauenburg 1973, pls. 5-6, n. 8; *CVA* 4, pls. 4.1-2, 5.1-3, *Beil*. B [D. von Bothmer]

e. Attributed incorrectly to the Prometheus Painter[49]

KIEL B 595. See Timiades Painter (74).
LEIPZIG T 4285, frr. By the Guglielmi Painter.
LENINGRAD 1402 (ST 153). By the Kyllenios Painter.
BASLE, Private collection (Departure of Amphiaraos). By the Archippe Painter[50]?

3.3 *Decorative schemes*

Neck-amphorae and belly-amphora

As a rule, a five-element palmette-lotus festoon adorns each side of the neck on all the Prometheus Painter's amphorae[51]. Single lines divide the friezes[52]. A festoon in frieze II occurs on three amphorae only, all early[53].

[47] I find the fragment nearly too thin to belong to an amphora, especially a larger one.

[48] Louvre E 864 is attributed to the Prometheus Painter in Bothmer *CVA*. However, Immerwahr, 43, mistakenly lists it among the Castellani Painter's amphorae; the same painter is incorrectly noted in the caption in Boardman, fig. 59.

[49] Bothmer *CVA* mistakenly attributes 'Louvre C 11305' to the Prometheus Painter; it seems to belong to a red-figure kylix (C 11305 and C 11463).

[50] If this is the fragmentary neck-amphora in the collection of Dr. H.A. Cahn (Kreuzer, 37-38, no. 28), it first has been attributed to the Prometheus Painter by Bothmer in *AJA* 1976, 435.

[51] Four-element festoon: 19-20; six elements: 27, 30, both smaller. A palmette-lotus cross occurs on 21, which is larger.

[52] The few double lines occur mostly on the larger amphorae; they border the main frieze, seldom also frieze II or III; see *e.g.* 22bis.

[53] Nos. 1 and 3, which are probably very close in date, and 5.

The larger amphorae very often have three lower friezes, usually showing animals[54]. Only one of them has a black band above the base-rays (22bis). The lower bodies of the smaller amphorae however may have two animal friezes or one frieze in combination with a black band or zone. There are also examples which are solid black in the lower body[55].
The tongue-band has been omitted in 36; and in 29 the shoulder scenes have been placed in 'panels'. The number of base-rays ranges from 18 to 31, averaging 22.

Other forms
The column-kraters (32, 34), hydria (35) and belly-amphora (36) all have a black band and base-rays above the foot. The decorative schemes of both 35 and 36 resemble that of the neck-amphorae. Amphora 36 differs by the black upper neck, reverse floral and absence of tongues, and 35 by the black neck and the tongues on the topside of the rim[56].

3.4 *Favourite subjects*

The subject matter of the main friezes is rich and varied. On the obverse side Herakles' adventures are most popular. Seven times he is portrayed fighting Amazons (3, 5, 12, 17, 19, 22, 22bis) and three times fighting the Hydra (18, 20, 34)[57]. He rescues Deianeira from Nessos (1, 11) or frees Prometheus (2, 32); and once he wrestles with the Hind of Keryneia (6). The last is the only known 'Tyrrhenian' representation of the theme *(Figs. 24-25)*[58].
Other notable subjects include Athena's birth and Tityos' death; the hunt of the Calydonian boar; and the adventures of Achilleus, three times fighting Memnon and once, in a memorable scene, attacking Hektor over Troilos' beheaded body[59].
On the reverse, the horse-race is the absolute favourite, as found on thirteen amphorae and the Berlin krater (32)[60]. These races may almost be regarded as the painter's hallmark because of their frequency and distinctive composition in which the horses are headed towards the left.
Among the animals and creatures in the lower friezes, panthers are most numerous and standard. On the other hand, the very large number of lions between the sirens, sphinxes, ibex, he-goats, rams, fawns, boars, cocks, water birds (probably swans) and eagles is exceptional.
The floral motifs interspersed between the animals include palmette-lotus elements, palmette on volutes, palmette-lotus cross, buds on stems, lotus-(bud) element and, unique in the Group, a small leafy tree[61].
Only three amphorae have figure scenes below the main frieze: horse-race (1, 3) or athletes and, on the opposite side, Hermes with the cattle of Apollo (12).

3.5 *Stylistic characteristics*

First let us look at the traits of the floral ornaments of the necks. *Fig. 5* shows the rather typical up and downward curve of the stems added at one or both ends of many festoons[62]. Two double lines may be incised on the lotus cuffs, bordering an incised wavy line, as in *Fig. 6*; the same is very rarely found in the work of other 'Tyrrhenian' painters[63]. Most festoons have five elements, with the palmettes on top in elements 1, 3 and 5. This arrangement occurs in festoons by other 'Tyrrhenian'

[54] Of the larger amphorae, 18, 21, 22bis (if this is in fact a larger one) and, possibly, 15 are the only ones which have two instead of three animal friezes. For figure scenes in the lower friezes see Section 3.4, below.
[55] Black band: 28; black zone: 5. Amphora 4 is the only larger one which is half-black; the smaller ones are 24 and 29.
[56] The elements of the low floral band on one side of 36's neck consist of palmette and open bud; they are connected by short stems curving through the ring between them. A comparable floral occurs *e.g.* on type B amphorae by Lydos in Basle, Cambli, ABV 109.25; and Nicosia C 440 *ABV* 109.28; see Tiverios 1976a, pls. 24; 25c, 26a.
[57] Schauenburg 1980 argues that the snake on 20 represents the Hydra. Mayer-Emmerling, 57-60, remarks that the 'Tyrrhenian' depictions of the subject are the earliest in Attic vase painting; however, she disagrees with Schauenburg and identifies 20's snake as belonging to another myth.
[58] Not listed in Mayer-Emmerling. Shapiro 1989a, 53, describes it as 'a very odd, pre-canonical version'.
[59] For 'Achilleus *versus* Hektor' see Chapter 4 on the Timiades Painter, below. Mayer-Emmerling, 15, states that the 'Tyrrhenian' depictions of Athena's birth (1) are the earliest in Attic vase painting. A good parallel to the death of Tityos' (27) is found in Lydan frr. in Schefold 1993, 195 fig. 193.
[60] Mayer-Emmerling, 126, 128-29, labels these scenes 'Reiter' and reserves the term 'horse-race' for those in which also prize vases and the like are depicted; whereas I class all of them together.
[61] The palmette-lotus element occurs on 15 and 19; the latter may be compared to the drawings of similar elements by Komast cup Painters, *e.g.* Brijder 1983, 86-87, fig. 17a-f; palmette on volutes: 16; palmette-lotus cross: 18, 21, bud on stem: 16, 28; lotus-bud element: 11, 13; tree: 11.
[62] *E.g.* 8, 14, 17, 20, 22. Later 'Tyrrhenian' painters occasionally did likewise.
[63] On four amphorae by the Prometheus Painter: 2, 5; in frieze II on 1, 3. The wavy line on lotus cuffs is very common in Attic vase painting of the period. It occurs on vases decorated by the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis, the Gorgon Painter, Sophilos (see Boardman), Kleitias, Lydos (Tiverios 1976b, pls. 1, 50; other apparent parallels between the painting of Lydos and the early 'Tyrrhenian' artisans are few), Painter of London B 76 (Copenhagen 13536, *Para* 32.2bis; *CVA* 8 pl. 319), Camtar Painter (Louvre C 10521, Bothmer 1959, pl. 4.1-4); O.L.L. Group (Louvre E 856: *ABV* 94, 99.54, 684, *Para* 26; Louvre E 857: *ABV* 94, 97.26; Oxford 1913.164: *ABV* 94, 100.64, 684). See also Nikias' prize amphora, New York 1978.11.13 (Neils 42, fig. 27a-b).

painters, but the Prometheus Painter is unusually consistent in this regard[64].

A lotus flower *(Fig. 7)* may have some petals painted in outline, something which may remind us of the palmette-like contour a lotus often had in earlier Attic painting. It is unique within the Group[65]. On 5, the spiky sepals are red *(Fig. 6)*.

The tongue-bands on the shoulder, though generally not indicative of the hand, include two interesting details[66]. The added red of the alternate tongues may be applied on black glaze, which is uncommon (1, 2, 6); and some tongue-bands have an extra horizontal line below[67].

In the main frieze the Prometheus Painter rarely limited the subject to animals only. An exception is amphora 16, showing only animals in all the main and lower friezes *(Fig. 26)*[68]. In addition, he decorated a few other amphorae exclusively with animals on one side only[69].

Flanking animals appear only three times in the main friezes of larger amphorae, always on the reverse, with a pair placed on either side[70]. By contrast, they are more often seen on both sides of smaller amphorae[71]. Perhaps the two pairs of birds on the shoulder of 35 are a visual metaphor: on the left two cocks stand with the tips of their beaks touching – Theseus fighting the Minotaur – and on the right a cock and hen walk away together – Theseus and Ariadne[72].

Some observations can be made about composition. Two of the Heraclean amazonomachies are very crowded. The depiction on 12 has ten Greeks and Amazons fighting in duels and groups of three. With eight combatants, 17 is also impressive. Some other 'Tyrrhenian' painters also had a tendency to render the amazonomachy in a crowded composition. The Timiades Painter, however, usually limited his figures to three pairs of warriors[73]. Further, the protagonist may be placed off centre: on 6, Herakles wrestles with the hind on the right *(Figs. 24-25)*; on 7, Achilleus has beheaded Troilos on the extreme left[74].

Scenes with onlookers are numerous in the work of the Prometheus Painter; they may outnumber the protagonists. Goddesses and gods are common onlookers, Hermes being especially popular *(Figs. 24-25, 27-30)*[75]. And the Prometheus Painter seems to be the only 'Tyrrhenian' painter who represented an onlooker seated on a folding chair *(Fig. 25)*[76]. Insofar as I can establish, the Timiades Painter always included fewer onlookers and portrayed Hermes only twice (37, 52).

The Prometheus Painter's female onlookers often have very characteristic attire, consisting of a himation over a specific type of peplos *(Fig. 31)*. Many of these peploi are adorned with a vertical panel-band showing creatures painted in added white[77]. The himation covers the near shoulder and arm,

[64] I know of two festoons consisting of four elements: 19 and 20; one of six elements: 30; and one on 2 has five and a half elements.

[65] These occur *e.g.* on 8, 16 and 19. Outside the 'Tyrrhenian' Group the type occurs *e.g.* on several vases by the Painter of Acropolis 606: Tzahou-Alexandri, figs. 3-4, 17, 19-21; by the KX Painter; on the François krater: *Vaso François* 124-125, pls. 57, 60-61; 150, pls. 108-109; 152, pls. 112-113. See also Nikias' prize amphora, New York 1978.11.13 (n. 63).

[66] Most tongue-bands are interrupted under the handles, each side having 20-27 tongues. Twice the tongues are thin, their number exceeding 30 (2, 5). The dividing lines may slant downward to the left and the undulating horizontal line is often painted over an auxiliary line.

[67] Nos. 2, 6, 11. An extra line below the tongue-band occurs also on Sophilos' dinos in London (Williams 1983, *e.g.* pls. 26-34), the François krater (*Vaso François*, pls. 80-83, 102-105) and, in added red, the KX Painter's black-figure amphora Samos K 1433, to which H.A.G. Brijder kindly drew my attention (the fragments will be published by B. Kreuzer, in *Attische schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos*).

[68] Cf. Mayer-Emmerling, 169, n. 3: 'Die Vorderseite seiner Gefässe zeigt immer ein Bild mythologischen Inhalts.'

[69] See 29-31, 36. The combination of a narrative scene and animals occurs more often in other 'Tyrrhenian' oeuvres.

[70] See 10 (cocks and sphinxes), 20 (cocks and sirens), 22 (chimaerae).

[71] Nos. 27, 29, 31 (cocks); 28 (sphinxes); 30 (cocks and panther protomes).

[72] The subjects were suggested by Professor C.J. Ruijgh. Mayer-Emmerling, 72-3, regarding 35, mistakenly states that Athena holds *two* spears, that Ariadne faces Zeus, who is, in fact, not depicted, and that 'antithetical' cocks flank the scene. Cocks fighting in the presence of a hen occur *e.g.* also on Oxford 1934.333, a plate in the manner of Lydos; see Schefold 1978, pl. 123.

[73] Only 51 by the Timiades Painter has seven warriors.

[74] On 7, the Prometheus Painter has added a line of Trojans; see n. 119, below.

[75] Nos. 1, 6, 11, 35. Bothmer suggests that the reverse subject of 3 was a procession (*CVA* New York 4, text with pl. 5.); it is more likely, however, that the feet belong to onlookers, as on 1.

[76] Not only in the main frieze as on 2 and 6, but also below it, as on 12, where the chair is not occupied. An empty chair recurs in the Timiades Painter's work.

[77] Mayer-Emmerling, 161, incorrectly notes 'Die eingewebte Tiere der Mittelborte der Frauenpeploi werden nach der Art des Sophilos mit weisser Farbe aufgemalt.' Sophilos, however, portrayed peploi as white and not only rendered the animals in red on white but spread them across the garment instead of confining them to a panel-band. See Bakır 1981, pls. 3.g, 5.8; or D. Williams, *Greek Vases* (London 1985) 27, pl. 31. Peploi with white animals in a narrow panel-band occur in the painting of other 'Tyrrhenian' artisans as well as outside the Group; *e.g.* the François krater: *Vaso François*, pl. 131, OPANIA, better seen in the drawn reconstruction in Richter 382, fig. 511. See also the Painter of London B 76 (Copenhagen: n. 63) and the Camtar Painter (Boston 21.21, Boardman, fig. 53). See also Hebe's peplos on the hydria Cab. Med. 253, *LIMC* V, 161, Herakles 3296. Such a band occurs also on Athena's peplos on an early Panathenaic amphora (ca. 560) in Graef and Langlotz, II, pl. 57, no. 920.

without covering the upper chest[78]. By contrast, the Timiades Painter's females wear short, belted peploi, without himation[79].

As noted above, the horse-races are significant because they are directed towards the left. Further, in at least six of them the last horse emerges out of the black glaze at the root of the right handle *(Fig. 32)*[80]. But the Prometheus Painter did not restrict this practice of letting figures merge with the handle-roots to horse-races or even to animals; note the last galloping centaur on 11; the last of the trotting horses on 5 and 22bis; two panthers on 30[81]; Ares' horse in *Fig. 24*; and the omitted parts of human figures: the legs of males on 7 and 9; and one of Iolaos' feet on 6.

Most often the human figures appear to move rigidly.

They either stand straight and have a stick-like appearance *(Figs. 27-30)*; or they sink on one knee, which is bent nearly at a right angle *(Figs. 33-34)*. When stepping towards an adversary, eagerness is expressed by the forward tilt of the torso *(Fig. 34)*; the legs are apart, but the knees seldom bent[82]. The overall impression of stiffness is created above all by the feet, which are often placed flat on the ground *(Fig. 34)*. Equally unnatural is the movement of the statue-like centaurs on 2; they seem to lift their forelegs like trained horses. Much more movement is found on 21 where a warrior steps on the chest of his opponent, who falls backward. In fact, only komasts and satyrs move somewhat naturally (6, 13).

As usual, most figures standing at the sides, have frontally rendered shoulders. Some of the jockeys on the reverse sides, however, are correctly rendered in side view: of their far arms, only the hands are visible. We see more convincing depth and overlapping of limbs, again, only in komasts and satyrs.

With regard to the hunt of the Calydonian boar, Mayer-Emmerling states that the representation found on 8 is exceptional; according to her, a hunter tries to remove the dog from the boar's back by pulling the dog's tail[83]. In my view, this was not the painter's intention; instead, the hunter holds his weapon with both hands and, by chance, one of them covers a part of the tail. In at least two of the three versions of this theme by the Prometheus Painter, some of the hunters charge with knees bent, a detail which distinguishes them from those by the Timiades Painter[84].

Concerning the scenes of Herakles freeing Prometheus, Mayer-Emmerling points out that the two depictions by the Prometheus Painter show Prometheus seated with knees bent. Other 'Tyrrhenian' painters rendered Prometheus as if in Knielauf[85].

The hind paws of Herakles' lion skin are not separated by his thigh when he battles the Amazons or wrestles with the hind *(Figs. 24-25, 34)*[86]. They are so, however, when he kneels to shoot the eagle attacking Prometheus (2, 32). The lion's head is never depicted hanging on his back; on 11 and 22bis he wears it as a helmet. Elsewhere he is not even provided with a lion's skin (1, *Fig. 31*). In two or three instances Herakles steps on Andromache's calf (19, 22bis, *Fig. 34*)[87].

With regard to the drawing, distinctive traits are the curly strokes shaping the hair lines of Herakles and Nessos *(Figs. 25, 31)*[88]. Some of the satyrs have incised folds in their bellies, suggesting fatness[89]. In two main scenes of two amphorae the outlines of many human figures are incised; and each of these amphorae has a festoon in which even the contours of the stems are incised *(Figs. 27-30)*[90]. But such details are rare.

[78] This is seen, with or without panel-band on the peplos, on 1-3, 11, 14, 20 and 35. See also 23, 26. On 34 the sirens etc. of Athena's peplos are partly drawn in the mantle fold.

[79] Apart from the Timiades Painter's 52 and 54, where the peploi are long and worn under a himation; these women, however, are rendered frontally, quite differently from the Prometheus Painter's.

[80] Nos. 7-8, 14-15, 18-19; for more about this subject see Section 6.1.2, below.

[81] On the Goltyr Painter's 100 a panther protome emerges out of each handle-root; and on his 79 a centaur emerges out of handle B/A. This is possibly due to the Prometheus Painter's influence. A centaur protome also emerges from a handle-root of 39 by the Timiades Painter.

[82] Andromache collapses backward on 3, which is a rare attitude. The knees of some of the boar hunters on 8-9 are bent; see below.

[83] Mayer-Emmerling, 108.

[84] See 8 and 9. The scene on 10 has not been well enough preserved to be compared.

[85] Mayer-Emmerling, 64. We have only a drawing of the main frieze of the amphora once in Milan, Vidoni collection, (*ABV* 97.30; *Add2* 26; *AZ* 114, 1858, fig. CXIV 2-3; Mayer-Emmerling, 203 no. 64); it was probably not by the Prometheus Painter because the inscriptions are nonsense, Prometheus is portrayed in 'Knielauf' and the figure of Herakles has too much movement.

[86] Mayer-Emmerling, 41, repeats Bothmer's statement (1957, 14f) that the hanging legs of the lion skin in late 'Tyrrhenian' are separated by Herakles' thigh. However, this is never so in the work of the Fallow Deer Painter, who is late.

[87] On 22 Herakles' foremost foot appears to be overlapped by Andromache's leg.

[88] Nos. 1, 2, 5, 17; see also 6. Herakles in the Camtar Painter's work may have a similar hair line; see Cambridge G 44 (Bothmer 1959, fig. 3.1) and Louvre E 863 (Bothmer 1957, pl. III.1a).

[89] Nos. 6, 34. For the attribution of 34 see Tuna-Nörling. See also the komast skyphos in Hornbostel 1980, 64-65 no. 46; and the Painter of Acropolis 606's early amphora illustrated in Tzahou-Alexandri, 197 figs. 6, 8; the strokes occur later as well, *e.g.* Vulci VG 64216 by the Guglielmi Painter (*Para* 36, 41; *Add2* 28).

[90] Nos. 1, 3. The festoon elements are densely packed.

On 27, Tityos' body is very hairy: covered with short incised strokes[91]. The drawing on the several necks of the Hydra is identical in both paintings (18, 34): longitudinal strokes and small circles.

In the lower friezes many animals are lively, vital. Some boars attack each other *(Fig. 35)*;[92] a lion crushes a ram's head or holds it between the jaws; an ibex lowers his head backward to graze (6, 17). Some rams, forelegs in the air, butt in rage; the scrotum may be rendered horizontally behind their legs, as proof of their swift movement (9, 14, 16, 31). Panthers claw the near-by rams (9). Many he-goats and fawns seem to nibble at the head or hindquarter of an adjacent animal, and some fawns jump around merrily (7-8, 13, 17, 26)[93]. In general, as seen in *Figs. 9-11*, there is much overlap between two creatures as well as between a creature and the above ground line.

The animals are small, slender, thin-legged, light, which may be partly due to the painter's having to decorate three narrower friezes instead of two wider ones. The result of the small size is that very many animals are present in the same frieze. The obverse shows at least five creatures in frieze II: a central group of three, with one to the left and one to the right (6-9, 13-14, *Fig. 35*). There may also be a central group of two creatures, with two others on the left and two on the right (2, 10-11, 16, 20, 30).

On both sides all the creatures are often turned towards the centre of the obverse. On the reverse, therefore, they are often turned away from the centre. The shoulder line of some animals is a double stroke instead of the usual single one[94].

The Prometheus Painter's rams are not remarkable. There is no protuberance for the eye in the profile of the face[95]; the incised outline of its ear is often wrinkled; and the mouth is rendered in different ways: by several angular strokes (^) above each other; as a 'T' with two horizontal bars[96]; or as illustrated in *Fig. 8*.

Many panthers have rather large ears, like those of a Teddy bear, often with incised outlines; a stroke may run along the top of the head *(Figs. 9-10)*. An angular stroke may shape the ear's lower border *(Figs. 9-11)*. There are four main variations in the drawing of rams' faces. (a) Two lines converge across the forehead and run parallel down the nose, with a small horizontal stroke on either side above the mouth *(Figs. 9-11)*; this also occurs in the Timiades Painter's work. (b) As above, but with an extra curving line on top of the head (16, 18-19, 28, 36)[97]. (c) The two lines across the face diverge again above the nose (2, 30); this variation is rare, occurring more often in the work of the Timiades Painter. (d) Finally, there are two curving strokes on the forehead, while three pairs of horizontal lines, to the left and the right of the vertical ones, indicate the whiskers.[98] For a typical lion's head, with the tongue protruding, see *Fig. 12*.

On 2 the panther's and the centaur's genitals are incised, as are those of the horse's and lion's on 15. This detail is rare throughout the 'Tyrrhenian' Group[99].

The wings of many sirens and sphinxes lack the usual band across the middle[100]. Some sirens have their wings up; the same, however, occurs in other oeuvres[101]. Few sirens have their wings out; they often stand turned to the right, look round and form the centre of a group of three (2, 12, 14, 36). The two sirens and two of the sphinxes on 35 are remarkable: they have incised fillets (double line) and the corners of their mouths are turned down; in addition, they are the only composite creatures in the Prometheus Painter's oeuvre which have black

[91] Incised body hair also on Nearchos' aryballos in New York 26.49 (*ABV* 83.4); cf. the ityphallic squatting satyr on Prometheus Painter's 6. One of the satyrs on the amphora is called 'Spholeas' and one on the aryballos is called 'Phsolas'. See Kossatz-Deissmann 172, s.v. 'SPHOLEAS': 'Dies dann Metathese zu ΦΣΟΛΑΣ??'. 'Stippled' body hair, like Tityos', occurs also in the work of Sophilos (Bakır 1981, fig. 66) and Kleitias (D. von Bothmer, A new Kleitias Fragment from Egypt, *AK* 24, 1981, 66-67 fig. 10.1a and in Kreuzer, 39-40 no. 30).

[92] There is a striking parallel in the work of Sophilos: see Bakır 1981, pls. 40-41.

[93] Jumping animals also occur on the earlier neck-amphora Malibu 86.AE.95 (*CVA* 1, pls. 15, 16.7-8) and on Taranto I.G. 20770 (E. de Juliis and D. Loiacono, *Taranto. Il Museo Archeologico* [Taranto 1985] 204-205, figs. 219-220, dated ca. 560, which is almost certainly a decade too late). For more on these amphorae, see Chapter 6, below.

[94] Noticed by Bakır 1978, 40-41, and repeated in Bakır 1981, 58 and n. 268, dealing with the Timiades Painter's amphorae. He uses this detail to date the early 'Tyrrhenians'; see Chapter 6, below. Double shoulder lines by the Prometheus Painter occur in the main frieze of 1 (Nessos': partly visible), 2 (centaurs), 15 (horse), 31 (ram); and in the lower friezes of *e.g.* 2 (siren, boar, panther) and 10 (ibex, lion).

[95] Except for 31.

[96] As on 2 and 30. The angular strokes occur also in the Goltyr Painter's oeuvre.

[97] The extra curve is rare both in and outside the Group. It occurs *e.g.* on a belly amphora by the Camtar Painter, Bothmer 1959, pls. 1, 2.1.

[98] On a handle-plate of 32.

[99] Incised genitals as those of horse, panther and lion occur also outside the Group; for the François krater see *Vaso François e.g.* pls. 77, 79-81, 94, 98.

[100] Noticed by Thiersch, 36. See 2, 14, 16, 18-20, 25, 30, 36. The sphinxes of 11 are repainted; the hair of the sphinxes on 22bis is long and overlaps the wing.

[101] Nos. 6-7, 14, 36. There are also swans with *sickle-shaped* wings (19) and with wings held *down* (18). See also the tondo of a Siana cup by the Omobono Painter, Syracuse 6028, Brijder 1983, pl. 57e.

skin[102]. Some sphinxes, sirens and birds have oddly shaped sickle wings which lack the sharp curve at their ends (19, 18, 25, *Fig. 33*).
Most of the cocks can be easily recognized as being by the Prometheus Painter. A band of short vertical strokes divides the neck and shoulder *(Figs. 13, 26, 35)* and the midband of the wing is defined by a wavy incision between two double lines[103].

3.6 *Inscriptions*

Early period
1. PARIS, LOUVRE E 852. A: 1. ΛΕΤΟ, 2. Α[Ρ]ΕΣ, 3. ΑΦΡΟΔΙ[ΤΕ] (retr.), 4. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ[Σ], 5. ΗΙΛΕΙΘΥΑ, 6. ΘΡΟΝΟΣ, 7. ΖΔΕΥΣ, 8. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝ, 9. [ΑΜΦΙΤ]ΡΙΤΕ (retr.), 10. […], 11. ΗΕΦΑ[ΙΣΤΟΣ] (retr.). B: 12. [ΗΕ]ΡΜΕΣ, 13. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ, 14. ΗΡΑΚΛΕ[Σ], 15. ΔΕΙΑΝ[Ε]ΙΡΑ, 16. ΝΕΣΟΣ, 17. ΔΕΙΠΥΛΕΙΑ (retr.), 18. ΟΙΝΕΥΣ, 19. […]. Transcriptions, some erroneous, in *CVA*; see also Immerwahr, 40, 172. A.5 is problematic: see Kretschmer, 156-158, no. 140; instead of HI one would expect E. Spelling of A.7 is pleonastic but understandable; see Kretschmer, 102-103, no. 85. A.9: for example (other possibilities are [ΑΝΦΙ]ΤΡΙΤΕ, [ΑΦΙ]ΤΡΙΤΕ). A.10 was probably [ΗΕΡΜΕΣ]. For B.16, see Kretschmer, 179. B.17: ΔΕΙΠΥΛΟΣ is a Homeric name.

2. FLORENCE 76359. A: 1. ΗΕΡΜΕ[Σ], 2. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ, 3. ΠΡΟΜΕΘΕ (retr.), 4. ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕ[Σ], 5. [ΑΙΕΤ]ΟΣ (retr.), 6. ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ, 7. [ΠΟΣΕΙ]ΔΟΝ. A.1-2 and 4: Immerwahr, 40, 1; his [Α]Π{Π}Ο[ΛΟΝ] is a mistake. The last two letters of A.3, -ΥΣ, were never written. Most of A.5 has disappeared; the eagle's upper wing is repainted and the original position was quite different; the reconstruction [ΑΙΕΤ]ΟΣ, 'eagle' is very probable.

3. NEW YORK 07.156.7 and 56.128. A: 1. ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ (retr.), 2. ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, 3. *e.g.* [ΑΙΝΙΠ]Ε (retr.). Transcriptions: *CVA* and Immerwahr, 40, 171. The reconstruction of A.3, 'whose horses are her glory', from ΑΙΝΙΠΠΑ, as on 5 (also A.1-2) and the Timiades Painter's 47 (See F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Hildesheim 1964, 28, and H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung griechischer Dialektinschriften*, Göttingen 1884-1915, 3140a.2); *LGPN* 7: 'ΑΓΝΙΠΠΕ'.

5. ATHENS N.M. A: 1. [Ι]ΦΙΣ, 2. ΠΑΝΤΑΡΙΣΤΕ (retr.), 3. ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ, 4. ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ (retr.), 5. ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, 6. ΑΙΝΙΠΕ (retr.). B: 7. ΝΙΚΙΑΣ, 8. ΟΙΝΙΑΔΕΣ, 9. ΚΑΛΙΑΣ, 10. ΗΙΣΧΙΠΑΣ. Transcriptions appeared in Sotheby's Cat. *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection*, London, 9.12.1993 (B.10 should be spelled as above, with X, not with Ξ); it is strange that the name starts with ΗΙΣ- and ends with -ΑΣ instead of with ΙΣ- and -ΟΣ respectively). A.1 occurs in *LGPN* 243 and on 7. For A.6, see also 3.

6. CERVETERI. A: 1. ΑΡΕΣ, 2. ΗΕ[ΡΜ]ΕΣ, 3. Α[Θ]Ε[ΝΑΙΑ] (retr.), 4. ΕΛΑΦΟΣ (retr.), 5. ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ, 6. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ (retr.), 7. Α[ΠΟΛΟΝ] (retr.), 8. ΛΕ[ΤΟ] (retr.). B: 9. ΣΦΟΛΕΑΣ (retr.), 10. ΛΑΝΠΟΝ (retr.), 11. ΛΙΘΟΝ (retr.), 12. ΑΓΡΙΟΣ, 13. ΛΑΣΙΟΣ (retr.), 14. ΕΛΑΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (retr.), 15. ΦΑΛΙΟΣ. For the satyr names (B.9-14): Kossatz-Deissmann. B.15 means 'the dog with the white patch' (Cf. Theocritus, *Idyllia* 8.27, ὁ κύων ὁ φάλαρος)

Middle period
7. FLORENCE 70993. A: 1. ΑΧΙΛΕΥΣ, 2. ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ (retr.), 3. ΗΕΚΤΟΡ (retr.), 4. ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (retr.), 5. ΑΓΕΝΟΡ (retr.), 6. ΑΛΕΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ (retr.), 7. ΧΑΛΚΑΣ (retr.), 8. ΙΦΙΣ (retr.). B: 9. […], 10. ΗΙΠΙΑΣ, 11. [ΧΑΙ]ΡΙΑΣ. A.1-5 in Immerwahr, 40, 167. The Σ in A.6 should be read as σσ, not as ξ. A.7 on 7. Transcriptions in Kretschmer, 182, n. 1. In the Ilias (I.667), A.8 belongs to a female prisoner of war given to Patroklos; occurs also on 5.

8. BERLIN F 1705. A: 1. ΠΕΛΕΥΣ, 2. [Μ]ΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ (retr.), 3. ΑΝΚΑΟΣ (retr.), 4. ΓΟΡΓΟΣ (retr.), 5. ΚΑΣΤΟΡ (retr.). B: 6. [ΟΡΙ]ΠΟΣ, 7. [ΧΑ]ΙΡΕΣ, 8. Μ[…]. Transcriptions and tracings in Furtwängler 244-245. See also *CVA* (A.4 is better than [Γ]ΟΡ[Α]ΟΣ). B.6 also on 9 and 17; see Kretschmer, 85 and 177: he points out that the name occurs in the oeuvre of Xenokles as well[104]; the ρ should be read as ρρ and sounded originally as ρσ.

9. ROME, CONSERVATORI 85. A: 1. ΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΝ (retr.), 2. ΑΝΚΑΙΟΣ (retr.), 3. (above the boar:) ΓΟ[Ρ]ΓΟΣ (retr.), 4. (below the boar:) […]ΑΡΠΟΣ (retr.), 5. (behind the boar:) […], 6. […]. B: 7. ΟΡΙΠΟΣ, 8. […]ΙΠΠΟΣ, 9. ΠΟΣ[…]. A.1-4: Immerwahr, 40, 170, erroneously labels the inscriptions on the reverse as nonsensical. Tracings in *CVA*; the reconstructions of B.7-9 are erroneous. B.7 occurs also on 8 and 17. A reconstruction of A.4 as ΚΑΠΡΟΣ, 'boar', would have fitted well.

12. GENEVA MF 156. According to the *CVA*, only traces remain.

13. COPENHAGEN CHR. VIII 323. A: 1. ΓΥΡΙΤΕΣ (retr.), 2. ΗΑΛΙΟΠΕ. Transcriptions in *CVA* and Immerwahr, 40, 168. A.1: from ΓΥΡΟΣ, a wrestling term: because the man bends his body (Cf. Philostratos, *De Gymnastica*, Jüthner 1909).

[102] The *CVA* Leiden 1 incorrectly states that all sphinxes and sirens have white skin. The drawing may reflect the Goltyr Painter's influence, see below.
[103] The cocks on the shoulder are larger and have other features. (See *e.g.* also New York 12.234.2, a Siana cup by the Double-Palmette Painter, Brijder 1983, pl. 56e.).
[104] In the tondo of Boston 98.921 (*CVA* pls. 96.3-4, 97.2), dated by Pieter Heesen to ca. 555.

17. CERVETERI. A: 1. […]ΙΟΣ, 2. […]ΣΥ[…] (retr.), 3. Ρ♀ΔΟ, 4. ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ, 5. ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ (retr.), 6. ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, 7. ΑΙΝΙΠΕΙΑ (retr.), 8. ΙΟΛΕΟΣ (retr.). B: 9. ΟΡΙΠΟΣ, 10. […]ΙΠΠΙΟΣ, 11. ΗΙΠΟΤΙΟΣ, 12. ΑΙΠΙΣ. A.3 probably nonsense; the ♀ occurs also on 29. B.9 also on Nos. 8-9.

Late period
21. COPENHAGEN 15070. A: 1. ΧΑΛΚΑΣ (retr.), 2. [Δ]ΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ, 3. ΚΑΛΙΑΣ (retr.), 4. ΚΑ[Λ]ΙΓΕ[ΝΕ]Σ (retr.), 5. ΟΛΥΤΕΥΣ, 6. ΣΟΚΛΕΣ. A.1 also on 7; metathesis for ΚΑΛΧΑΣ? A.4 in *LGPN* 247; A.5 is spelled as it is on the François krater (*Vaso François*, pl. 180) as Kretschmer, 146, no. 131.1 notes; see also the Kleitias fr. in Kreuzer 39-40, no. 30. A.6 is the only not-Homeric name on the vase; Kretschmer, 194, reports a ΣΟΚΛΕΕΣ.

22bis. Location unknown. From Lavinium. M. Guaitoli reports some of the inscriptions as follows: 'Kalis, Paitos, Damasipos, Violaos etc.' (see bibl. 22bis in Section 3.2, above).

Fragment
23. OXFORD. A: 1. ΕΡΙΦΥΛΕ (retr.)

Smaller neck-amphorae
27. PARIS, LOUVRE E 864. A: 1. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ, 2. ΑΠΟΛΟΝ, 3. ΓΕ, 4. ΤΙΤΥΟΣ, 5. ΗΕΡΜΕΣ (retr.). Transcriptions in the *CVA*: A.4 is strange; A.3 is copied from the *CVA*; the original name could not be read anymore. Immerwahr, 43, 202.

29. LIVERPOOL 56.19.19. A: 1. ΛΕΥ♀ΟΣ (retr.), 2. ΛΥΡΑΕΙΜΙ (retr.), 3. ΜΟΣΙΣ (retr.), 4. ΛΥΡΑΕΙΜΙ, 5. ΧΑΙΤΟΣ (retr.). See Beazley's comment in AJA 31, 1927, 345. A.1: 'the white one', also on Leiden PC 47; the ♀ is one of the very few in the oeuvre; the other on 17. A.5: 'crest' or 'horse's mane'; also on 35. Immerwahr, 42, erroneously asserts that ♀ only occurs in the Kyllenios Painter's oeuvre.

30. NEW YORK 59.11.25. A: 1. ΑΧΙΛΕΟΣ (retr.). Transcription in *CVA* and Immerwahr, 40, 169; it is a genitive.

Other than neck-amphorae
34. MANISA 6876 frr., COLUMN KRATER. A: 1. [Η]ΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ (retr.). Transcription in Tuna-Nörling.

35. LEIDEN PC 47, HYDRIA. 1. ΧΑΙΤΟΣ (retr.), 2. ΛΕΥΚΟΣ, 3. ΑΣΤΥΔΑΜΑ[Σ], 4. ΤΙ[ΜΟΔ]ΙΚΕ, 5. ΦΑΙΝΙΠΟΣ, 6. ΘΕ[ΣΕΥΣ], 7. [ΜΙΝΟΤΑ]ΥΡΟΣ (retr.), 8. ΑΡΙΑΝΝΕ, 9. ΜΙΝΟΣ, 10. ΔΕΜΟΔΙΚΕ, 11. ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ, 12. ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, 13. ΧΑΙΤΟΣ (retr.), 14. ΣΦΕΚΙΣ. See tracings in *CVA*. 2 (ΛΕΝ♀ΟΣ) and 13: also on 29. 5: 'Who shows his horses'. 6: Rather ΘΕ[ΣΕΥΣ] than [Α]ΘΕ[ΝΑΙΑ], because Theseus fights the Minotaur and the monster is named as well. For 8, see Kretschmer, 171.

About 130 inscriptions appear on some 19 vases out of a total of some 37 by the Prometheus Painter. He is therefore the 'Tyrrhenian' painter whose vases show the greatest number of inscriptions as a whole, as well as the greatest number of inscriptions on individual vases. The most numerous inscriptions are found on 1 (Louvre E 852), 6 (Cerveteri) and 35 (Leiden PC 47).
In several reverse main friezes, many jockeys are named; ΟΡΙΠΟΣ, 'he who incites his horses', occurs three times. Of all the inscriptions, only some of those on 17, in Cerveteri, seem to be meaningless. Especially the vases of the early and middle periods are inscribed; only one late-period amphora bears inscriptions. The two qoppas (♀) occur on 17 and 29.

3.7 *Comment*

Relative Chronology of the Prometheus Painter
For most of his early amphorae the Prometheus Painter chose an elaborate subject for the main friezes on both sides; the horse-race may occur in a lower frieze but is not yet prominent. Further, I place those amphorae in the early period on which at least some of the following traits occur: neat, somewhat stiff, festoons, both on the neck and surrounding the body, with their elements densely packed; a wavy stroke on the lotus cuffs; much outline drawing in festoons and main frieze; numerous and slender tongues, the red ones being applied on black glaze[105]. In general, the painting and drawing of the early work has been carefully executed with a steady hand, in places on a very small, almost miniature, scale[106].
The middle period includes most of the amphorae with the stock horse-race on the reverse. The hand has become a bit looser, especially in the festoons. Abundant outline drawing has vanished in this period, when the best pieces seem to have been produced.
In the late period, the larger amphorae may have two lower friezes instead of three. The tip of the

[105] Creatures with double shoulder lines and those lacking the mid-wing band are more frequent in the early period, but as these also occur in the middle and late periods, we should be cautious to use them as evidence.
[106] *E.g.* the hind on 6. We find animals the skin of which is adorned with incised circles also in the O.L.L. Group: Leipzig T 3322 (*ABV* 94, 96.10; *CVA* 2, pl. 8.2); and on the neck of the round-shouldered hydria Copenhagen 13536, attributed by Beazley to the Painter of London B 76 (see n. 63); the Painter of Louvre F 6 uses circles to adorn the shoulder part of a sphinx's wing on Boston 60.1452, a column krater (*Para* 51; *CVA* 2 pl. 60); see also the unattributed hydria in F. Canciani, Una hydria di Villa Giulia, *Xenia* 9, 1985, 5-10.

sickle-shaped wings, normally sharp, has disappeared, as has the typical hair line of Herakles and Nessos, and the wavy stroke in the midband of the wings of cocks. The drawing in the main frieze of 21 is fast and sure, the figure movement convincing; below, the outline of the panther ear is no longer incised, although the overlapping of the lower creatures continues. In 19, Herakles appears to step on the calf of his opponent; while 20 shows the looser festoons, with thick, sausage-like, stems and rings.

In my previous article, concerning the shape of the 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphorae, I suggested that five amphorae by the Prometheus Painter possibly belong to one batch[107]. It is noteworthy that they are also linked by the style of painting by which they can be placed in the middle period.

Of the larger amphorae, there is not an evident correlation between the shape and a particular period. Many of them are fragmentary, lacking the neck, foot or more. One observation, however, is not so tentative: it appears that the larger amphorae of the middle period are from one to two centimetres larger than the ones from the early *and* late periods.

4 THE TIMIADES PAINTER

4.1 *Introduction*

In 1944, D. von Bothmer named this painter after a Greek warrior whose name is inscribed in the Heraclean amazonomachy on the Boston amphora (47)[108]. Within the 'Tyrrhenian' Group, the Timiades Painter's oeuvre is characterized by comparatively high artistic quality, especially during the middle period. Bothmer observes that, in places, the hand resembles that of the Painter of Acropolis 606[109], and regards the Timiades Painter as slightly later than the Prometheus Painter. Others, however, have remarked that two of the Timiades Painter's amphorae – Munich 1426 (37) and Tübingen S/12 2452 (38) – are the oldest 'Tyrrhenians' which we know of[110]. I add eight or nine amphorae to the oeuvre, and delete six previously attributed vases, among others, the large dinos Louvre E 875[111]. My list comprises some 40 amphorae. The main differences between the Timiades Painter and the Prometheus Painter are explained in Section 4.7.

4.2 *Oeuvre*

a. Larger neck-amphorae

Early period

37. MUNICH 1426. *ABV* 95.5; *Para* 36; *Add2* 5 [D. von Bothmer]
38. TÜBINGEN S/12 2452 (D2). *ABV* 96.18; *Add2* 5 [D. von Bothmer]
39. PARIS, LOUVRE E 849, fragmentary. *(Figs. 36-37)* *ABV* 98.41 [D. von Bothmer]
40. ONCE BREMEN, MAGNUSSEN. *ABV* 101.81; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
41. MONTPELLIER S.A. 143. *ABV* 103.119; *Para* 39; *Add2* 7 [D. von Bothmer]
42. KURASHIKI, NINAGAWA 22. *(Fig. 14)* H. 41.0. Neck A, Komos (with erotic interest); B, Two female panthers, rosette; IA, Couples of men (and youths) and women, both dressed and naked, making love; IB, Komos (3 youths, woman), betw. sphinxes; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; black band; rays. Bibl.: E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (Mainz) 50-51, no. 22 [D. von Bothmer]
43. FLORENCE 115094, NECK fr. Pres. H. 10.5; Rim D. 15.3-15.7; groove on outside rim. Neck A, Panther-siren-cock-with-human-hands, holding tendril and wreath; B, Chain of double palmettes and double lotus buds. Bibl.: Bothmer 1976, 436; Kluiver 1993, fig. 8 (profile and section drawing) [J. Kluiver]

Middle period

44. MUNICH 1436. *ABV* 95.4; *Para* 36; *Add2* 5 [D. von Bothmer]
45. LONDON 1897.7-27.2. *ABV* 97.27, 683; *Para* 37; *Add2* 6 [D. von Bothmer]
46. ROME, CONSERVATORI 39. (Fig. 43) *ABV* 98.44, 684; *Para* 37; *Add2* 6 [D. von Bothmer]
47. BOSTON 98.916. *(Fig. 16)* *ABV* 98.46, 684; *Para* 37; *Add2* 6 [D. von Bothmer]
48. PARIS, LOUVRE E 860. *ABV* 103.111; *Add2* 7 [D. von Bothmer]
49. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10700, fragmentary. *(Fig. 39)* *Para* 42 [D. von Bothmer]
50. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 46735. *(Figs. 4, 17, 38, 42)* H. 41.1-41.6; D. 23.7-24.0; Rim D. 15.1-15.8; Foot D. 12.4-12.6; groove on outside rim. Neck A, palmette-lotus festoon (5); B, palmette cross; IA, Satyr, 7 youths (and men?), Maenad; IB, Two cocks betw. sirens;

[107] Kluiver 1993, 186.
[108] Bothmer 1944, 164, 166-167. Another instance of the name is noted in *LGPN* 429.
[109] For connections with the Painter of Acropolis 606 see Section 4.5, below.
[110] Thiersch 35f. and Bakır: see n. 94, above. S.C. Stone suggests that the Prometheus Painter was the pupil of the Timiades Painter, but his arguments are weak. Thiersch and Bakır also consider the Timiades Painter the older of the two, probably because the figures of animals and humans on the neck remind them of older work, like that of Sophilos or even the Nettos Painter (*e.g.* Athens 1002, with Herakles and Nessos, *ABV* 4.1; and Berlin 1961.7 with two panthers on the neck, *CVA* 5, pl. 1.1). We see, however, that animals also occur on the necks of contemporaneous amphorae by, for instance, the Camtar Painter, the Painter of London B 76 and the earliest prize amphorae. Mayer-Emmerling, 159, regards a dinos fragment attributed by Bothmer to the Kyllenios Painter as the earliest piece in the 'Tyrrhenian' Group; I shall deal with it in my next article.
[111] See n. 133, below.

below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; 16 rays. Bibl.: Schauenburg 1973, 20 [J. Kluiver]
51. COLUMBIA, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI 74.101, fragmentary. Pres. H. 19.6; pres. D. 23.6. IA, Herakles and Amazons, meaningful inscr.; IB, Komos (with sexual interest) betw. sirens; below, parts of 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-? Unpublished [J. Kluiver]
52. SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION, fragmentary. H. 38.5; Rim D: 15.5; Foot D: 11.5. Neck: palmette-lotus festoon (A, 5; B, 4); IA, Medusa and Perseus, meaningful inscr.; IB, Komos betw. sphinxes; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Bibl.: Once Basle market (Photo number 7524 in H.A. Cahn's card index); *LIMC* IV.2 s.v. 'Gorgo, Gorgones' 315 [J. Kluiver]

Late period
53. PHILADELPHIA 2522. *ABV* 95.1; *Para* 36; *Add2* 5 [D. von Bothmer]
54. ROME, VATICAN 39514. *(Fig. 20) ABV* 95.3 (Marchesa Guglielmi); F. Buranelli, *La Raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi* (Roma 1989) 28, 29, pl. 19, 44, pl. 218, 112, no. 218 [J. Kluiver]
55. BERLIN F 1707. *ABV* 96.19; *Para* 36; *Add2* 6 [D. von Bothmer]
56. ROME, CONSERVATORI 21. *ABV* 101.79; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]
57. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10519, fragmentary. *(Figs. 15, 41) ABV* 102.95; *Add2* 7 [J. Kluiver]
58. SASSARI 2402/2765. *(Fig. 19) ABV* 102.96, 684; *Para* 38; *Add2* 7 [D. von Bothmer]
59. HEIDELBERG 67/4. *ABV* 102.101 (Roman market); *Para* 39 (Meggen, Käppeli); *Add2* 7 [D. von Bothmer]
60. PARIS, LOUVRE E 838. *ABV* 102.106; *Add2* 7 [D. von Bothmer]
61. OTTERLO 6. *ABV* 683.51bis; *Para* 37; Kluiver 1992, no. 1; Bothmer: 'manner of the Timiades Painter' [J. Kluiver]
62. CERVETERI. *Para* 40 [D. von Bothmer]
63. AMSTERDAM 3734. *Para* 40; *Add2* 8; Kluiver 1992, no. 2 [D. von Bothmer]
64. NEW YORK 1980.270. *(Fig. 18) Para* 41 (Montclair, Boorman); *Add2* 8 [D. von Bothmer]
65. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10511, fragmentary. *Para* 41 [D. von Bothmer]
66. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10697, fragmentary. *Para* 41 [D. von Bothmer]

b. Fragments, of larger neck-amphorae

67. ROME, VILLA GIULIA 79507, fr. *Para* 41 [J. Kluiver]
68. FLORENCE 115107 (ex 016), 3 frr. *(Fig. 40)* 15.0 x 16.5. Probably from the same vase as 69. Fr. of IB, with tongues, and, from l. to r., a sphinx to r., and parts of a komast; II, with parts of 2 panthers(?); lines: 1. Unpublished. [J. Kluiver]
69. FLORENCE 115106 (ex 019), fr. 10.0 x 8.0. *(Fig. 40)* Probably from the same vase as 68. Fr. of IB, with from l. to r. part of komast foot, a sphinx to l.; II, with part of panther to l.; lines: 1. Unpublished [J. Kluiver]

c. Smaller neck-amphorae

70. PARIS, LOUVRE E 828. *ABV* 103.120 [J. Kluiver]
71. LOS ANGELES, OLDKNOW. *Para* 41 (Philadelphia market); *Add2* 8 [D. von Bothmer]
72. ROME, CONSERVATORI 29. *Para* 42; *CVA* 1, pl. 13.2, 5; [D. von Bothmer: 'perhaps a late work of the Timiades Painter']
73. NEW YORK 66.80 and L 1971.104. From Cerveteri. H. 28.9-29.2; Rim D. 13.5; Foot D. 9.8. Neck: palmette-lotus cross (A, B); IA, Two cranes, betw. panthers; IB, Two sirens; lower body black. Bibl.: *ArsAnt Luzern* iv, 1962, pl. 42, no. 127 [D. von Bothmer]
74. KIEL B 595. H. 30.4; D. 19.0; Rim D. 12.6; Foot D. 9.2. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5.5); IA, Achilleus ambushes Troilos; IB, Komos (9 men); below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Bibl.: *CVA* 1, pl. 9, D. von Bothmer: 'Prometheus Painter' [J. Kluiver]

d. Probably by the Timiades Painter

I have not seen the following three neck-amphorae noted in Bothmer 1976, 436, but suppose that they are by the Timiades Painter because of the neck decoration:

75. OXFORD, fr. Neck A, two sphinxes.
76. SWISS, PRIVATE. Neck A, Panthers; B, Komos.
77. NEW YORK, CARLO GAY. Neck A, 2 satyrs and a goat.

I have not seen the following amphora; and the description in *ABV* is too brief to place it in the above scheme:

78. ROME, VILLA GIULIA, fragmentary. *ABV* 101.78; *Para* 38 [D. von Bothmer]

e. Attributed incorrectly to the Timiades Painter

ATHENS N.M. Ex Küsnacht, Hirschmann G 30. See Prometheus Painter (5).
CERVETERI. IA, Herakles and Amazons. See Prometheus Painter (17).
LENINGRAD 1402 (ST 153). By the Kyllenios Painter.
PARIS, LOUVRE E 837. By the Pointed-Nose Painter.
PARIS, LOUVRE E 875, dinos. *ABV* 104.123, 684; *Add2* 8. Not 'Tyrrhenian'.[112]
PURRMANN COLLECTION. By the Castellani Painter.
ROME, CONSERVATORI 100. By the Pointed-Nose Painter.

4.3 *Decorative schemes*

The many larger amphorae of the Timiades Painter are exceptional because of the great variation in the decoration of their necks: several types of floral, unusual combinations of florals on opposite sides, many animals and even several small figure scenes

[112] See n. 133, below.

(Figs. 36-37)[113]. The florals comprise palmette-lotus festoon on each side; palmette-lotus cross on each side (seen on roughly twice as many of his larger amphorae); or a festoon on A and a cross on B (46, 61). Less usual florals are two crosses composed of palmettes only (50, 57, *Figs. 4, 38*). Such a palmette cross is also seen on Florence 3770[114], and a chain of alternating pairs of buds and pairs of palmettes (43).

Of all the Timiades Painter's amphorae, only 41 has a vertical black zone under each handle. The larger amphorae show two animal friezes on the lower body, divided, as a rule, by single lines[115]. Two of them have a black band above the base-rays; two others are half-black[116].

The smaller amphorae are often decorated with a palmette-lotus cross on both sides of the neck. Two of them have a black band above the base-rays; and one is half-black[117]. By my count, the base-rays number 14-24, averaging 18, noticeably fewer than the 22 of the Prometheus Painter's amphorae.

4.4 *Favourite subjects*

On the obverse, the commonest subjects are erotic scenes (42, 57-60, perhaps also 71-72)[118] and the adventures of Achilles, who is portrayed ambushing Troilos (44, 53-54, 74)[119], fighting Memnon (40, 62) and confronting Hektor over Troilos' beheaded body (37)[120]. There are at least four larger fights, with three pairs of warriors each (56, 64-66). Four times Herakles battles the Amazons (47, 51, 61, 63). And twice centaurs and Lapiths fight against each other *(Fig. 36)*[121]. An unparalleled subject within the Group is 'Perseus and Medusa' (52).

On the reverse, at least twenty amphorae show one to four komasts, women or combinations of them, flanked by animals; occasionally there are satyrs *(Figs. 39, 41-42)*[122].

Panthers and rams are the most numerous animals in the lower friezes. Some of the panthers, provided with teats, are obviously female; the single parallel within the Group is by the Goltyr Painter[123]. Insofar as I am aware, the Timiades Painter depicted neither lions, cocks nor eagles. His other creatures include girl-cock, sphinx, siren, fawn, boar, ibex and water bird or swan[124].

An occasional lower frieze shows slight variation: palmette-lotus cross (45); folding chair (63); nude youth kneeling between two panthers (37)[125]. No lower frieze is filled with a festoon[126].

Rosettes rarely act as filling ornaments. They may be incised with petals and one or two central rings (37, *Fig. 39*) or irregularly shaped (63).

[113] Many of the following amphorae with other than floral decoration on the neck were first listed by K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium* 76, 1969, 45f.; the list was enlarged by H. Mommsen, 26; and by Bothmer (1976, 436): 37 (A: facing sphinxes, B: panther faces ram); 38 (A: facing sphinxes, B: facing sirens); 39 (A: facing sphinxes, B: komos); 40 (A: boar-cock facing panther-cock); 41 (A, B: facing sphinxes); 42 (A: komos or love-making, B: two female panthers); 43 (A: panther-siren-cock-with-human-hands); 75 (A: 2 sphinxes); 76 (A: panthers, B: komos); 77 (2 satyrs and goat). See also Florence 3773 (Castellani Painter, above, n. 9). The portrayal of animals on the neck may seem to point to a very early date because it also occurs on vases by the Nettos Painter (Berlin 1961.7, in *CVA* 5, pls. 1.1, 2.1) and those in n. 93, above, but it is also seen in the work of contemporaries like the Camtar Painter (*e.g.* Tübingen D7: *Para* 31.8); and the Painter of London B 76 (*e.g.* Copenhagen: n. 63). There was once an unattributed 'Tyrrhenian' amphora in Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* 1 [Berlin 1885] 250, no. 1709) which also had panthers on both sides of the neck; however, according to Furtwängler and *ABV* 96.15, the neck was alien.

[114] *ABV* 122.1, 'near the painter of Vatican 309'.

[115] The double lines on 47 are without parallel.

[116] Black band: 39, 42; see also 41; 44 and 48 are half-black. Mayer-Emmerling, 169, n. 4, erroneously states that the Timiades Painter's amphorae 'oft nur Schulterdarstellung und schwarz uberzogenen Körper [zeigen]'.

[117] One smaller amphora (74) has neck festoons instead of crosses.

[118] See also the reverse of 51.

[119] On the reverse of 44 there are eight armed hoplites. In my opinion, the two scenes are connected, the hoplites being Trojans who have been sent to protect Troilos. The same applies to the hoplites in the three other scenes by the Timiades Painter of Achilles ambushing Troilos (37, 54, 74); and the one by the Prometheus Painter (7). An example outside the Group is the name-vase of the Painter of Louvre E 876 (*CVA* Louvre 2, pl. 22.1) where a line of hoplites is seen directly behind Troilos. Cf. Mayer-Emmerling, 119: 'die Maler [könnten] an Griechen oder Trojanen gedacht haben, doch lässt sich hier kein direkter Bezug zum Geschehen der Vorderseiten herstellen'.

[120] Schefold 1993, 308: for 'Deiphobos' read 'Deithynos'; see Immerwahr 41, no. 173. The same subject is found on the Prometheus Painter's 7. These two scenes, together with the Timiades Painter's depiction of Neoptolemos cutting Polyxena's throat (45), are the reason that 'Tyrrhenian' imagery has a reputation for being coarse and cruel. For other Attic examples of the subject, see Kluiver 1992, 79 n. 34.

[121] Amphorae 39 and 46. The centaur emerging from the handle-root of 39 reminds one of several figures attached to handle-roots in the work of the Prometheus Painter.

[122] Nos. 42, 45-47, 49 (with satyr), 51-53, 55, 57, 59-64, 71-72. Women occur on 42, 46, 64, 71.

[123] Timiades Painter: 49, 65-66, neck of 42. Goltyr Painter: 89; see below. Outside the 'Tyrrhenian' Group, a female panther is seen *e.g.* on the neck of a hydria by the Camtar Painter (Milan A 14962: *Para* 32.11; *Add2* 23).

[124] Most sphinxes squat; standing ones are very rare in the lower friezes, but rather common in the main frieze on the reverse. According to W.N. Bates, (A Tyrrhenian Amphora in Philadelphia, *AJA* 11, 437, 439), 53 shows a bearded sphinx and a bull.

[125] As on London B.M. 1897-7-27.2 by the Gorgon Painter (Boardman, fig. 11.1).

[126] Note, however, that festoons surround the body of 41, which is not provided with a main frieze. Because of the black bands and palmette-lotus festoons, this amphora resembles the special one found in Samos (no number) which has comparable decoration and ribs; it will be published by B. Kreuzer, see n. 67.

4.5 *Stylistic characteristics*

Although the hand of the Timiades Painter cannot easily be recognized in the neck florals, two details of the palmette-lotus crosses are noteworthy. First, in comparison with the palmettes, the lotus flowers may be very wide, with long lateral sepals. Second, the stem often seems visibly broken into short strokes rather than forming a continuously curving line which passes behind the lotuses; it consist of two parts, each emerging from a lateral sepal. However, examples of such stems can be noted in palmette-lotus crosses in other 'Tyrrhenian' oeuvres.

In the festoons, extra stems have not been added to the first and last element, as seen in the work of the Prometheus Painter[127]. The last element is often squeezed against the handle attachment (*e.g.* 44, 47-48, 74). The lotuses may be as wide as those in some crosses. On 41 and 70 the festoons are exceptionally neat.

Two notable features of the sphinxes, found on at least four necks, are wings without midbands and faces and chests which have been left black instead of being painted white as is usual in 'Tyrrhenian' and other Attic black figure of the period *(Fig. 37)*[128].

The lines of some tongue-bands were applied with two brushes of different widths: a thin brush for the dividing lines and the horizontal auxiliary line; a thicker one for the undulating horizontal line. In these particular bands the tongues are rather narrow (*e.g.* on 38-39, 47, *Figs. 36-37*). Whereas in other bands only a thicker brush was used and the tongues are generally wider (55, 63)[129].

Some reverse main friezes show only animals, facing centre, two on each side *(Fig. 38)*[130]. On 50, two curving tendrils emerge from behind a pair of cocks[131]. The human figures on the reverse side are often flanked by animals or composite creatures *(Figs. 39-40)*[132]. Among them, the swans are poorly proportioned, with small wings and feet placed too far forward.

Some details of the Timiades Painter's amazonomachies with Herakles are identical: the lion skin's hind legs are not separated by Herakles' thigh; the hero steps on Andromache's calf; and her peplos has a decorated panel-band (47, 51, 61, 63)[133]. The lion head may serve as helmet, but it never hangs down on Herakles' back. A helmet with a wheel-shaped crest-support is depicted in two scenes[134]. On 47, Pantariste's shield is adorned with a rare type of blazon: a large white rosette[135]. A more usual shield blazon is the compass-drawn rosette of 40, 44 and 56[136].

Some traits of the erotic scenes are rather characteristic of the Timiades Painter. A female may be having sex, actively or passively, with two males, one on either side of her (57, 60, *Fig. 41*)[137]. Males may gesture obscenely with extended middle finger

[127] An exception is 61. Except on the reverse of 45, the elements 1, 3 and 5 of the festoons have palmettes on top. The spiky lotus leaf is never omitted. Amphora 52 has one four-element festoon.

[128] Nos. 37-39, 41. This reminds us of work from Sophilos' time; see Bakır 1981, figs. 13, 39, 47-48, 49-50, etc.

[129] Most tongue-bands are interrupted under each handle (exceptions: 49, 48, 72). Larger vases have 20-27 tongues on each side, smaller ones, 17-20. The dividing lines may slant downward slightly to left; on the vases I have examined, the added red has always been applied directly on the clay.

[130] Two pairs of animals on 37-38, 40, 50, 54, 65-66. Three animals on 56 and 58 (*CVA* Musei Capitolini 1, text with pl. 12.7, mistakenly calls the reverse subject 'sfinge fra due sirene' instead of 'siren between swans'). Sirens are most numerous; there are only about half as many swans, sphinxes, cocks and composite animals.

[131] As also seen on the name-vase of the Painter of Athens 533 (*ABV* 68.2; Boardman, fig. 34).

[132] These flanking animals and other creatures, single or double, never occur on the obverse of the larger amphorae. See 42, 45-47, 49, 51-52, 60-61, 63-64, 71-72. Apart from sphinxes and sirens, the composite creatures are panther-cocks (55, 59), girl-cocks (53, 57), panther-sirens (66) and panther-sphinxes (49). The flanking creatures of 68-69 should be reconstructed as panther-sphinxes; they resemble those of 49 because there is not a curving hairline at the neck.

[133] Louvre E 875, the dinos which Bothmer 1977a, 264, attributes to the Timiades Painter but which I exclude from the 'Tyrrhenian' Group, has none of these details. Features of the painting differ entirely from the style of the Timiades Painter: the shoulder scene is overcrowded and the animals in the lower frieze are not arranged according to axial symmetry but in antithetic pairs: panther and he-goat. Further, the Timiades Painter portrayed not goats, as on the dinos, but ibex. A comparable animal frieze is found on the Hearst hydria about which Smith, 244, remarks: 'The composition is not of Attic variety but of Corinthian monotony…' Nor is the dinos by the Camtar Painter, as suggested in Tzahou-Alexandri, 208.

[134] Amphorae 44 and 47, as noted in *CVA* Munich 7, text with pl. 313, which gives many other occurrences of such a crest-holder. The most important parallels occur in the work of the Painter of Acropolis 606; see Tzahou-Alexandri, 193f. figs. 2-3, 13-4, 16, 18-19.

[135] Cf. especially the rosette blazon on Athena's shield on an early Panathenaic amphora in Graef and Langlotz, pl. 60, no. 917. Another example is seen on the hydria by the Painter of London B 76 in Zurich (*Das Tier in der Antike* [Zurich 1974] no. 219); and possibly on Louvre E 855 (O.L.L. Group; *ABV* 99.53).

[136] This type of rosette also occurs on the Prometheus Painter's 4-5; a cup in Berlin, F 1672 (see Schefold 1978, fig. 323); and, executed in more complicated fashion, in the work of the Painter of Acropolis 606; see Tzahou-Alexandri, n. 22, figs. 3, 20; add to her list of vases by the Camtar Painter: Tübingen D7 (*Para* 31.8); Laon 371017 (*CVA* 1, pl. 3). For other connections see n. 143, below.

[137] On 49, at least one man or youth appears in a fragmentary scene which would otherwise be labeled 'Satyrs and Maenad'. A courting scene by Lydos (Paris, Cab. Med. 206; *ABV* 109.27) has affinities with 'Tyrrhenian' painting because of the way the man bends his knees and lifts his face a bit. See in this respect Bothmer 1985, 148-149 fig. 88.

(57, 59-60, 71, *Fig. 41*)[138]. And the genitals of some men are seen hanging down between their thighs (51, 60; see also 74)[139].

The Timiades Painter's strong preference for a small komos scene on the reverse is distinctive *(Figs. 39-40)*. Some komasts stretch out an arm behind an animal's neck, while holding a wreath (42, 45, 60, 63, 68-69)[140]. On 49 a youth and satyr dance while holding a neck-amphora *(Fig. 39)*[141].

At first glance, the men, youths and women resemble those portrayed by the Prometheus Painter: for instance, the warriors of both painters have slender waists, triangular torsos and heads which appear to be a bit large in relation to the neck[142]. However, there is much more movement in the Timiades Painter's figures, with many komasts, warriors and satyrs standing or 'landing' on their toes. This is the chief reason that most of this painter's scenes have a lighter, airier, more elegant character *(Fig. 42)*[143].

Some figures are convincingly rendered in side view. To achieve this, the Timiades Painter drew only the lower far arm and hand which are seen to emerge at waist level from behind the figure (*e.g.* 48, 51, 57, 74, *Fig. 41)*[144]. Especially the men and satyrs of 48 are well executed and well proportioned; they belong to the best figurework found within the Group. Note also that some men and satyrs have concave backs, as if they are stretching as much as possible[145].

Nude men and youths can be divided into four groups. Most of them dance or make love with females. Many are rendered in side view, with one arm partly overlapping the chest and one leg overlapping much of the other leg. A single stroke curves below the chest; there are no collar bones. These men and youths appear in main friezes on both the obverse and the reverse.

In the second group, youths, characteristic, have undulating hairlines which also shape the ear and two bent strokes indicating collar bones. Being confined to the reverse side, they apparently acted as stock figures (57, 61, 63)[146].

The males in the third group are depicted in the same way as the Goltyr Painter's komasts, standing or dancing to the right and looking round. Further, like those komasts they have red chests seen in front view, with two incised nipples; fillets indicated by double incising; and the corner of the mouth bent down at a right angle. The pair of strokes below the chest also seems to reflect the Goltyr Painter's proximity. Again, such men are seen only on the reverse (55, 59). And as seen in 71, another trait that seems to derive from the work of the Goltyr Painter is the vertical band of the lower part of the peplos widening towards the hem.

Finally, a few men and satyrs have two joining curved strokes marking the chest, with a nipple above each (48, 72).

In the lower friezes, the Timiades Painter's animals are less vivid than those by the Prometheus Painter and, being arranged in only two friezes, they are also larger. On some amphorae there are no more than six animals on each side[147]. Groups of three are common *(Figs. 36-37)*. Few amphorae show two creatures facing each other in the centre of frieze II (37, 46, 50, 54, 59, *Figs. 38-39, 42*). The rams and panthers may be solidly built and well proportioned, but also rather elongated *(Fig. 43)*[148]. Some sirens and quadrupeds have double shoulder lines; some sirens lack wing midbands, just as in the Prometheus Painter's oeuvre[149].

On four amphorae, panthers are provided with incised hair at the tip of the tail; on another amphora, one panther has incised hair on both hind legs, which is without parallel *(Fig. 43)*[150]. Most tails are arranged in a rounded or pear-shaped curl *(Fig. 37)*; an S-shaped tail is exceptional (45, 63). The panthers' tails seem to curl less in the lower-

[138] The gesture occurs in later 'Tyrrhenian' work, *e.g.* the Guglielmi Painter. Figures may point with the index finger as well; see the komos scene of 47 and the satyrs of 49.

[139] See also the later column krater Louvre E 655 (*CVA* 12, pl. 164.4).

[140] The same motive appears in the Prometheus Painter's work: 20, 27-29.

[141] Not listed in H. Gericke, *Gefässdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin 1970), where the vessels depicted in 'Tyrrhenian' painting are poorly represented.

[142] See *e.g.* Hermes, Athena and Achilleus on 37.

[143] Compare *e.g.* the Timiades Painter's Amazonomachy on 63 with the one by the Prometheus Painter on 17. As already remarked, the latter's figures often stand firmly on the ground. The movement, especially the pose in which the figure seems to land or to stand on the toes, is earlier seen in the Painter of Acropolis 606's amphora in Tzahou-Alexandri 197, figs. 6-8, and on the Amasis Painter's early panel amphora Vatican 17743, illustrated in Bothmer 1985, 77, no. 3. For the differences in female attire see n. 79, above.

[144] This is rarely found in the Prometheus Painter's work (13).

[145] Most apparent on 48; also on 55 and 74.

[146] See also the men on the necks of 39 and 42; the sphinxes' ears on 39; the sirens' ears on the neck of 38 and in frieze II of 54.

[147] Which are much fewer than the animals seen on most amphorae by the Prometheus Painter; *e.g.* 39, 47, 57, 60, 66, 71.

[148] Well-proportioned: 37, 42, 47, 49. Elongated: 46, 61, 63, 66, 71. The animals in the lowermost frieze are usually longer than those in the frieze above.

[149] Double shoulder line: 37, 42, 54-55. Sirens' wings without midbands: 38, 42, 53-54.

[150] The incisions on the tips of tails are either arranged in a fish-bone pattern (most often middle period), or lengthwise (most often late period); *e.g.* 47, 52, 55, 61, 63, 71. The tips of the animal's tails in the Painter of Acropolis 606's name-piece have fish-bone pattern incisions, very similar to some of those in the work of the Timiades Painter (Graef and Langlotz, pl. 31).

most frieze than in the one above. The genitals may be indicated (65, 68-69, 74, *Fig. 40*).
The drawing of the panthers' faces varies. The two lines coming down from the ears and converging over the forehead may separate above the nose (*e.g.* 37, 39, 42, 45, 52, 57, 60, *Figs. 14-15, 36-37*). They may, however, descend parallel over the nose, with an incised stroke on either side in the form of a quarter-circle (*e.g.* 47, 59, *Fig. 16*). The lateral strokes may be horizontal (*e.g.* 55, 61, 63); or they may even have been omitted (*e.g.* 55-56, 59, 64, Fig. 39)[151].
As illustrated in *Figs. 17-19*, the profile of the ram's head may show a small protuberance for the eye, which, however, is seldom drawn exactly on that spot[152]. The mouth may be narrow, long and bent, somewhat like the mouth of a tapir. Above the eye, as a rule, a double horizontal line runs from ear to forehead. The ear itself is often symmetrical, resembling a leaf. Frequently the mouth is indicated by three strokes arranged as a 'T' with two horizontal bars on top (46, 50, 54, 58, *Figs. 17-19*)[153].
The two antithetical sirens in frieze II of 54 are notable because of their rather old-fashioned appearance. The right-hand siren is illustrated in *Fig. 20*. Both of them have black skin, long hair which is meant to overlap the shoulder (owing to a mistake the necks appear to overlap the shoulders) and wings without midbands[154]. A double line marks the shoulder of the left-hand siren.

4.6 *Inscriptions*

Early period
37. MUNICH 1426. A: 1. ΗΕΡΜΕΣ, 2. ΑΧΙΛΕΥΣ (retr.), 3. ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ (retr.), 4. ΗΕΚΤΟΡ (retr.), 5. ΒΟΜΟΣ, 6. ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (retr.), 7. ΔΕΙΘΥΝΟΣ (retr.), 8. […]. See *CVA*, and Immerwahr, 40-41, 173. Kretschmer, 95, no. 72 reads A.7 mistakenly as ΔΕΙΠΗΟΒΟΣ; the present reading of the name, however, is strange as well and one may wonder if the writer intended it like this.

38. TÜBINGEN S/12 2452. A: 1. ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, 2. ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ, 3. ΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΝ (retr.), 4. ΠΕΛΕΥΣ (retr.). Transcriptions in Furtwängler, 246-247. Tracings in *CVA* and Immerwahr, 41, 177.

Middle period
45. LONDON 97.7-27.2. A: 1. ΝΕΣΤΟΡ ΠΥΛΙΟΣ, 2. ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ, 3. ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ (retr.), 4. ΠΟΛΥΣΧΕΝΕ (retr.), 5. ΑΝΦΙΛΟΧΟΣ (retr.), 6. ΑΝΤΙΦΑΤΕΣ (retr.), 7. ΑΙΑΣ ΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ, 8. ΦΟΙΝΙΧΣ (retr.). A.4: the 'ΣΧ' may be a metathesis for 'ΧΣ' (= Ξ). A.7: 'Iliades' need not be a misspelling as Immerwahr, 41, 175 n. 24 suggests; it is a synonym.

46. ROME, CONSERVATORI 39. A: 1. […], 2. […], 3. [Κ]ΑΙΝ[ΕΥΣ] (retr.), 4. […]. See *CVA* and Immerwahr, 41, 176.

47. BOSTON 98.916. A: 1. ΤΙΜΙΑΔΕΣ (retr.), 2. ΠΑΝΤΑΡΙΣΤΕ (retr.), 3. ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ, 4. ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ (retr.), 5. ΤΕΛΑΜΟΝ, 6. ΑΙΝΙΠΕ (retr.). See *CVA*, and Immerwahr, 41, 174.

51. COLUMBIA, UNIV. OF MISSOURI. A: 1. ΙΟΛΕΟΣ, 2. ΕΡΑΤΟ (retr.), 3. […], 4. […], 5. ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑ[ΧΕ] (retr.), 6. ΤΕΛΑΜ[ΟΝ], 7. […]. I only have a xerox; on the amphora, I think, more inscriptions are readable.

52. SWITZERLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION. A: 1. ΜΕΔΟΣΑ, 2. [Γ]ΟΡΓ[Ο]Ν, 3. ΗΕΡΜ[Ε]Σ, 4. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ, 5. ΠΕΡ[ΣΕ]ΥΣ (retr.). Transcriptions of A.1-2 in *LIMC* IV 'Gorgo, gorgones' 315: A.1: 'ONA' is incorrect.

Late period
62. CERVETERI. A: 1. […]ΚΑΜ[…], 2. ΗΕΟΣ, 3. ΑΧΙΛ[Ε]Υ[Σ] (retr.), 4. […]Ε[…]

66. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10697. A: 1. [A]INE[AΣ].

Of the some 40 amphorae attributable to the Timiades Painter, only 9 have inscriptions, all written on the obverse. Two belong to the early period; five to the middle period; and two to the late period. Immerwahr, 41, notes: 'Despite variations in letter-forms the curving lines, flattened letters, and strokes made by a brush that has not been cleaned clearly identify the hand as that of the Timiades Painter', whom he calls 'the least careless writer of the group'.
Many of the names in the Heraclean Amazonomachies seem to be copied from the Prometheus Painter's oeuvre, and the Timiades Painter only surprises us with the lengthened names of Nestor and Aias on 45. The only beta in these two earlier oeuvres is on 37.

[151] In the most general terms the order of the variations is chronological; that is, although variations (which are close in date) are found on the same amphora, the first and last variations never occur on the same amphora.
[152] Correctly placed on 50, 57, 65. On 50, the protuberance is very clear.
[153] In addition, a few vertical or horizontal lines, or a capital 'H' (61, 63). The horizontal lines on the mouths of two rams on 63 are probably copied from the Goltyr Painter; see *e.g.* the Goltyr Painter's 86, 88, 96.
[154] This kind of hair, overlapping the wing, seen in combination with black skin, may derive from the circle of Sophilos; Bakır 1981, pl. 69. Comparable hair occurs in the work of related non-'Tyrrhenian' painters, such as an O.L.L. Group amphora (Bothmer 1977b, 252 no. 233) and Louvre E 856 (for which see n. 63).

4.7 *Comment*

Relative chronology

I consider the following details important for determining the Timiades Painter's relative chronology: type of neck ornament, quality of the execution of tongue-bands and rosettes, types of wing and shoulder line of the subsidiary animals, degree to which the quadrupeds are elongated and the drawing of the panthers' faces[155].

As argued in Thiersch's study of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group, the amphorae with figures on the neck – animal, composite creature, human – are most likely the earliest. Most of them share additional traits: sirens which have double shoulder lines and bipartite wings (not marked by midbands); well-proportioned animals of vigorous appearance; panthers with two diverging lines across the face; and rams whose eyes are drawn in or very near the frontal protuberance of the head. In addition, the lines of the tongue-bands are usually executed with two brushes of different widths and the rosettes are of neat type, with the tips of the petals painted in silhouette. Like the figures on the neck, all these features can, in my view, also be regarded as 'early'. Moreover, since three of them – bipartite wing, double shoulder line, diverging lines across panthers' faces – are not very different from such details in the work of Sophilos, it seems almost certain that the amphorae with figures on the neck were made in the Timiades Painter's early period (37-43).

Belonging to the next period would be the amphorae with palmette-lotus festoon on the neck (44-52). Although most of the lower animals of these amphorae are well-proportioned, as in the early period, a tendency towards greater length can be discerned in the lowermost friezes. In the middle period we see the first strange, composite creature, so typical of the Timiades Painter, appearing in the main frieze, such as the winged panthers of 49. Apart from 44, the tongue-band is usually less neat. This is the period of the Timiades Painter's best work (47-48).

Most of his late amphorae would be those showing palmette-lotus cross on the neck (53-66). Other features include: less carefully executed tongue-bands and rosettes; elongated lower animals; tripartite wings and single shoulder lines for sirens and sphinxes; some rams which are marked by two vertical strokes across the face; and ram's eye drawn below the frontal protuberance.

This relative chronology seems to be very generally confirmed by the shape. The non-vegetal ornaments occur on the necks of amphorae measuring 40.0 cm or more[156]; whereas those measuring less than 40.0 cm have crosses on the neck. Therefore we can suppose that the amphorae gradually became somewhat smaller. On the other hand, the amphorae with festoons on the neck are dispersed over the full range of heights. More importantly, however, the shoulders of the amphorae assigned to the early period show a decidedly stronger incurve, so that the body's broadest point is higher than that of later amphorae, where shoulder curves less strongly inwards[157]. Apparently, the body later became, so to speak, baggy and loose.

The Prometheus Painter and the Timiades Painter: How to tell them apart?

The Prometheus Painter usually decorated larger amphorae with three lower friezes; the Timiades Painter always limited them to two. For the neck, the Prometheus Painter most often chose festoons, less often crosses, and never creatures or human figures. Compared with the Timiades Painter, he provided main friezes with fewer animals but many more human figures, and occasionally filled a lower frieze with a festoon.

The Timiades Painter adorned some necks with animals, composite creatures and human figures. Numerous flanking animals and strange composite creatures are features of his main friezes; human figures are relatively fewer.

All the horse-races by the Prometheus Painter are directed towards the left. Further, his subsidiary animals tend to have a more lively appearance. The attitudes of his human figures, on the other hand, are somewhat rigid. The usual type of female figure is attired in a long, unbelted peplos and a mantle which leaves the shoulder and upper part of the chest exposed.

Insofar as I know, we have no horse-race from the hand of the Timiades Painter[158]. Typical of his human figures is that they rarely stand with feet squarely on the ground.

The two painters can readily be distinguished by comparing the animals in the lower friezes. Those by the Timiades Painter are generally larger, heavier, often elongated, and they rarely touch or overlap each other; the heads of rams have a frontal

[155] For the importance of the neck ornament in the establishment of the relative chronology see Smith, 246 n. 45.

[156] Except 41.

[157] It is tempting to label 54 early because of the old-fashioned sirens. However, the incurve of the shoulder is weak and gradual, and the animals in the lowest frieze are rather elongated.

[158] Therefore D. von Bothmer's theory that the Timiades Painter reversed the direction of the horse-races from left to right seems to be unfounded (see Bothmer 1977a, 264). Note that I have not accepted all his attributions to the Timiades Painter. It is perhaps worth noting that this painter's galloping centaurs face left rather than right.

protuberance for the eye. The Prometheus Painter gave rams wrinkled ears and incised the outline of many panthers' ears.
Lastly, the inscriptions. These are seen on only about one-fourth of the Timiades Painter's amphorae, always on the obverse. Whereas the inscriptions on the Prometheus Painter's amphorae are relatively twice as numerous, appearing on one or both sides of roughly half of them.

5 THE GOLTYR PAINTER

5.1 *Introduction*

Although Thiersch considered the possibility that all the 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae were decorated by one painter, he observed that four specific vases were definitely executed by a single hand[159]. Beazley later named this artisan the Goltyr Painter, 'Goltyr' being a contraction of 'Goluchow' and 'Tyrrhenian'[160].
The painter's style is readily distinguishable from that of other 'Tyrrhenian' painters and shows many unique traits, some of which have been identified by D. von Bothmer: bulb-headed rams, warriors' corslets, thunderbolt blazon, double line across the chests of naked men[161]. The oeuvre now comprises 25 neck-amphorae, 3 of which are attributed by me.

5.2 *Oeuvre*

a. Larger neck-amphorae

Early period
79. GOTHA AHV 12. *ABV* 94, 98.43, 683 [D. von Bothmer]
80. PARIS, LOUVRE E 853. *ABV* 94, 101.90 [D. von Bothmer]
81. PARIS MARKET. H. 39.0. Neck not 'Tyrrhenian', foot restored or alien, base-rays repainted. IA, Fight, betw. sphinxes; IB, Komos (woman, men), betw. cocks; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Bibl.: Rondillon, no. 4, Sale: 24-11-1978, Hotel Drouot [J. Kluiver]

Middle period
82. WARSAW 142445. *ABV* 94, 102.104 (Goluchów, Czartoryski); *Para* 39; *Add2* 27 [J.D. Beazley]
83. PARIS, PRIVATE. *Para* 42 (Lucerne market), *Add2* 28 [D. von Bothmer]
84. DRESDEN Dr. 210 (H4 7/4). From Nola. *(Fig. 21)* H. 38.5; D. 23.4-23.6; Rim D. 15.0; Foot D. 12.1. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 4); IA, Duel, betw. women, betw. sphinxes; IB, Komast, betw. sphinxes, betw. cocks; below, 2 friezes: II, floral; III, animals; lines: 1-1-1; 14 rays. Bibl.: H. Hettner, *Bildwerke kön. Ant. Sammlung zu Dresden* (Dresden 1881) 7, no. 4; A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung* (Königsberg 1929) 79, no. 77 [J.D. Beazley]
85. FREIBURG MARKET. H. 37.8. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, B); IA, Boar hunt; IB, Sirens, betw. sphinxes; lower body black. Bibl.: Puhze Cat., *Kunst der Antike*, 7, 1986, no. 157, Bothmer: 'Painter of Rouen 331' [J. Kluiver]

Late period
86. ROME, CONSERVATORI 119. *(Fig. 22) ABV* 94, 96.21; *Para* 37; *Add2* 26 [D. von Bothmer]
87. PARIS, LOUVRE E 840. *ABV* 94, 99.52; *Add2* 26 [J.D. Beazley]
88. LEIDEN PC 36. *(Fig. 23) ABV* 94, 100.62, 684; *Add2* 27; Kluiver 1992, fig. 59 [J.D. Beazley]
89. PARIS, LOUVRE E 839. *(Figs. 44, 47-48) ABV* 94, 100.63, 684 [J.D. Beazley]
90. ST. LOUIS 13.26. *ABV* 94, 101.91 [J.D. Beazley]
91. WÜRZBURG 168. *ABV* 94, 103.114, 684; *Add2* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
92. MUNICH 1427. *ABV* 94, 103.115, 684; *Add2* 27 [D. von Bothmer]
93. FLORENCE 3774. *(Fig. 45) ABV* 94, 103.116 [D. von Bothmer]
94. PARIS, LOUVRE C 10507. *(Fig. 46) ABV* 94, 683.60bis; Kluiver 1993, fig. 9 (profile and section) [D. von Bothmer]
95. TAMPA (FLORIDA) 86.23. H. 39.0. *Para* 35, 41 (Maplewood, Noble); *Add2* 28; P.J. Russel, *Ceramics & Society; Making and Marketing Ancient Greek Pottery* (The Tampa Museum of Art, 1994) 27-28, no. 10 [H.A. Cahn]
96. SAN ANTONIO, DENMAN. H. 39.4. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons (A, 5; B, 5); IA, Amazon betw. Greeks, betw. cocks; IB, Naked man, and woman, betw. cocks, betw. sphinxes; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; rays. Bibl.: Cat. Sotheby's, 14-15 December 1981, no. 268a [anonymous]
97. ONCE IN THE MARKET, BEVERLY HILLS. H. 39.4; D. 23.9. Neck: palmette-lotus festoons; A, 5; B, 4; IA, Amazon, betw. Greeks, betw. cocks; IB, Komast, betw. swans, betw. sirens; below, 2 animal friezes; lines: 1-1-1; 16 rays. Bibl.: *Summa Galleries* Cat. 5, *Ancient Art*, Sept. 1979, no. 2 [anonymous]

b. Smaller neck-amphorae

98. NEW YORK 56.171.15. *ABV* 105.1 (San Simeon, Hearst); *Para* 35, 41, 43.1; *Add2* 29 [D. von Bothmer]
99. LAON 37.1014 fragm. *Para* 35, 41 [D. von Bothmer]
100. MILAN A 13574. *(Fig. 3) Para* 36, 42 (Rome, Fondazione Lerici) [D. von Bothmer]
101. UTRECHT ARCH 434. *Para* 42 (Basle market, M.M.); Kluiver 1992, no. 4, [D. von Bothmer]
102. BOSTON 41.913. Bibl.: *BMFA* 40, 1942, 14; *CVA* 1, pl. 18; J.M. Padgett, *The Painted Past* (Utah 1988) no. 1 [J. Kluiver]

[159] Thiersch, 13-14, 47-48 nos. 32-35.
[160] Bothmer 1944, 164, B. The amphora now in Warsaw was formerly in the Polish city of Goluchow.
[161] Bothmer 1944, 164, D.

c. Neck-amphora, measurements unknown

103. PARIS, PRIVATE. Lower body black. Bibl.: Bothmer 1976, 435 [D. von Bothmer]

5.3 *Decorative schemes*

The oeuvre of the Goltyr Painter consists exclusively of neck-amphorae, for which he almost always used different schemes to decorate the larger ones and the smaller ones.
With a single exception, all the larger amphorae have neck festoons and two lower friezes[162]. Those showing a floral in frieze II are twice as numerous as those with animals in frieze II[163].
All the smaller amphorae have a cross on the neck and a black lower body, except 101, which is entirely black[164]. Amphora 102 is the only one in this oeuvre with vertical bands under the handles which divide the shoulder into panels.
A black band is rarely seen above the base-rays (86). The average number of rays is about 16, ranging from 14-18.

5.4 *Favourite subjects*

This painter's subject matter is limited and monotonous. Popular on the obverse are an Amazon being attacked on each side by a Greek (88-89, 94, 96-97) and two warriors fighting, usually identified as Achilles and Memnon (80, 84, 90)[165]. There are some boar hunts, some lone Amazons, conversing couples and erotic scenes. Less usual subjects, like the centauromachy of 79, are limited to a single depiction[166].
On the reverse, a single komast between pairs of flanking animals is customary[167]. In about half of the depictions the komast holds a drinking horn[168].
There is even less variation below the main frieze. As usual for 'Tyrrhenian', rams and panthers are numerous; but creatures like siren, sphinx, cock, ibex and water bird are extremely rare[169]. Interspersed between the animals we see a palmette on volutes, spirals, a warrior and a herald with kerykeion[170].

5.5 *Stylistic characteristics*

The neck festoons resemble those of the Timiades Painter's amphorae. The lotus flower is not as wide, and the florals, including the crosses, are narrower owing to the lower neck *(Fig. 3)*[171]. The spiky lotus sepal may be white (79-80, 95); very few of them show a double outline (91, 93)[172]. The last element of the pattern is often squeezed against the handle attachment[173].
A tongue-band may be interrupted under both handles; or, less often, it is interrupted under one handle, and under the other handle the painter omitted the black or red core[174]. All the lines seem to have been applied with brushes of equal thickness[175]. The horizontal line is often not undulating but straight.
Many characteristic traits can be noted in the main friezes. The high number of flanking animals in the main friezes of both sides is striking. Most larger amphorae have a pair on the obverse; and two pairs are commonest on the reverse[176]. Sometimes the obligatory central komast or Amazon has been omitted; it may be replaced with a rosette or floral element (79-80, 85, 89, *Fig. 44*). The smaller amphorae may have only animals on one or both

[162] The festoons usually have five elements, sometimes four, once six. Of the larger amphorae, only 85 has a black lower body.
[163] Single lines between the friezes are the rule. Below a double line there is always a festoon frieze.
[164] Amphora 103 is also half-black; I do not know its height.
[165] According to Mayer-Emmerling, 123, none of these duels may be interpreted as such because the flanking women may hold wreaths. Note, however, that on the Timiades Painter's amphora 62 the left-hand woman holds a wreath while the figures of Achilleus, Eos and perhaps others are identified by inscriptions, as can clearly be seen in photographs in the Villa Giulia.
[166] According to Mayer-Emmerling, 115-16, it is the only portrayal of the subject in which Kaineus is partly in the ground. The fact that the scene is strangely balanced, with Kaineus to the far right, can perhaps be explained by assuming 'dass es nicht die Absicht des Malers war, diese Sage darzustellen', and may reflect a lack of routine on the part of the painter. Kaineus may reflect Kleitias' scene on the François krater.
[167] Mayer-Emmerling, 140-41, overlooks almost half of the Goltyr Painter's komoi.
[168] See 82, 84, 87, 92, 94; drinking horns also occur on 86 and 91.
[169] Ibex occur only on 79-80.
[170] Nos. 81, 87, 92, 94, 96-97. Human figures: 95, 97.
[171] For the relatively lower necks of the Goltyr Painter's amphorae see Kluiver 1993, 183, Section 3.3.3.
[172] Spiky lotus leaves with double outline incisions are standard on the early belly-amphora by the Painter of Acropolis 606; see Tzahou-Alexandri 193f. figs. 2-4, 7-8. However, the double outline is not found on the painter's name-vase; *op. cit.* 204f. figs. 17-22. See also a fragment, attributed to the Kyllenios Painter by Cahn, in Kreuzer 40-41 no. 32.
[173] Extra stems, as often occur in the Prometheus Painter's festoons, are rare. However, the festoons of 85 by the Goltyr Painter, with slender elements and added stems, very much resemble the Prometheus Painter's.
[174] I know only one tongue-band which is not interrupted under the handles: 87. There are 16-25 tongues on larger amphorae and 13-16 on smaller ones. The cores and dividing lines slant downward to the left. Often, there is no auxiliary line. The red cores are applied directly on the clay.
[175] Except, perhaps, 79. The glaze of the dividing lines often seems more diluted than that of the horizontal line.
[176] They comprise: siren, standing and squatting sphinx, cock, swan. A total of eight flanking creatures on 92. On the smaller amphorae, also panthers and lions occur.

sides of the main frieze[177]. It is noteworthy that the feet of both animals and humans often overlap or cross the ground line.

The necks of flanking sirens and sphinxes may appear to be positioned too far backward, as if they have huge pectoral muscles *(Fig. 44)*[178]. Most sphinxes squat, with the tail curled towards the front, not upright behind the body. They have a double angular stroke on the thigh *(Fig. 45)*[179]. The flanking cocks are comparable to those in the lower friezes; there is a dash of white on the neck, which, characteristically, resembles the number two; and a band of short vertical strokes may divide the neck from the shoulder *(Fig. 44)*[180]. A few of them have an incised wavy line on the wing midband, like the Prometheus Painter's cocks; in comparison with them, however, the crests and wattles are larger (79, 98).

Since so much space is usually occupied by flanking creatures, groups of more than four humans are rare. For this reason the boar hunts look more like extracts rather than true hunts of the Calydonian boar (85-86).

None of the many warriors on the amphorae of the Goltyr Painter either holds or is equipped with a sword, except for the one who may be identified as Herakles[181]. They fight with spears, the broad blades of which show a longitudinal stroke[182]. Among them, there are two stock types, here called warrior A and warrior B *(Fig. 47)*. Warrior A stands turned towards the right; he holds a round shield and the spear in his right hand incorrectly passes behind his head or helmet[183]. Warrior B, on the other hand, is turned towards the left, holding a Boeotian shield with thunderbolt blazon – the only type of shield-blazon found in the Goltyr Painter's oeuvre. A scene may show either only type A, only type B, or both[184]. A horizontal stroke often runs across the corslet, and two incised spirals adorn its upper and lower parts; the lower edge projects very much. The round shields have red rims. A short double stroke indicates the grip; the arm-band, on the other hand, is never rendered.

The stock type of Amazon, not greaved, wears belted peplos and low-crested Attic helmet *(Fig. 47)*[185]. Often the central panel-band, usually filled with white sirens, is limited to the lower half of the peplos; as it widens towards the bottom, the number of creatures increases (87-89, 95-97, *Fig. 47*)[186]. The Amazon may be depicted alone, attacked by warriors of types A and B, or included in a larger amazonomachy. She collapses to the right, looking round, holding a spear and a round profile shield.

A second female stock figure occurs on at least five amphorae, sometimes conversing with males, sometimes flanking a duel (80, 84, 90, 93, 95, *Fig. 45*). She has a slender torso with concave back, and long hair falling down in one or more tresses. She wears a long peplos and a characteristic mantle: draped over one shoulder and an arm. Often she holds a wreath.

The typical komast in many of the main scenes on the reverse side has red hair and beard and holds a drinking horn (82-84, 87-88, 90, 92-94, 97, *Fig. 46*). A double stroke marks the fillet and defines the chest. The belly may be red[187]. Some of them stand on one leg. They may be accompanied by another man or one or more women. Men and women may have thick buttocks[188].

The faces of women, sirens and sphinxes are consistently drawn in a specific manner. A short stroke shapes the eyebrow, and the eye has the form of an isosceles triangle *(Fig. 45)*[189]. The ear often consists of two strokes – a '6' above a 'C' for the lobe –, in mirror image if the face is turned towards the right *(Fig. 45)*. The corner of the two-stroke mouth points downward. The same kind of mouth is seen in hunters, warriors and komasts[190].

The animals and creatures in the Goltyr Painter's lower friezes are the largest of all in the Group; as a result, most friezes show fewer of them than

[177] Sometimes there are three of them. On 100, a panther protome emerges from the black glaze around the lower handle-root, reminding us of the Prometheus Painter's custom of attaching partial figures to handle-roots.

[178] On 85 and 102 the wings lack midbands; the sphinxes on the reverse side of 85 resemble those by the Prometheus Painter.

[179] For the drawing of the face see below. Two of 95's sphinxes are entirely white which is highly unusual.

[180] For the typical white dash see Thiersch, 111, fig. 16, showing a cock by the Goltyr Painter.

[181] In the amazonomachy of 87. He is also the only warrior in the entire oeuvre without helmet; his attire is unusual. *CVA* Leiden 1, text with pl. 2, mistakenly states that a hoplite on 88 has a sword, which is in fact the lower edge of the corslet.

[182] A boar hunter has an identical weapon.

[183] Noted first in *CVA* New York 4, text with pls. 6-7. It is even stranger that, on 86, the spear of the first hunter, held at waist level, passes behind the body.

[184] See 81, 84, 88-90, 96-97. On 98, warrior A holds a profile shield; on 87, he is one of Herakles' companions. On 79, warrior B fights a centaur.

[185] The one high-crested helmet appears on 94.

[186] Longer panel-bands are seen on 91-92, 94.

[187] For a column krater, older, with comparable artistic atmosphere, Aegina 1775a, see Bakır 1981, figs. 148, 153: the man has a beard and incised wreath, holds a drinking horn and stands between flanking animals.

[188] As noted in *CVA* Munich 7, 15, they resemble the *Dickbauchtänzers* of Komast cups, especially the women of 82.

[189] Noted in Thiersch, 47.

[190] This type of mouth occurs outside the Group in older work; *e.g.* the Sophilos fragment in Bakır 1981, fig. 8, in this case painted; and the siren's mouth on a dinos from his circle, fig. 136; see also a lekythos by the Painter of Istanbul 7314, in Bakır 1978, 37 figs. 24-25.

those by other 'Tyrrhenian' painters *(Fig. 47)*. Few amphorae show strong axial symmetry (79-80); as a rule, many animals face each other in pairs, with a rosette between them (*e.g.* 86, 88). On several there is no apparent order in the arrangement (89, 93-94). The animals are hardly ever as elongated as on the Timiades Painter's amphorae; and the shoulder line is always single.

The rams, as illustrated in Figs. 21-22, are unmistakable. The large head resembles an inverted bulb, especially in *Fig. 21*. The left contour of the ear undulates, regardless of whether the ram is turned towards the right or the left. The jaw may be indicated by a series of short horizontal strokes (86-92, 94, *Figs. 21, 44*); an arrow-like incision, consisting of an angular stroke (^) on top of a vertical one (97)[191]; or several such angular strokes arranged one above the other (84, *Fig. 22*). An occasional ram has a red horn[192]. The outline of the head may also be incised *(Fig. 22)*.

For a typical panther's head see *Fig. 23*. Panthers often tilt their heads. The ears are positioned not on top of the head but more to the sides; the forehead may be red (*e.g.* 86, 92, 94). The mouth is bordered above by a horizontal stroke to the left and right of the two vertical parallel lines. These lines never diverge towards the bottom, as in rams by the Prometheus Painter and Timiades Painter. The curve of the tail is pear-shaped, with the tip on the back. Some panthers on 89 (Fig. 48) have teats, like several by the Timiades Painter. The ibex, rare, has two separately painted horns (79, 80). A space which is too small for one of the standard animals may be filled with a water bird or, very typically, with a miniature ram *(Fig. 44)*[193].

Most of the rosettes are found in the lower friezes, near the ground line, between the legs of two animals facing each other *(Figs. 46-47)*. The silhouettes of the rosettes show the curving tips of the individual petals or are irregular in shape. Incisions often surround the heart and separate the leaves (82, 86-89, 91, 95, 98)[194].

5.6 *Comment*

No 'Tyrrhenian' painter is easier to recognize than the Goltyr Painter: the hallmarks are distinctive and numerous, making the style highly individualistic. The style hardly seems to evolve. The oeuvre is rather small and the subject matter varies little.

Relative chronology

Nos. 79 and 80 seem to be the earliest because of the following traits suggesting a stage at which the painter had not yet found his routine. The symmetry in the arrangement of the lower animals is strong. On 79, one ram differs so much from the painter's other rams, and so strongly resembles the rams of the Prometheus Painter, that it was probably copied from the latter. In addition, the panther heads on both amphorae, being too small, are not yet typical for the hand[195]; and the amphorae show the only he-goats in the oeuvre. The wavy strokes in the wing midbands of 79's cocks find their counterparts only on the smaller New York amphora (98). As I noted above, the wing midband of cocks is a typical trait of the Prometheus Painter's work[196]. An early date for 79 seems also to be confirmed by the neat rendering of the centaurs and sphinxes; the painting and drawing were apparently executed with care: note the feathers of the sphinxes' wings.

Details supporting an early date for 80 are seen in the figure of Memnon; the spirals of the corslet were obviously drawn by an untrained hand; the proportions are grotesque, and the left shoulder mistakenly overlaps the shield[197]. On amphorae by the Goltyr Painter, each base-ray was usually made with a single brush stroke, but on 80 the outlines of all rays are carefully delineated. It can also be remarked that the shoulders of 79 and 80 are much broader than those of this painter's other amphorae. Amphora 81 is also broad-shouldered. For this reason, as well as for the fact that the lower animals have not yet developed into the painter's standard ones – the heads of panthers and rams are small – it would also have probably been made early in the painter's career.

The Goltyr Painter's middle-period amphorae are few. They are associated by, among other things, the following: the ram's mouth has not yet been transformed into a number of horizontal strokes; and komasts and female dancers have thicker buttocks than those seen on the late amphorae, by which they are somewhat more closely related to the komasts and *Dickbauchtänzers* of Komast cups[198].

[191] The same sort of mouth is found in the work of the Prometheus Painter.

[192] Nos. 86, 94 (on 97 a ram has a white horn). On the shoulders of many of the quadrupeds in the lower friezes, the added red curls at the base of the neck, parallel to the incised shoulder line, as noted in Thiersch, 47.

[193] Water bird: 87, 91, 93, 96. Ram: 89, 93-94.

[194] The heart is encircled twice; *e.g.* 87, 91.

[195] However, judging from the small, almost laterally placed, ears it is clear to me that the panthers are by the Goltyr Painter.

[196] Thiersch, 47, also considers 79 as the earliest of the four he sets apart from the rest of the Group; see n. 159.

[197] This occurs also on 98, which is smaller.

[198] It is hard to connect them with one specific Komast cup Painter; H.A.G. Brijder suggests the work of the Painter of New York 22.139.22, as illustrated in Brijder 1983, pl. 2a.

By the late period, the Goltyr Painter had developed all his stock-figures and mannerisms: larger, smoothly contoured animals, tilted panther heads, and rams usually provided with the strange mouths composed of horizontal strokes.

6 BIRTH OF THE GROUP AND THE DATING OF THESE THREE PAINTERS

6.1 *Introduction*

6.1.1 Birth of the 'Tyrrhenian' group

Below I shall refer to older amphorae which in shape, decoration or both have probably contributed to the birth of the 'Tyrrhenian' amphora. Attention is paid to the following traits of the shape: the angle between the neck and shoulder, the echinoid rim and foot, the slightly concave contour of the neck, the plastic ring at the base of the neck, and the ovoid body. With respect to the painting, the decorative scheme and aspects of the style are observed.

Cook proposes that the shape of the 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphora derives from that of the 'larger S.O.S. amphora'[199], but this is unlikely to be so. Although the latest S.O.S. amphorae show a rim which faintly resembles the 'Tyrrhenian' one[200], the formal differences between the two classes remain great. Moreover, there are other neck-amphorae, probably older than the latest of S.O.S. type, which in shape are closer to the 'Tyrrhenians'.

The earliest neck-amphorae in Attic black-figure, dating from the last decades of the seventh century, are found in the work of the Lion Painter, Piraeus Painter and Bellerophon Painter[201]. The bodies of these amphorae are more or less ovoid, but other features of the 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae are absent. On the other hand they resemble the 'Tyrrhenians' by their decorative scheme of friezes, sometimes including an animal frieze below the main scene which covers more than the upper half of the body[202].

Among early black-figure vases by other painters, the palmette-lotus festoon embellishing the shoulder of the Nettos Painter's name-vase, Athens 1002, is important because the stem has the characteristic form of those in 'Tyrrhenian'[203]. And the Gorgon Painter's dinos and stand, Louvre E 874, dating from the early sixth century, shows the basic decorative scheme found in 'Tyrrhenian': tongue-band at the top of the narrative scene on the shoulder, and, then, palmette-lotus festoon and animal friezes[204]. Another vase by this painter, the belly-amphora Louvre E 817, is among the earliest Attic amphorae which have a palmette-lotus festoon on the neck[205]. One of the earliest amphorae decorated with a palmette-lotus cross on the neck is Athens P 4727, in the 'manner of the Gorgon Painter'[206]; however, the stem pattern is more complex than in 'Tyrrhenian'.

The neck-amphora Taranto 20.885, by the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis, with ovoid body[207], brings us closer to the 'Tyrrhenian' decorative scheme because the shoulder frieze has normal proportions and the animals in the two lower friezes are arranged symmetrically. There are rays above the foot; bands of dicing separate all the friezes; and a palmette-lotus cross of somewhat more complex type marks the centre of the upper animal frieze. Sophilos shows a strong link with 'Tyrrhenian'. Two of his amphorae – Florence 115089 and Oxford G 128.20 – are early examples of those which have a distinctly modelled plastic ring around the base of the neck. The Florence amphora has a perfectly ovoid body; but in comparison with 'Tyrrhenian', the rim flares more, the neck is higher, and the handles are flatter. Both amphorae date to about 580[208]. On a high and slender type of neck-amphora decorated by Sophilos, Athens 991, we find a feature of shape which appears on an early amphora of the Prometheus Painter (5): the composite handle *(Fig. 50)*[209]. In the oeuvre of Sophilos we can also note the belly-amphora in Jena, which has a palmette-lotus festoon on the neck, like the Gorgon Painter's amphora mentioned above[210]; and the dinos and stand in London,

[199] Cook, 78.
[200] See *e.g.* Johnston and Jones, 133, who remark on the shape: 'The neck becomes more concave with a taller and more flaring lip which eventually becomes echinus- or calyx-mouthed on the later vases'. Some of these are illustrated in M.A. Rizzo, *Le Anfore da Trasporto e il Commercio Etrusco Arcaico* 1 (Roma 1990), figs. 11-12; the handles form a triangular void.
[201] *ABV* 2.
[202] Athens 16393 by the Lion Painter, with very high shoulder frieze (*ABV* 2); T. Dunbabin, An Attic Bowl, *BSA* 45, 1950, 193-202 pl. 18.
[203] *ABV* 4.1. See *e.g.* Boardman, fig. 5; or E. Simon, M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976/1981) pl. 44.
[204] *ABV* 8.1; Boardman, fig. 11.
[205] *ABV* 9.7; Boardman, fig. 12; S. Karouzou, Le peintre des lions et son élève, *RA* 1982, 33-44 fig. 6.
[206] *ABV* 12.26, on one side: *Hesp.* 15, pl. 17.1-3.
[207] Boardman, fig. 32.
[208] *ABV* 38.3-4; Bakır 1981, 66 no. A-11, figs. 46-47; Esposito and Tommaso, 17 fig. 5. For the Oxford fr. see Bakır 1981, no. A-13, fig. 127.
[209] Described in Kluiver 1993, 181, as 'three joined clay strands, set on top of a flat strap-like handle to gain added support'. *ABV* 38.1; Bakır 1981, no. A.12; *CVA* Athens 1, pl. 13.1-2; *AM* 18, 1893, pl. II.
[210] *ABV* 39.7; Bakır 1981, no. A-8, figs. 21-22.

where the decorative scheme is particularly similar to 'Tyrrhenian': a narrative scene topped by a tongue-band; below, animal friezes, with a palmette-lotus cross in the centre of the upper one. On the dinos and stand, as most often in 'Tyrrhenian' painting, the animals on the obverse side are turned towards the centre, whereas those on the reverse face outward[211].

A palmette-lotus festoon occurs on the neck of the loutrophoros Athens KM 2865, decorated by the KX Painter;[212] and in both shape and decoration, the KX Painter's amphora Samos K 1433 is strikingly similar to 'Tyrrhenian'[213]. If we compare the shape with that of an early amphora of the Prometheus Painter *(Figs. 49-50)*, we see that, although the latter is somewhat larger, resemblances are evident in the angle between neck and body, the solid plastic rings, and the curve of their ovoid bodies. Samos K 1433, illustrated in *Fig. 51*, shows, in the main frieze, Herakles and Nereus wrestling, flanked by sphinxes and lions; below, there is a palmette-lotus festoon between neat bands of dicing, and two animal friezes. The similarities to 'Tyrrhenian' are obvious, although dicing, while being common in later 'Tyrrhenian', is not seen on any of the amphorae by the three painters under consideration; moreover, on a 'Tyrrhenian' amphora, dicing is almost always limited to a single band.

On Samos K 1433 the tongue-band is of older type than that seen in 'Tyrrhenian' because the red and black cores are surrounded by black curving lines. In addition, there is much outline drawing, and lotus cuffs have the wavy line which recurs in the Prometheus Painter's early work. B. Kreuzer dates Samos K 1433 to 575-570[214]. Early 'Tyrrhenian' is later, but only slightly: the old-fashioned type of tongue-band suggests that the Samos amphora precedes the Prometheus Painter's earliest work; whereas similarities of shape and painting style suggest that the chronological difference is small. Some other neck-amphorae need to be mentioned because they seem to be among the earliest ones which have an echinus rim and foot – for instance, the following three examples. New York 59.64 is dated by D. von Bothmer to 570[215]. Although the curve of the foot seems to be a bit stiff, all the formal features of the 'Tyrrhenian' neck-amphora are present. However, the proportions differ: the rim and somewhat rounded body seem to be too wide in relation to the slender neck[216]. Again, we see details of painting sometimes found in work of the Prometheus Painter: lotus cuffs with wavy line and lotus petals with painted, curving tips *(Fig. 7)*.

Malibu 86.AE.95 has a concave neck, plastic ring at the base of the neck, and round handles. In addition it has a tongue-band on the shoulder, base-rays and red lines surrounding the outside of the rim, body and foot. It has been dated to 580-570, and, because of the jumping panther on each side of the neck, associated with Sophilos[217]. The panthers remind me of the jumping fawns by the Prometheus Painter because of their comparable movement. The third example, Taranto I.G. 20770, strongly resembles the 'Tyrrhenians' in shape, apart from its somewhat stiffer rim[218]. It seems to me that amphorae like those noted in Malibu and Taranto were the direct forerunners of the typical 'Tyrrhenian' type[219].

At this point, we have come down to the second quarter of the sixth century when the ovoid type of neck-amphora became fashionable, probably somewhere between 570 and 560[220]. In conclusion, it seems clear that the palmette-lotus ornaments and the decorative scheme go back to the last decades of the seventh century and the first quarter of the sixth; and that the scheme was applied to both

[211] London 1971.11-1.1. See D. Williams, Sophilos in the British Museum, *GVGetMus* 1, 1983, figs. 22-23. Cf. the Prometheus Painter's stylistic characteristics, Section 3.5, above.

[212] *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, Catalogue of the exhibitions in Washington, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston in 1988-1989, 114-115 no. 33.

[213] I thank H.A.G. Brijder for providing me with his photographs and drawing of this amphora (*ABV* 25.18). Beazley thought the fragments belonged to a hydria; however, Schmidt, 216, noticed that they belong to an amphora – according to Brijder a neck-amphora. The fragments will be published by B. Kreuzer (see n. 67).

[214] Telephone conversation, May 1995. See also B. Kreuzer, Frühschwarzfigurige Chronologie und der KX-Maler, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Athenian Potters and Painters*, 1-3.12.1994 (forthcoming).

[215] *Para* 31; *CVA* New York 4, text with pls. 1-2, where the painting is said to be related to the Ptoön Painter.

[216] See also Shapiro 1989b, 17 figs. 4a-b.

[217] References to Clark and Bothmer in n. 93.

[218] See n. 93.

[219] The famous representation of a neck-amphora being carried by Dionysos in the François krater's main frieze also seems relevant (*Vaso François*, pl. 132). The form resembles an ovoid neck-amphora to perfection. In no way it resembles an S.O.S. amphora, despite the S.O.S. motif on the neck: note the echinus rim and foot, and the true 'Tyrrhenian' proportions. Evidently different classes of neck-amphorae were provided with the S.O.S. motif; see *e.g.* Berlin 1700 (*ABV* 33.6: 'manner of the KY Painter'; illustrated in H.T. Bossert, *Das Ornamentwerk*, Berlin 1937, pl. 12.8).

[220] The form was decorated by, among others, the Camtar Painter, Painter of London B 76, Painter of Acropolis 606, O.L.L. Group, Archippe Painter, Omaha Painter, Lydos; there are, of course, also ovoid horse-head amphorae; the early Panathenaic prize amphorae are strongly related. For many of these groups or artists see *ABV* 4 and *Para*, Ch. VII. Ovoid horse-head amphorae: *e.g.* Louvre E 822 (*ABV* 17 bottom); W.G. Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago 1979) 48-50, no. 29.

amphorae and dinoi. Further, in shape, the closest link with 'Tyrrhenian' is found in the work of Sophilos and his circle.[221]

6.1.2 On the dating

The traditional date for the 'Tyrrhenian' Group is about 575-550 B.C. However, several observers have proposed other dates, usually later ones, though often without explanation[222]. The notable exceptions are G. Bakır (1978), T. Carpenter (1983) and H. Immerwahr (1990).

Carpenter is the most radical and comprehensive[223]. Using iconographical arguments, he moves the latest 'Tyrrhenians' down to 530; and using epigraphical arguments, he assigns the earliest 'Tyrrhenians' to 560. With regard to the three early 'Tyrrhenian' painters, the latter arguments are, of course, our main concern. Carpenter states, in short, that the 'absence of crossed *theta* on Tyrrhenian vases…lends support to the suggestion that they were not painted much before 560.'[224]

Immerwahr's comment is of particular note: 'Carpenter has argued that [the 'Tyrrhenians'] are to be dated… from after 560 to about 530. It must be admitted that this dating fits the letter-forms better, although the starting-date is, I believe, somewhat too late.' And in his conclusions Immerwahr remarks '… a major modernization of script takes place on pottery in the 560s, at about the time of the reorganization of the Panathenaic Games. The new style triumphs on the vases produced by Kleitias, Nearchos, Exekias, and the early Little Masters; it is accompanied by the development of mock and other nonsense inscriptions, and by a coarse style exemplified by 'Tyrrhenian' vases and the later Little Masters.'[225] Apparently Immerwahr would favor a starting date for the Group of about 566/5, slightly earlier than Carpenter's date.

A starting date of 566/5 more closely agrees with Bakır's estimation. He dates the earliest 'Tyrrhenian' work to about 570, that is, in his view shortly before the François krater, in the period of the later painters of Sophilos' circle[226]. He observes that, like some early 'Tyrrhenians', individual vases by those painters show animals with both double and single shoulder lines; whereas the animals of the François krater have only single shoulder line, not the double line which at about the same time was falling into disuse in vase painting. According to Bakır, the early 'Tyrrhenians' should therefore be a bit earlier than the krater.

However, insofar as I can establish, early 'Tyrrhenian' is more likely to be a bit later than the François krater. Bakır's observation that the double shoulder line is not seen on the krater is not completely valid because the double incision surrounding the shoulder section of some wings is very similar to it; note the wings of the sphinxes flanking the boar hunt and griffins above the rays[227].

Moreover, there are elements in Kleitias' painting which find counterparts in early 'Tyrrhenian'. They have common subjects, for instance: boar hunt[228], centauromachy[229] and, though in a somewhat other form, Achilleus and Troilos at the fountain. More strikingly, like the Prometheus Painter and the Timiades Painter, Kleitias names objects with inscription: altar (ΒΟ[ΜΟΣ]), hydria (ΗΥΔΡΙΑ), seat (ΘΑΚΟΣ), fountain (ΚΡΕΝΕ). The Prometheus Painter labels Zeus' throne ΘΡΟΝΟΣ and the Timiades Painter labels an altar ΒΟΜΟΣ as well, each in their earliest work[230]. Further, Kleitias depicts a peplos with narrow, vertical panel-band, like the type in 'Tyrrhenian', with vertical strokes bordering the panels on both sides[231]. And the earliest Attic sphinxes with white skin are found on the François krater and early 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae[232].

[221] For the relation between Kleitias and early 'Tyrrhenian' see next section.

[222] See Carpenter 1983, 291 n. 2. Few excavation reports shed light on the dating: for a review, see Carpenter 1983, n. 3. It should be added, that both the Prometheus Painter's 6 and 17 were found in a 575-550 context, in Cerveteri's Monte Abatone, tomb 207. The Timiades Painter's 47 was found in Vulci together with a later cup by Tleson, Boston 98.920 (*ABV* 179.1), which Pieter Heesen dates to 550.

[223] Few reactions have been published. B. Freyer-Schauenburg remarks in *CVA* Kiel 1, 29: 'Carpenters Datierungs-Modell hat den Vorteil, dass es die Gesamte Gruppe der tyrrhenische Amphoren einbezieht und dass Einzelmotive mit einem breiten Spektrum attisch-schwarzfiguriger Darstellungen verglichen werden'; and Shapiro 1989a, 90 n. 75, calls Carpenter's arguments 'persuasive'. For the reaction of H. Immerwahr, see below.

[224] Carpenter 1983, 290.

[225] Immerwahr, 39, 176.

[226] Bakır 1978, 40-41. He dates these painters (1981, 59) to 'kurz vor 570 – ca. 560'; the fact that he considers the Timiades Painter to be earlier than the Prometheus Painter is irrelevant here.

[227] *Vaso François*, pls. 60-61, 99-100, 140; cf. the sphinxes' wings bordered by a single line in pls. 95-96, 139. Perhaps we may also assume that Kleitias was somewhat ahead of his time and stopped using the double line earlier than his colleagues.

[228] Timiades Painter, 38 (early).

[229] Including Kaineus. See Goltyr Painter, 79; Prometheus Painter, 2; Timiades Painter, 39; each belonging to the respective early period.

[230] Prometheus Painter, 1; Timiades Painter, 37. For another altar labelled with the same word see Kreuzer, 38-39 no. 29; and in a scene by the Archippe Painter a string of pearls is labelled ΗΟΡΜΟΣ, in Krauskopf, 109 pl. 25.1; Kreuzer, 37-38 no. 28.

[231] A major difference between the two panel-bands is that Kleitias depicted also horsemen and bands of buds in the panels. Still his panel-bands are much closer to 'Tyrrhenian' ones than those by the Painter of London B 76 or the Camtar Painter, who are closer to Sophilos.

[232] Bakır 1981, 58.

With regard to early 'Tyrrhenian', the painting at the handles of the François krater can also be noted. Some processional chariots give the impression that they pass behind the handle-roots, as if, in the words of Carpenter, 'the handles were attached after the painting was completed'[233]. However, if this were indeed Kleitias' intention, he failed to space the chariots properly because the handle-roots are narrower than the chariot-cars, with the horses appearing to emerge from them. Behind one handle there are the chariot-horses only; behind the other, Hephaistos[234]. As we have repeatedly seen, the Prometheus Painter had the habit of portraying horses and other creatures emerging from the roots of handles[235].

There is also a certain likeness in the styles of these two painters. One of Kleitias' ΣΙΛΕΝΟΙ, seen behind Hephaistos, carries a wine-skin on his back[236]. He is pictured in side view, turned to the left, with elbows bent; his clenched hands, holding the skin, rest on the near shoulder. How odd that the far arm protrudes more than the near one! Kleitias preferred to show the figure's far arm, even though in fact it would not be visible in side view. The same is seen on an early amphora by the Prometheus Painter, 6, where the far elbow of the satyr called ΛΙΘΟΝ protrudes too much.

In conclusion, I propose that the François krater precedes the earliest 'Tyrrhenians' by several years, and that Kleitias directly influenced the Prometheus Painter. If so, the birth of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group would have taken place towards the middle of the 560s.

6.2 *Prometheus Painter*

By way of recapitulation, the Prometheus Painter most probably began his career a short time after the François krater, usually dated 570-565. A date towards 565 is in general agreement with those proposed by Immerwahr and Bakır, and with that of Samos K 1433 by the KX Painter[237]. The use of the double shoulder line makes a later date seem rather unlikely; and vase-inscriptions from that time show both dotted theta and crossed theta[238]. Therefore the vases of the Prometheus Painter's middle period, on which horse-races figure even more prominently[239] and the pentathlon and foot-race occur, can be assigned to after 565. Since these vases are not numerous, I propose to limit the middle period to 565-560[240]. This is the time of the C Painter's late period and the Taras Painter's middle period[241], which would help to account for the leftward direction of the Prometheus Painter's horse-races[242]. Perhaps the Prometheus Painter's interest in sporting events reflects Peisistratos' reputed reorganization of the Greater Panathenaia in 566/5[243].

The Prometheus Painter's later amphorae may then be assigned to about 560-555 B.C.

6.3 *Timiades Painter*

The fight between Achilleus and Hektor, with the beheaded corpse of Troilos lying on the ground, was portrayed by the Timiades Painter in his early period (37) and by the Prometheus Painter in his middle period (7). Not the compositions but details of these two pictures resemble each other so strongly that both probably derive from a common model, or one was copied from the other[244]. Be that

[233] Carpenter 1986, 2.
[234] *Vaso François*, pls. 116-117.
[235] See Section 3.5 on the Prometheus Painter's stylistic characteristics.
[236] *Vaso François*, pl. 137.
[237] Bakır 1981, 59. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London 1991) fig. 117, dates 2 by the Prometheus Painter to 550, which is unacceptably late. Schefold 1993, 196, also states that this amphora belongs to the earliest 'Tyrrhenians' but dates it to '580-570', which is in keeping with his inclination to date the 'Tyrrhenians' too early; *e.g.* he assigns a later large amphora by the Castellani Painter, Florence 3773, to 'um 580' (240); and 37 by the Timiades Painter to 'um 580' as well (307). For Samos K 1433 see Section 6.1.
[238] On the theta see Immerwahr, 144ff. *E.g.* the Burgon prize amphora, dated 560, shows dotted thetas (Neils 30, fig. 19); and the early prize amphora New York 1978.13.11 (Neils 42, fig. 27a) has crossed thetas.
[239] Now only on the shoulder, instead of in a subsidiary frieze.
[240] On 13, a middle-period amphora (565-560), the Prometheus Painter depicts sexual behaviour. Carpenter 1983, 287-288, who does not believe that the scene was painted before 560, argues that the subject is 'rarely depicted elsewhere in Attic painting before the 540s'; and that it becomes common 'only with red-figure painters'. I find, however, the idea acceptable that 'Tyrrhenian' artisans at times were individualistic, inventive; and there is no link whatsoever with red-figure depictions. D. Williams, 'In the Manner of the Gorgon Painter: The Deianeira Painter and Others', in *Enthousiasmos; Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J.M. Hemelrijk*, Allard Pierson Series 6, Amsterdam 1986, 68, remarks in this respect: 'The painters of the Tyrrhenian Group have far less talent, but they made up for this failing with inventive iconography'.
[241] As argued by Brijder 1983, 141, noting that 'characteristic of the [C Painter's] late period is the sudden widespread interest in sporting scenes and related events'. For the Taras Painter see Brijder 1983, 167-168.
[242] See also the Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter in Brijder 1991, pl. 110b-c.
[243] Brijder 1983, 141: 'interest [in sporting scenes] may have been occasioned by Peisistratos' reorganization of the Panathenaic Games'. Tzahou-Alexandri, 201, following Brijder, uses the same argument to date work of the Painter of Acropolis 606. Shapiro 1989a, 2, concludes that such a reorganization by Peisistratos is 'not inconceivable'. See also H.A.G. Brijder, 'Changing the Subject: Evidence on Siana Cups', in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the Vase Symposium Amsterdam 1984*, Allard Pierson Series 5, Amsterdam 1984, 248-251.
[244] Notice also the curve in the name ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ.

as it may, we can suppose that they were painted within a short span of time. Similarly, the Timiades Painter depicted erotic scenes in his early period, whereas in the work of the Prometheus Painter such scenes are found on middle-period amphorae. This implies that the Timiades Painter's career began later than the Prometheus Painter's.

Additional details also point to a slightly later date. In the centauromachy of 39 the Timiades Painter depicted a centaur as emerging from a handle-root, a detail which might derive from the Prometheus Painter. Moreover, in two respects the Prometheus Painter may have imitated the Timiades Painter. The Prometheus Painter stopped portraying Herakles with curly hairline after his early period; whereas the Timiades Painter never portrayed Herakles as such. And the latter always showed Herakles fighting the Amazon while stepping on one of her calfs; in the work of the Prometheus Painter, on the other hand, the attitude is not seen on early and most middle-period amphorae.

Therefore the early period of the Timiades Painter probably started in about 565. With respect to the figures on their necks, these early amphorae resemble the earlier Athenian prize amphorae[245].

The middle-period vases may be dated by the wheel-shaped crest-support found on 44 and 47, and, on the latter, by the pointed-leaf rosette acting as Pantariste's blazon. The crest-supports find parallels on the Painter of Acropolis 606's namepiece, which Tzahou-Alexandri dates to 560[246]; and the rosette blazon recurs in Athena's shield on a fragment of an early prize amphora[247]. The strong resemblance between the drawing of this fragment and that of Nikias' prize amphora in New York can be considered another chronological point of reference[248]. The high-crested cap-like helmet of Ainipe in 47 resembles Athena's helmets on these prize amphorae; and Athena and the Amazon each have a wavy line at the hem of the peplos, which is rare in early 'Tyrrhenian'. Since these Panathenaic amphorae are dated to about 560, we can suppose that the Timiades Painter's middle period began shortly before that date, probably going down to about 555[249]. As a consequence, the Timiades Painter's later work may be from about 555-550.

6.4 *The Goltyr Painter*

This oeuvre seems to be contemporaneous with that of the Timiades Painter. Like him, the Goltyr Painter depicted a centauromachy in one of his earliest works, showing a centaur emerging from a handle-root (79). The Goltyr Painter provided the wing midbands of his early cocks with a wavy line[250]. Both details suggest that the Goltyr Painter was familiar with the work of the Prometheus Painter; in this regard, the wing midband is particularly striking. The same holds for the early rams' heads by the Goltyr Painter; they are small and, as the reader may remember, resemble the Prometheus Painter's.

The unusual nature of the centaur emerging from the handle-root makes it seem probable that the Goltyr Painter began his career more or less at the same time as the Timiades Painter. And because the Goltyr Painter's influence is evident in the late work of the Timiades Painter, we may assume that he was still active during the last half of the 560s. As already explained, the Timiades Painter was influenced by, among others, the Painter of Acropolis 606. It is noteworthy, that a bit of this painter's influence can also be discerned in the Goltyr Painter. For instance, the spiky lotus leaf with double outline found in some of his festoons echo those by the Painter of Acropolis 606[251].

In sum, the Goltyr Painter's career coincides with the Timiades Painter's: about 565-550. However, I can find no arguments for dating the periods; but because the amphorae of the early and middle periods are far fewer than those of the late period, it seems unlikely that each period was equally long.

6.5 *Summary and conclusion*

The Prometheus Painter's early period dates to shortly before 565, his middle period to 565-560, and his late period to 560-555. The oeuvres of both the Timiades Painter and the Goltyr Painter are roughly contemporaneous and begin somewhat later than the Prometheus Painter. The periods of the Timiades Painter are: early, 565-shortly before 560; middle, shortly before 560-555; late, 555-550. The Goltyr Painter's career can only be dated as a whole: 565-

[245] Beazley 1986, 82.
[246] Tzahou-Alexandri, 208; see also n. 150, above.
[247] Noted by Bothmer in *CVA* Boston 1, p. 12, and illustrated in Graef and Langlotz, pl. 60, no. 917.
[248] The incised band of volutes on Athena's peplos resembles the one on New York 1978.13.11 (see n. 238); the two may be by one artist or workshop.
[249] The Timiades Painter depicted Dinoysos holding a kantharos on 48 (middle period, 560-555). Carpenter 1983 notes that the change from drinking horn to kantharos becomes common only after 550. The kantharos occurs on at least two other vases from before 550: a hydria, Malibu 86.AE.113, dated 560-550 (*CVA* 1, pls. 52.1-2, 53.1-2, 57.1-2, noted by Shapiro 1989a, 91, n. 79, attributed by H.A. Cahn to the wider circle of Lydos), and a neck-amphora, Munich 1477 (*CVA* 7, pl. 329.1, noted by B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *CVA* Kiel 1, 29) which, being probably by or near the Painter of Acropolis 606, lends more support to a relation between that painter and the Timiades Painter.
[250] Centauromachy and cocks on 79; see also n. 81, above.
[251] See n. 172.

550. There is only scant evidence that they may have been pupils of the Prometheus Painter.

A strong link exists between early 'Tyrrhenian' and the earliest prize amphorae. In shape, the similarities are obvious; and they show common features in their neck ornamentation: a wavy line in lotus cuffs, and lotus petals with painted curving tips, as seen in the Prometheus Painter's festoons and a prize amphora in New York, 1978.11.13, with the potter's signature of ΝΙΚΙΑΣ[252]. Curiously, the foremost jockey on the reverse of 5, one of the Prometheus Painter's earliest pieces, is also called ΝΙΚΙΑΣ; and the direct speech form 'I AM', as in ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ:ΕΜΙ on the Burgon amphora[253], is also attested in 'Tyrrhenian', on 29, a smaller amphora by the Prometheus Painter, and on an amphora by the Kyllenios Painter[254].

These connections with the oldest known prize amphorae are very striking, for no other type of vase is more directly associated with Athens. They provide chronological points of reference suggesting that the first products of the 'Tyrrhenian' Group appeared around the time when the Greater Panathenaia were organized[255]. As a result, foreign interest in Athens would have grown and the economic prospects of potters and vase painters would have increased if owing only to the large state orders for prize amphorae which had to be made in a bustling and lively Kerameikos.

APPENDIX: LISTS OF SUBJECTS

Prometheus Painter

Mythology
Birth of Athena: 1; Death of Tityos: 27; Hermes with the cattle of Apollo: 12; Herakles and Amazons: 3, 5, 12, 17, 19, 22-22bis; Herakles and Nessos: 1, 11; Herakles and Hydra (or snake): 18, 20, 34; Herakles frees Prometheus: 2, 32; Herakles and the Hind of Keryneia: 6; Theseus and Minotaur: 35; Achilleus fights Hektor over beheaded Troilos: 7; Achilleus fights Memnon: 26, 28, 30; Amphiaraos' departure: 23; Hunting the Calydonian boar: 8-10; Centauromachy: 2; Centaurs: 11; Satyrs and vine: 6

Other scenes
Jockeys on horses: 1, 3-5, 7-9, 12, 14-15, 17-19, 21, 25, 32; Hoplites on horses: 22bis, 36; Man with lyres: 29; Athletes: 12; Male figure(s) with wreath(s): 10, 20, 27-28; Erotic behaviour: 13; Tripod between horses and hoplites: 22; Fight: 4, 21; Warrior: 31; Frontal quadriga: 14; Animals: 16, 29-31, 36

Timiades Painter

Mythology
Return of Hephaistos: 48; Herakles and Amazons: 47, 51, 61, 63; Perseus and Medusa: 52; Achilleus in ambush: 44, 53-54, 74; Achilleus fights Hektor over beheaded Troilos: 37; Achilleus fights Memnon: 40, 62; Sacrifice of Polyxene: 45; Hunting the Calydonian boar: 38, 55; Centauromachy: 39, 46; Centaurs: 39

Other scenes
Komast, komos (with erotic elements): 42, 45-47, 49-53, 55, 57, 59, 60-64, 67-69, 74, 78; Erotic scenes: 42, 49, 57-60, 71-72; Fight: 56, 64-66, 78; Hoplites: 44; Animals: 37-38, 40, 50, 54, 56, 58, 65-66, 73

Goltyr Painter

Mythology
Herakles and Amazons: 87; Amazonomachy: 88-89, 94, 96-97; Amazon: 91-92, 95; Achilleus fights Memnon: 80, 84, 90; Boar hunt: 85-86; Centauromachy: 79; Hermes and armed man: 102

Other scenes
Erotic scenes, komoi, komast: 81-84, 86-88, 90-94, 96-97; Conversing couples: 93, 95; Duel: 81, 98; Animals (and floral): 79-80, 85, 89, 98-99, 100, 102.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABV = J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford 1956.

Add2 = T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, Oxford 1989.

Bakır, G. 1978, Der Maler von Istanbul 7314, *AA*, 26-43.

Bakır, G. 1981, *Sophilos, ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil*, Mainz.

Beazley, J.D. 1986, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London.

Boardman, J. 1980, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London.

Bothmer, D. von, *CVA* New York 4, text with pl. 3.

Bothmer, D. von 1944, The Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Vases, *AJA* 48, 161-170.

Bothmer, D. von 1957, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford.

Bothmer, D. von 1959, The Camtar Painter, *AK* 2, 5-9.

Bothmer, D. von 1976, Review of Heide Mommsen: Der Affecter, *AJA* 80, 433-438.

Bothmer 1977a = D. von Bothmer, 1977. Halsamphora des Castellani-malers, in W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Mainz, 262-264, no. 236.

Bothmer 1977b = D. von Bothmer, 1977, Halsamphora der O.L.L.-Gruppe, in W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Mainz, 251-254, no. 233.

[252] Neils, 42 fig. 27a-b. For other stylistic parallels see Section 6.3.

[253] See n. 238, above.

[254] Berlin F 1704. *ABV* 96.14, 683; *Para* 36; *Add2* 25.

[255] I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst: Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefässe* (München 1983) 142, notes that about 1,300 prize amphorae were needed for a single festival.

Bothmer, D. von 1985, *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu.
Brijder, H.A.G. 1983, *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups*, Allard Pierson Series 4, Amsterdam.
Brijder, H.A.G. 1991, *Siana Cups II; The Heidelberg Painter*, Allard Pierson Series 6, Amsterdam.
Carpenter, T.H. 1983, On the Dating of the Tyrrhenian Group, *OJA* 2, 279-93.
Carpenter, T.H. 1984, The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance, *OJA* 3, 45-56.
Carpenter, T.H. 1986, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford.
Cook, R.M. 1960, *Greek Painted Pottery*, London (reprint 1972).
Esposito, A.M. e G. de Tommaso 1993, *Vasi Attici*, Firenze.
Furtwängler, A. 1885, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, Berlin.
Graef, B. und E. Langlotz 1925, *Die antike Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin.
GVGetMus = *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum; Occasional Papers on Antiquity*, Malibu.
Hornbostel, W., et.al. 1977, *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Mainz.
Hornbostel, W., et al., *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern; Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck*, Mainz.
Immerwahr, H.R. 1990, *Attic Script: a Survey*, Oxford.
Johnston, A. W. and R.E. Jones 1978, The SOS Amphorae, *BSA* 73, 103-141.
Kluiver, J. 1992, The 'Tyrrhenian' Group: its Origin and the Neck-Amphorae in The Netherlands and Belgium. With a Contribution on Petrography by H. Kars, *BABesch* 67 (1992), 73-109.
Kluiver, J. 1993, The Potter-Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Neck-Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape, *BABesch* 68 (1993), 179-194.
Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1991, Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museums und der Sammlung Cahn (Basel), mit Addenda zu Charlotte Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern (Halle 1912), *GVGetMus* 5, 131-199.
Krauskopf, I. 1980, Die Ausfahrt des Amphiaraos auf Amphoren der tyrrhenischen Gruppe, in H.A. Cahn, et al. (ed.), *Tainia, Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, Mainz.
Kretschmer, P. 1895, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*, Gütersloh.
Kreuzer, B. 1992, *Frühe Zeichner, 1500-500 v. Chr.*, Freiburg.
LGPN = M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vol. II: Attica, Oxford 1944.
Mayer-Emmerling, S. 1982, *Erzählende Darstellungen auf 'tyrrhenischen' Vasen*, Frankfurt.
Mommsen, H. 1975, *Der Affecter*, Mainz.
Moretti, M. (ed.) 1975, *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria Meridionale*, Rome.
Moore, M.B. 1971, *Horses on Black-Figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period: ca. 620-480 B.C.*, New York.
Neils, J., a.o. 1992, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Hanover, New Hampshire.
Para = J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, Oxford 1971.
Richter, G. 1974, *A Handbook of Greek Art. A Survey of the Visual Arts of Ancient Greece*, 7th ed., Oxford, New York.
Schauenburg, K. 1973, Parisurteil und Nessosabenteuer auf attischen Vasen hocharchaischer Zeit, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44, 15-42.
Schauenburg, K. 1979, Herakles und Bellerophon auf einer Randschale in Kiel, *MedInstRome* XLI, N.S. 6, 9-20.
Schauenburg, K. 1980, Die einköpfige Hydra, in *Στηλη. Τομος εις Μνημην Νικολαου Κοντολεοντος*, Athene, 96-102.
Schefold, K. 1978, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst*, Munich.
Schefold, K. 1993, *Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früh- und hocharchaischen Kunst*, Munich.
Schmidt, G. 1978, Tyrrhenische Gefässe auf Samos, in *Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3-9 September 1978*, 216-217.
Shapiro 1989a = H.A. Shapiro 1989, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz.
Shapiro 1989b = H.A. Shapiro 1989, Two Black-figure Neck-Amphorae in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Problems of Workshop and Iconography, *GVGetMus* 4, 11-32.
Smith, H.R.W., The Hearst Hydria; An Attic Footnote to Corinthian History, *Univ. of California Publications in Class. Archaeology* I, n. 10, 241-277.
Stone, S.C. 1986, The Timiades Painter and 'Tyrrhenian' Painting at Athens, *AJA* 90, 188 (abstract).
Thiersch, H. 1899, *"Tyrrhenische" Amphoren; Eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei*, Leipzig.
Tiverios 1976a = M.A. Tiverios 1976, *Ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργο του*, Athena.
Tiverios 1976b = M.A. Tiverios 1976, Οἱ 'τυρρηνικοὶ' (ἀττικοὶ) ἀμφορεῖς. Ἡ σχέση τους μὲ τοὺς 'ποντιακοὺς' (ἐτρουσκικοὺς) καὶ τὸν Νικοσθένη, *EphemArch*, 44-57.
Tuna-Nörling, Y. 1994, Attic Black-Figure Export to the East: the 'Tyrrhenian' Group in Ionia, *Proceedings of the International Conference on Athenian Potters and Painters, 1-3.12.1994*, forthcoming.
Tzahou-Alexandri, O. 1991, A Vase-Painter as Dedicator on the Athenian Acropolis: A New View of the Painter of Acropolis 606, in D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, Hanover, London, 191-214.
Vaso François = M. Cristofani, a.o. 1981, Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François, *Boll.d'Arte*, 1 Serie Speciale, Roma.
Williams, D. 1983, Sophilos in the British Museum, *GVGetMus* 1, 9-34.
Williams, D. 1985, *Greek Vases*, London.

INSTITUUT VOOR MEDITERRANE STUDIES
VAKGROEP MEDITERRANE ARCHEOLOGIE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM
OUDE TURFMARKT 129
NL-1012 GC AMSTERDAM

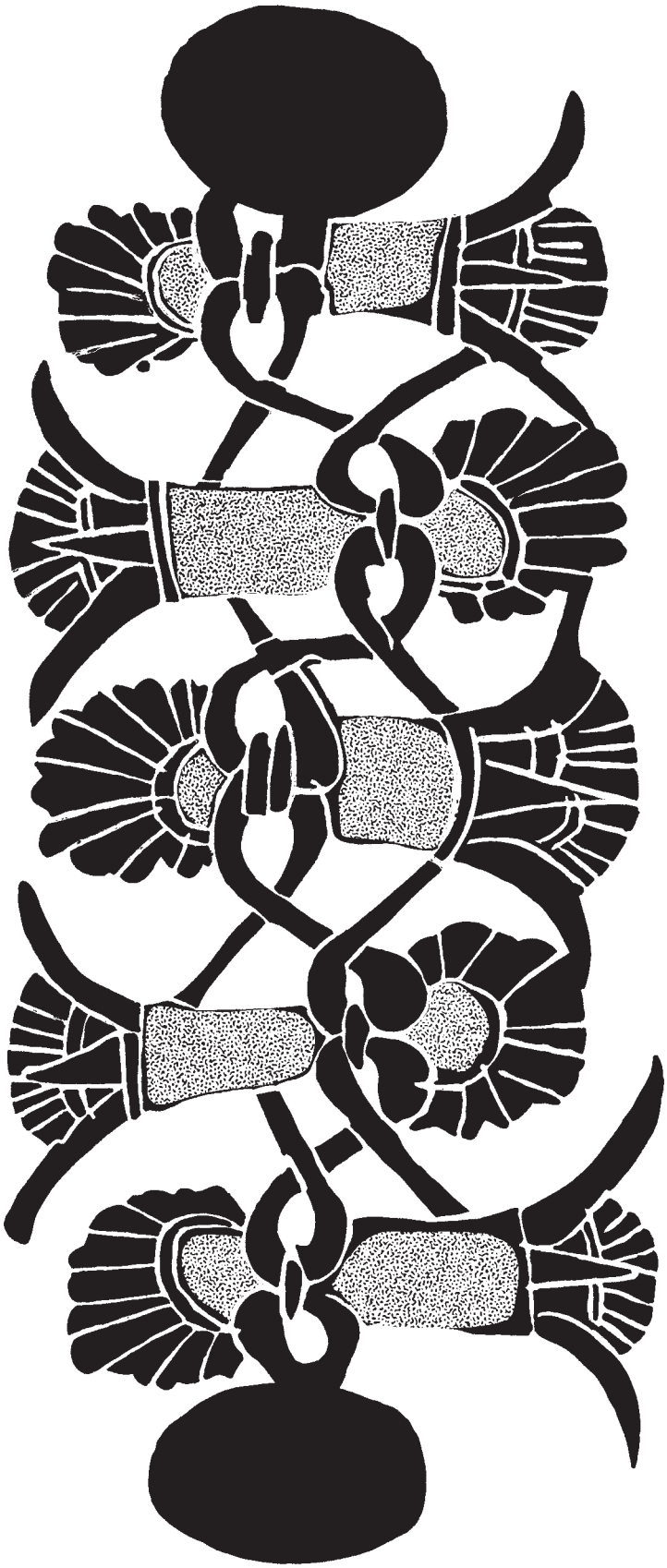


Fig. 1. Lotus-palmette festoon. The elliptical black spots, left and right, represent the spots where the handles are attached to the neck, and the glaze surrounding the joins (Composite drawing by the author).

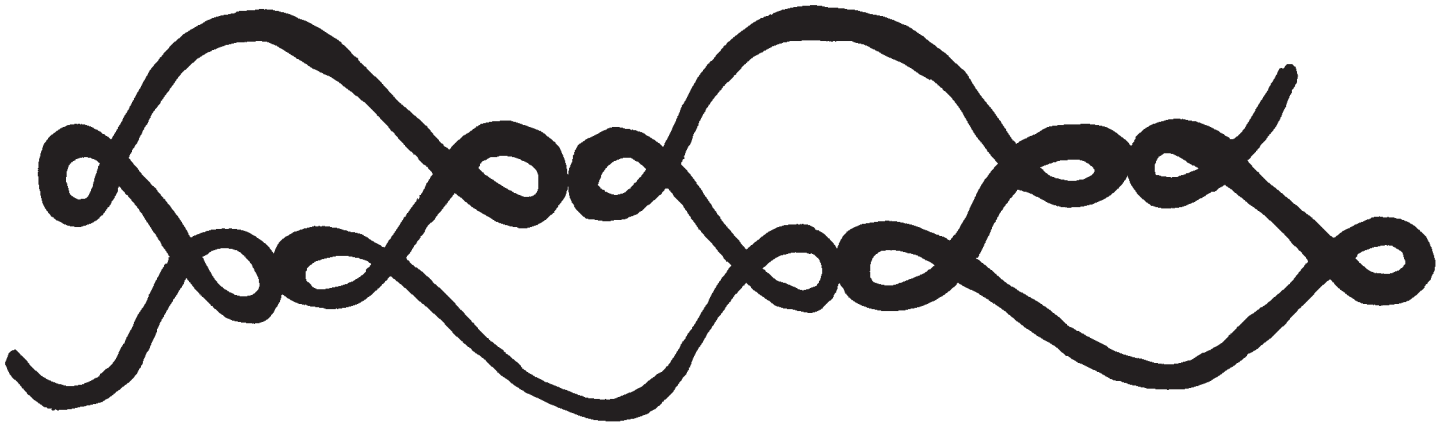


Fig. 2. Stem in a lotus-palmette festoon; Prometheus Painter, 5.

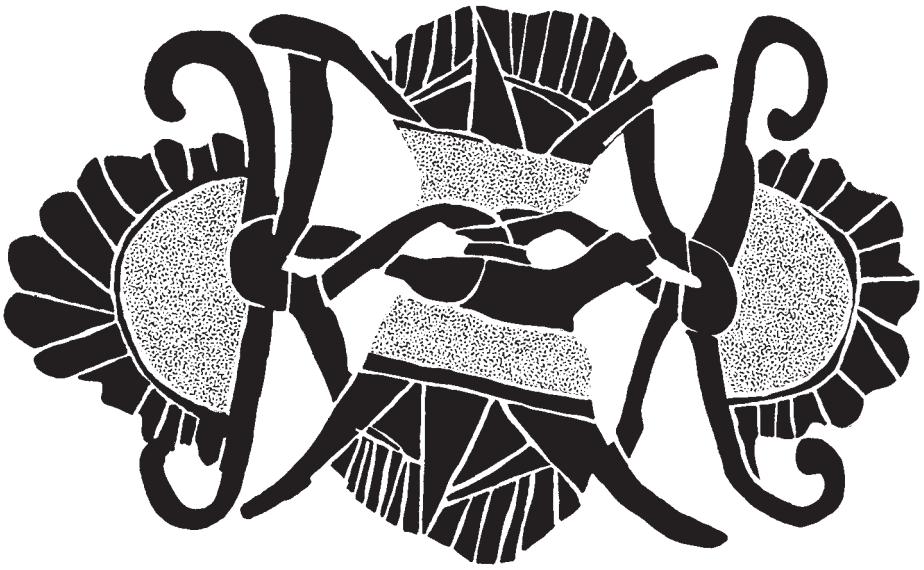


Fig. 3. Lotus-palmette cross; Goltyr Painter, 100.

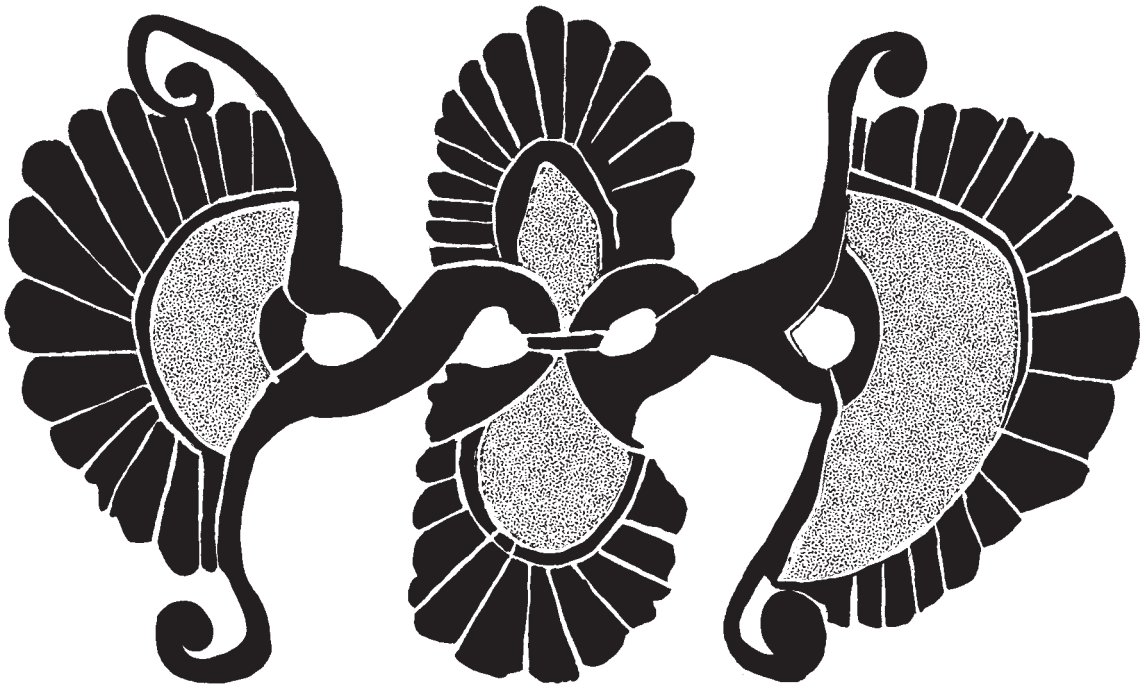


Fig. 4. Palmette cross; Timiades Painter, 50.

Fig. 5. The typical stems at the beginning and end of a festoon painted by the Prometheus Painter, 9. The elliptical black spot in the centre represents the spot where the handle is attached to the neck.

Fig. 6. Typical decorated lotus cuffs in a festoon; Prometheus. Painter, 5.

Fig. 7. Rare outline of lotus petals in one element (with painted curving tips); Prometheus Painter, 8.

Fig. 8. Prometheus Painter, 20.

Fig. 9. Prometheus Painter, 17.

Fig. 10. Prometheus Painter, 20.

Fig. 11. Prometheus Painter, 6.

Fig. 12. Prometheus Painter, 9.

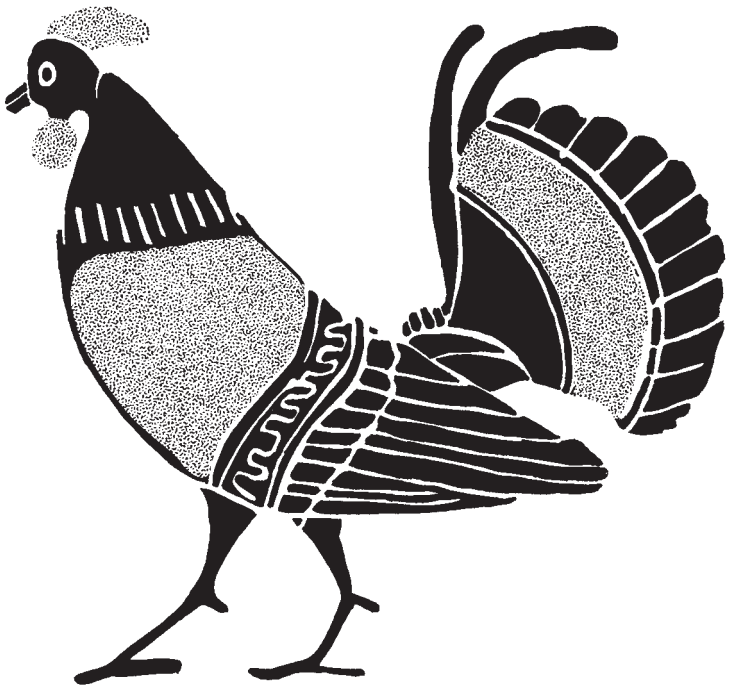


Fig. 13. Prometheus Painter, 9.

Fig. 14. Timiades Painter, 42.

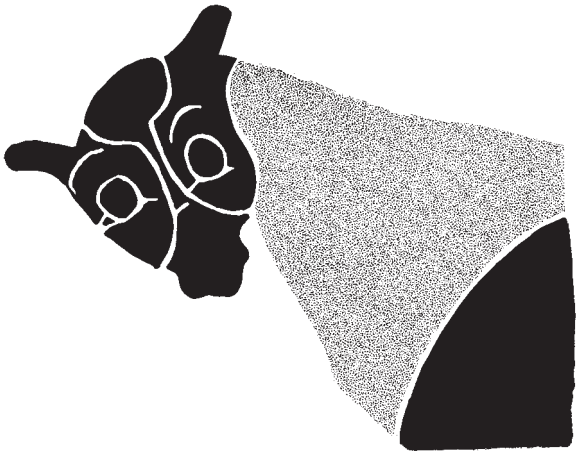


Fig. 15. Timiades Painter, 57.

Fig. 16. Timiades Painter, 47.

Fig. 17. Timiades Painter, 50.

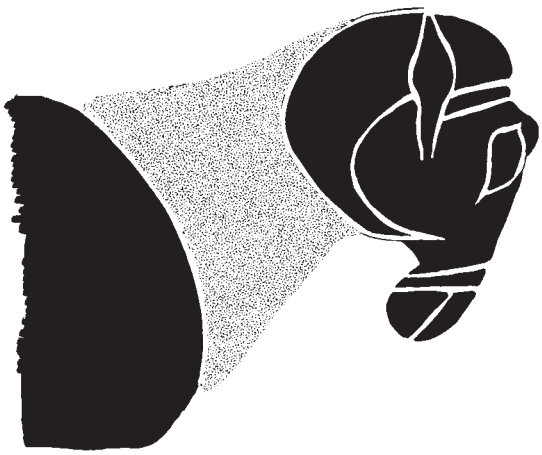


Fig. 18. Timiades Painter, 64.

Fig. 19. Timiades Painter, 58.

Fig. 20. Timiades Painter, 54.

Fig. 21. Goltyr Painter, 84.

Fig. 22. Goltyr Painter, 86; there are traces of added red on the animal's horn.

Fig. 23. Goltyr Painter, 88.

Fig. 24. Prometheus Painter, 6.

Fig. 25. Prometheus Painter, 6.

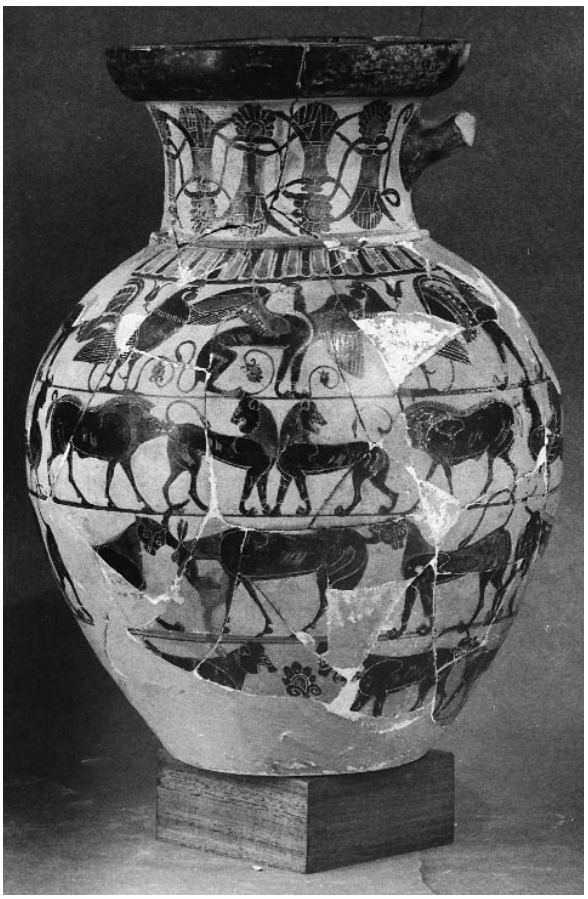


Fig. 26. Prometheus Painter, 16, A.

Fig. 27. Prometheus Painter, 1, A. B. B/A. A/B.

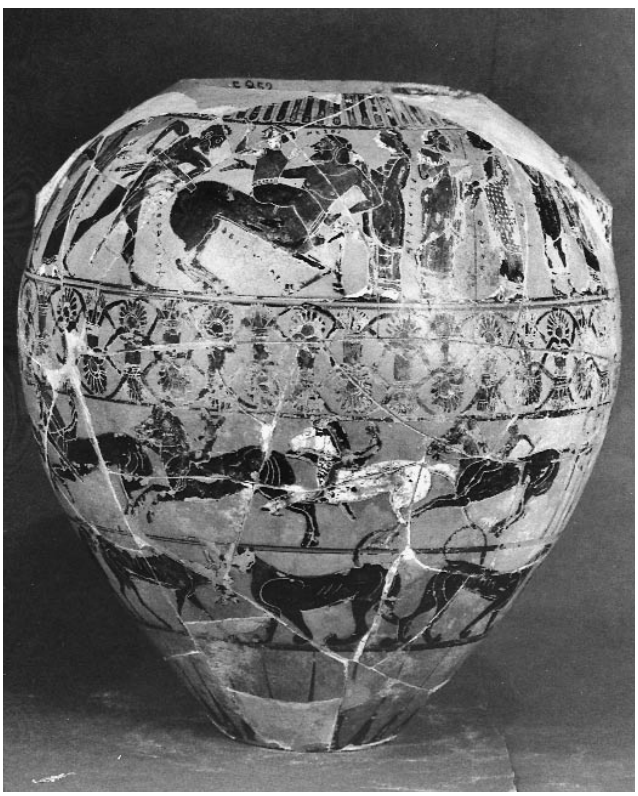


Fig. 28. Prometheus Painter, 1, A. B. B/A. A/B

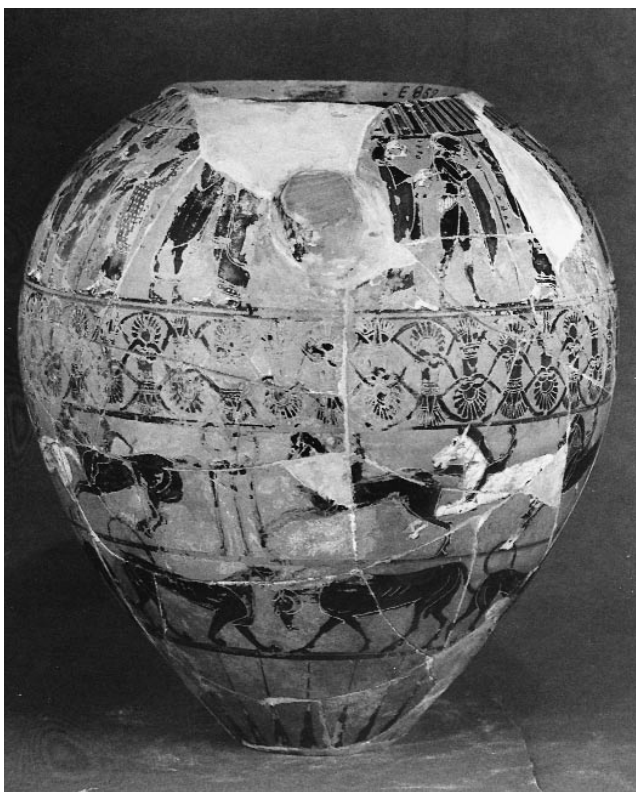


Fig. 29. Prometheus Painter, 1, A. B. B/A. A/B

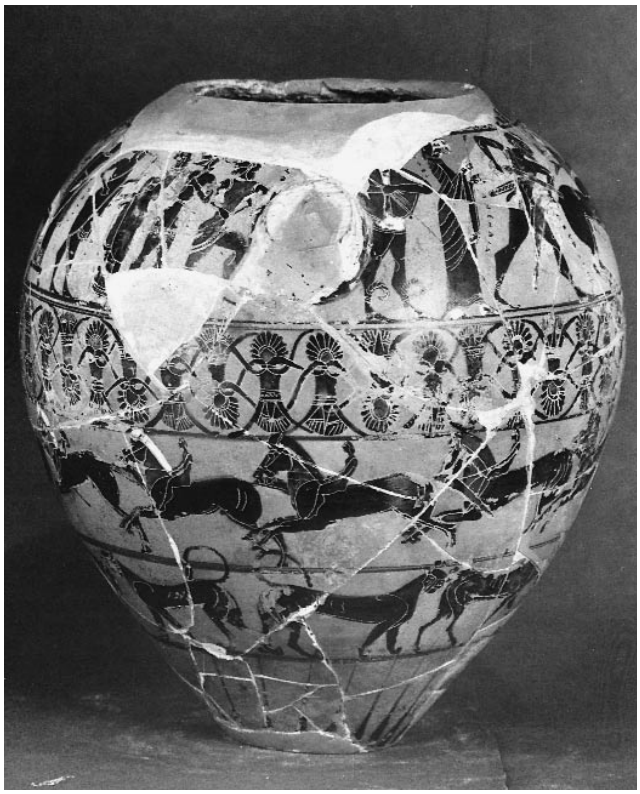


Fig. 30. Prometheus Painter, 1, A. B. B/A. A/B

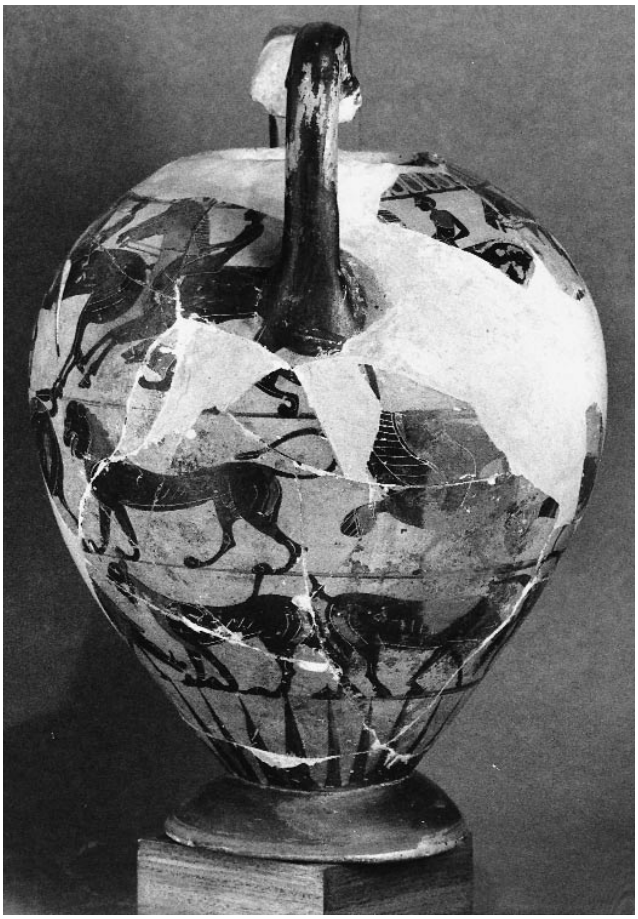


Fig. 32. Prometheus Painter, 15, B/A.

Fig. 31. Prometheus Painter, 1, B.

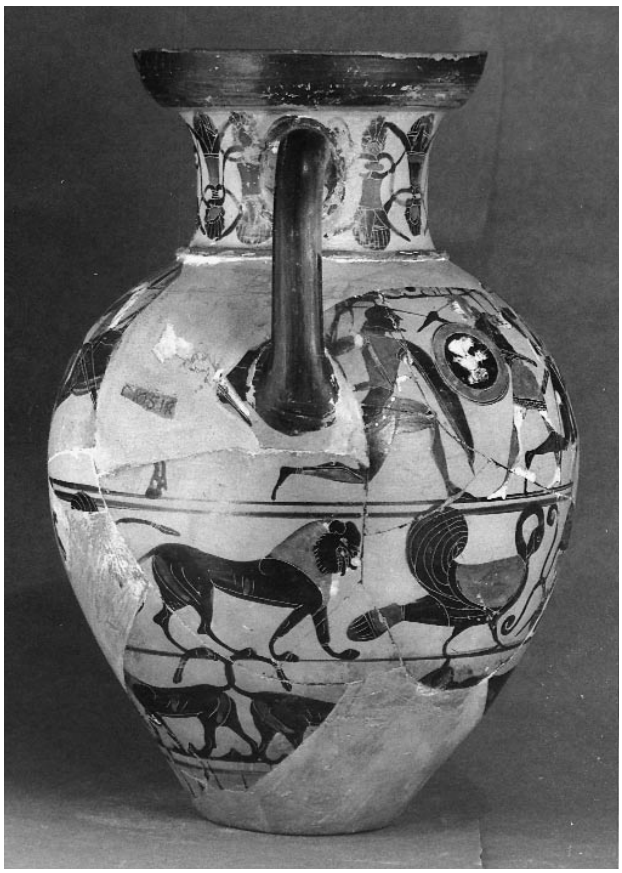


Fig. 33. Prometheus Painter, 19, B/A.

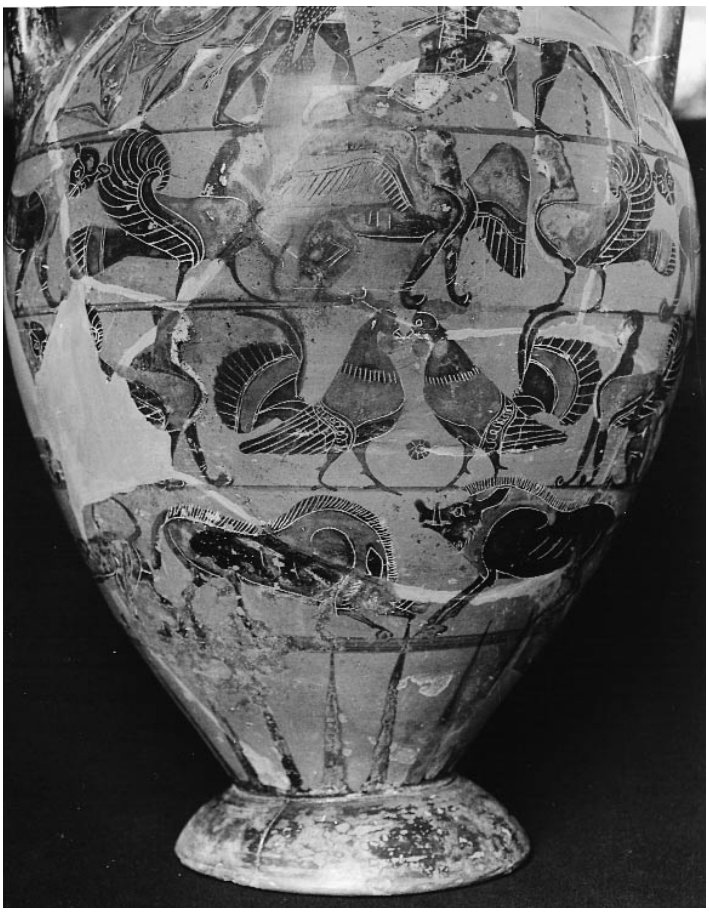


Fig. 35. Prometheus Painter, 17, lower part of A.

Fig. 34. Prometheus Painter, 19, A.

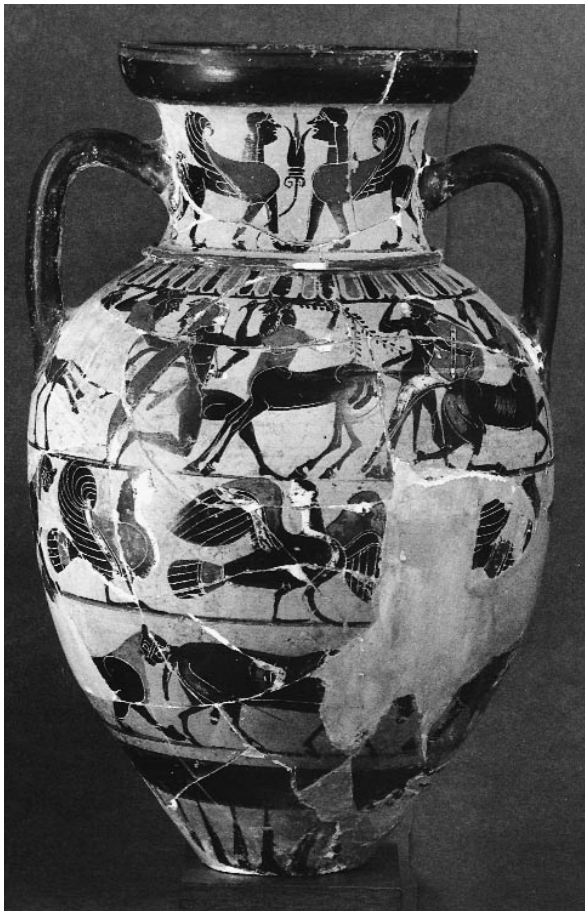


Fig. 36. Timiades Painter, 39, A.

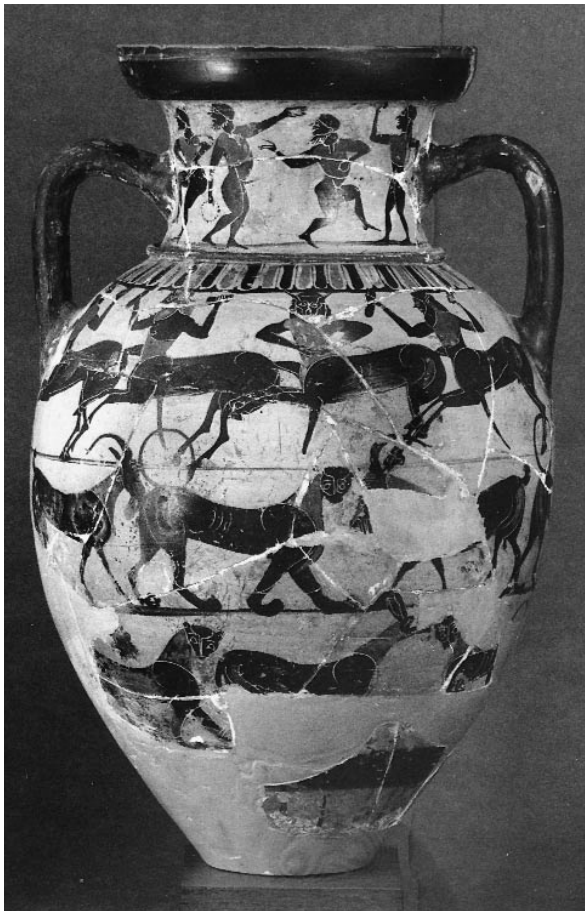


Fig. 37. Timiades Painter, 39, B.

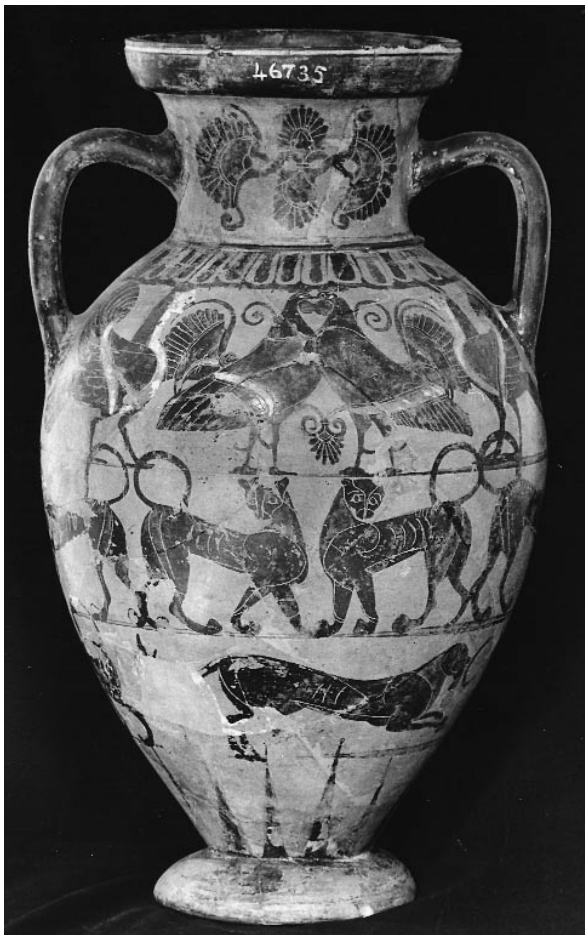


Fig. 38. Timiades Painter, 50, B.

Fig. 39. Timiades Painter, 49, B.

Fig. 40. Timiades Painter, 68-69.

Fig. 41. Timiades Painter, 57, A.

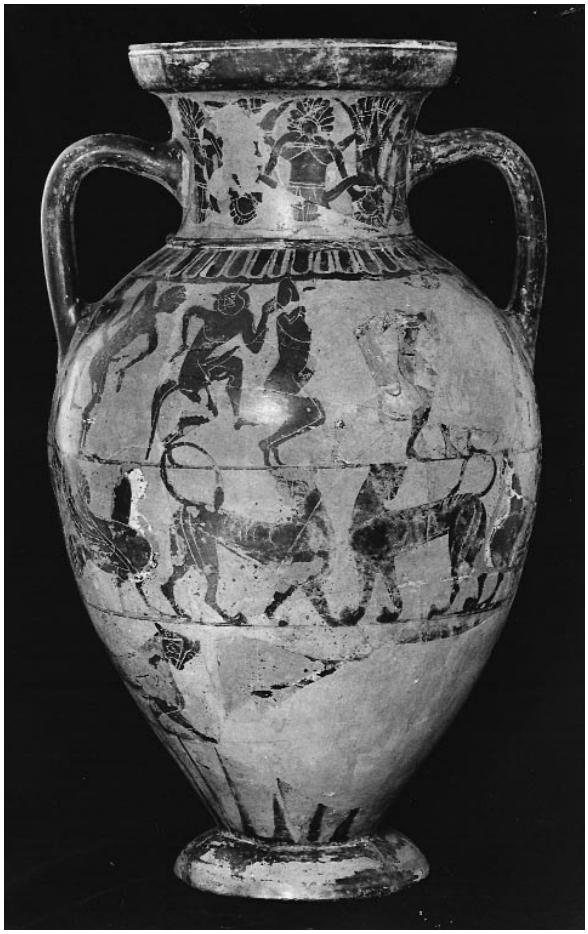


Fig. 42. Timiades Painter, 50, A.

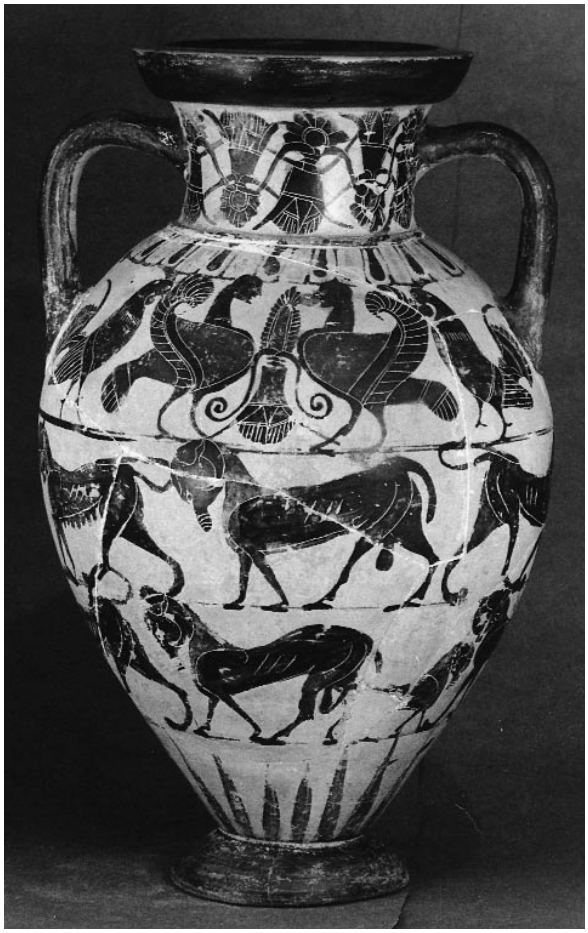


Fig. 44. Goltyr Painter, 89.

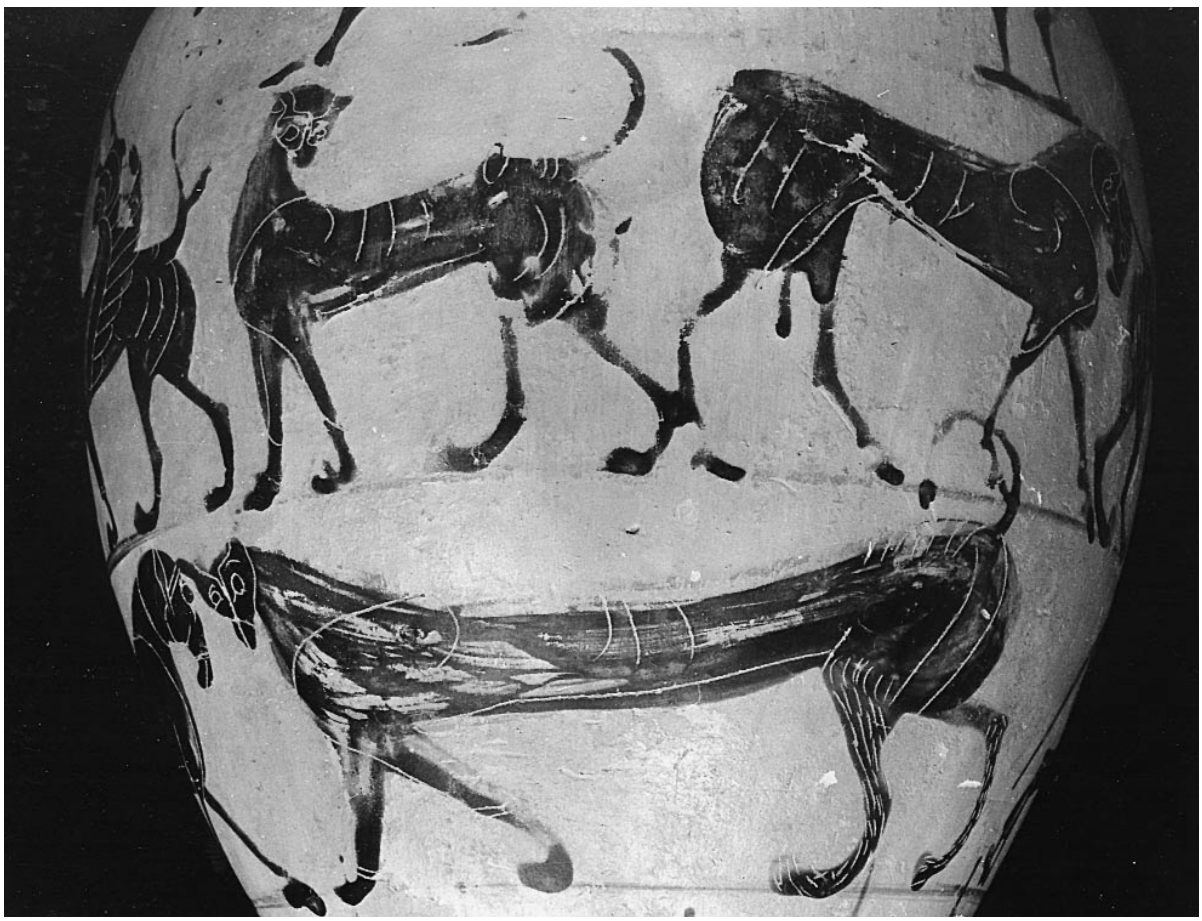


Fig. 43. Timiades Painter, 46.

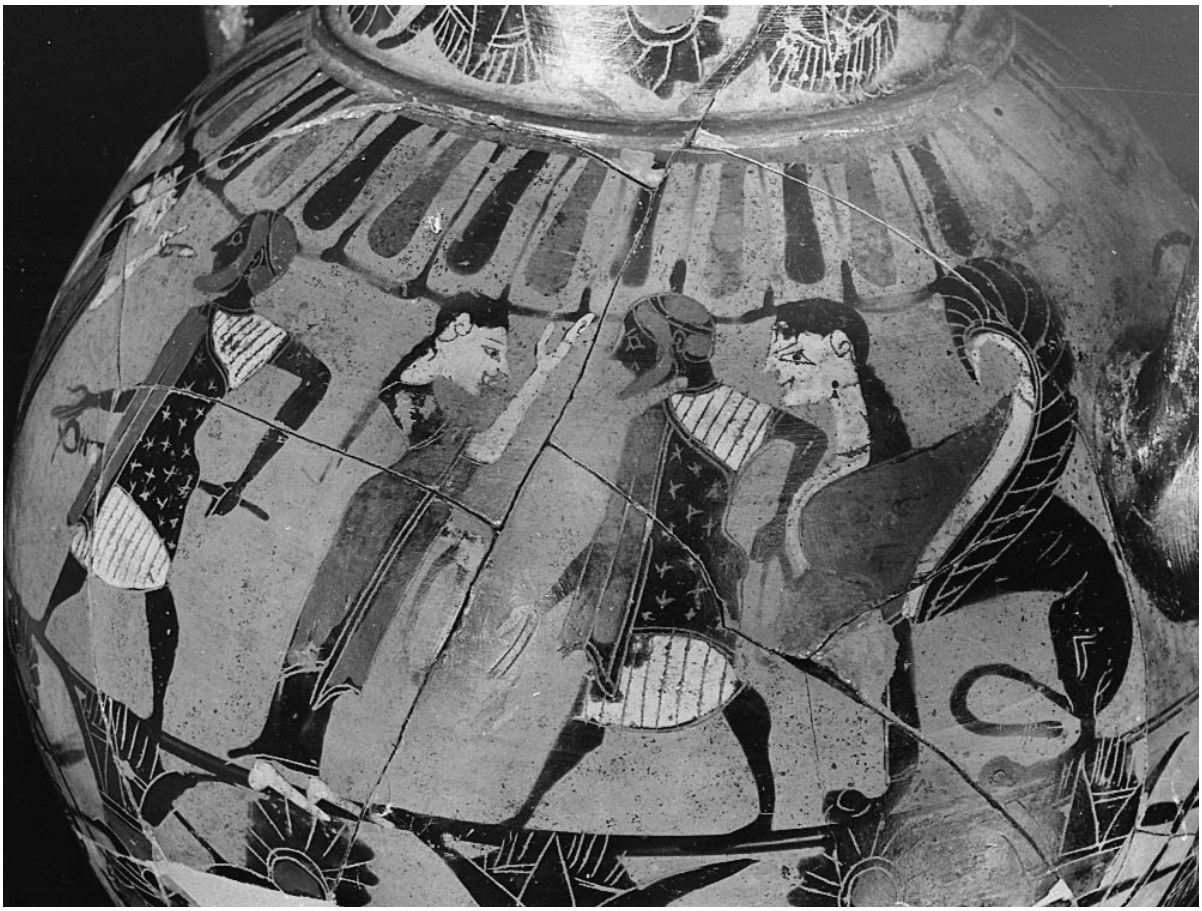


Fig. 45. Goltyr Painter, 93.

Fig. 46. Goltyr Painter, 94.

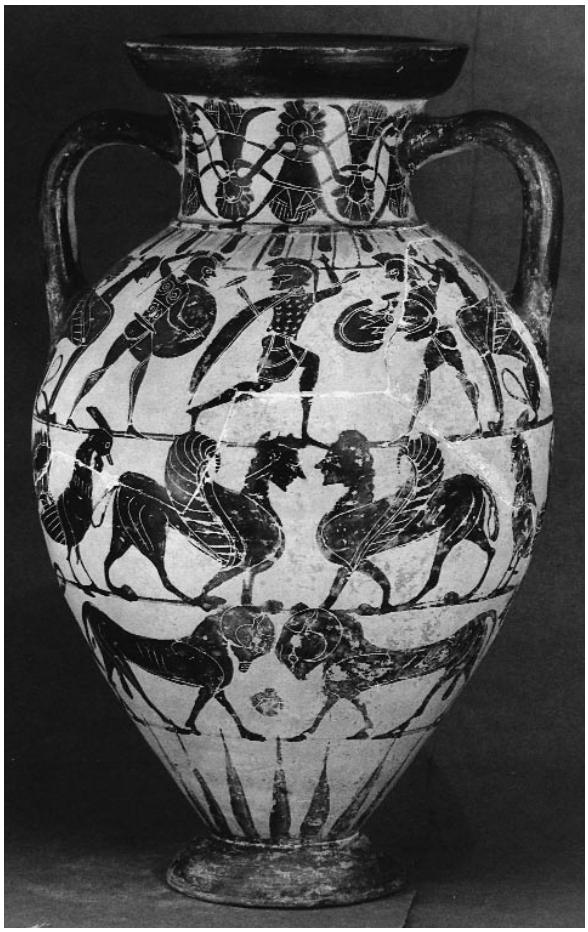
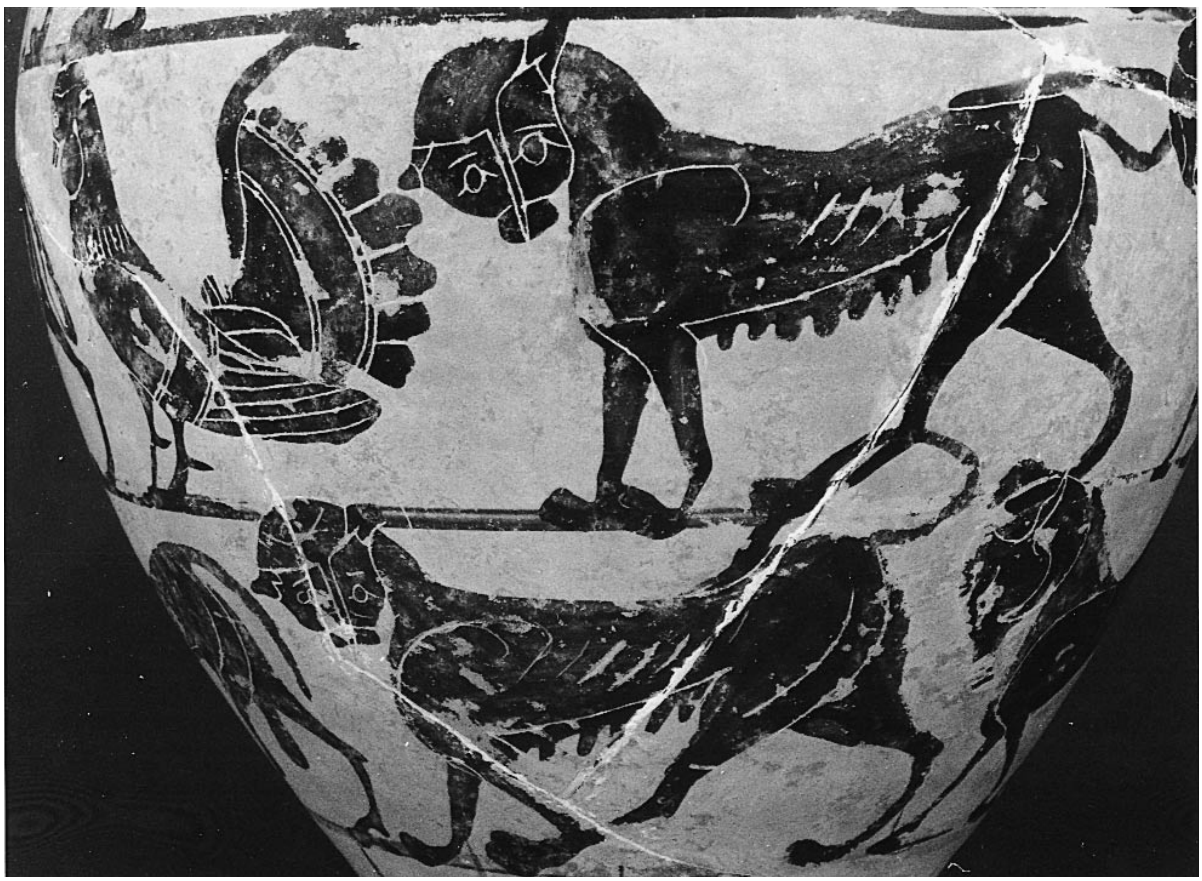


Fig. 47. Goltyr Painter, 89.

Fig. 48. Goltyr Painter, 89.



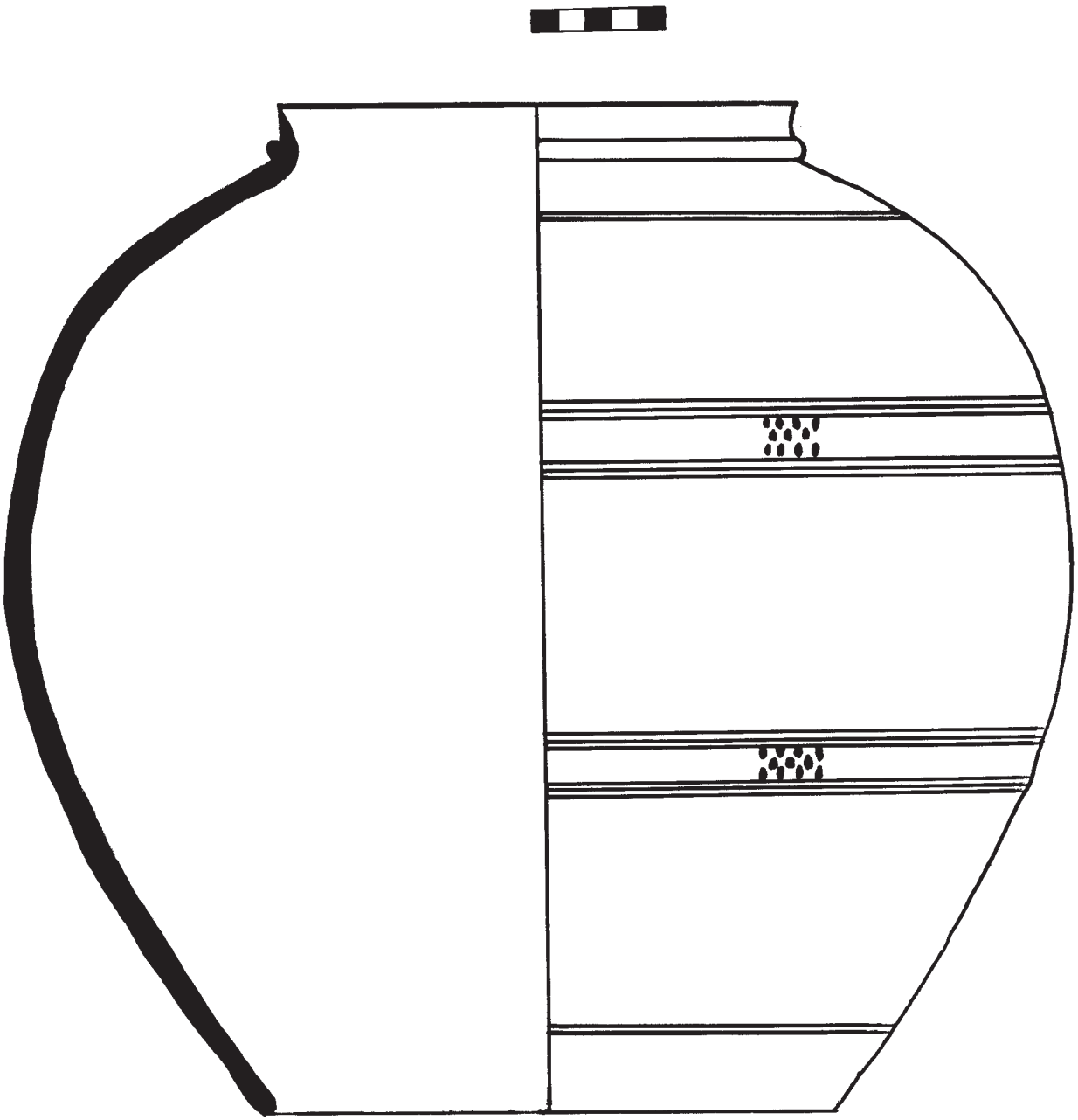


Fig. 49. Samos K 1433, KX Painter (Drawing H.A.G. Brijder).

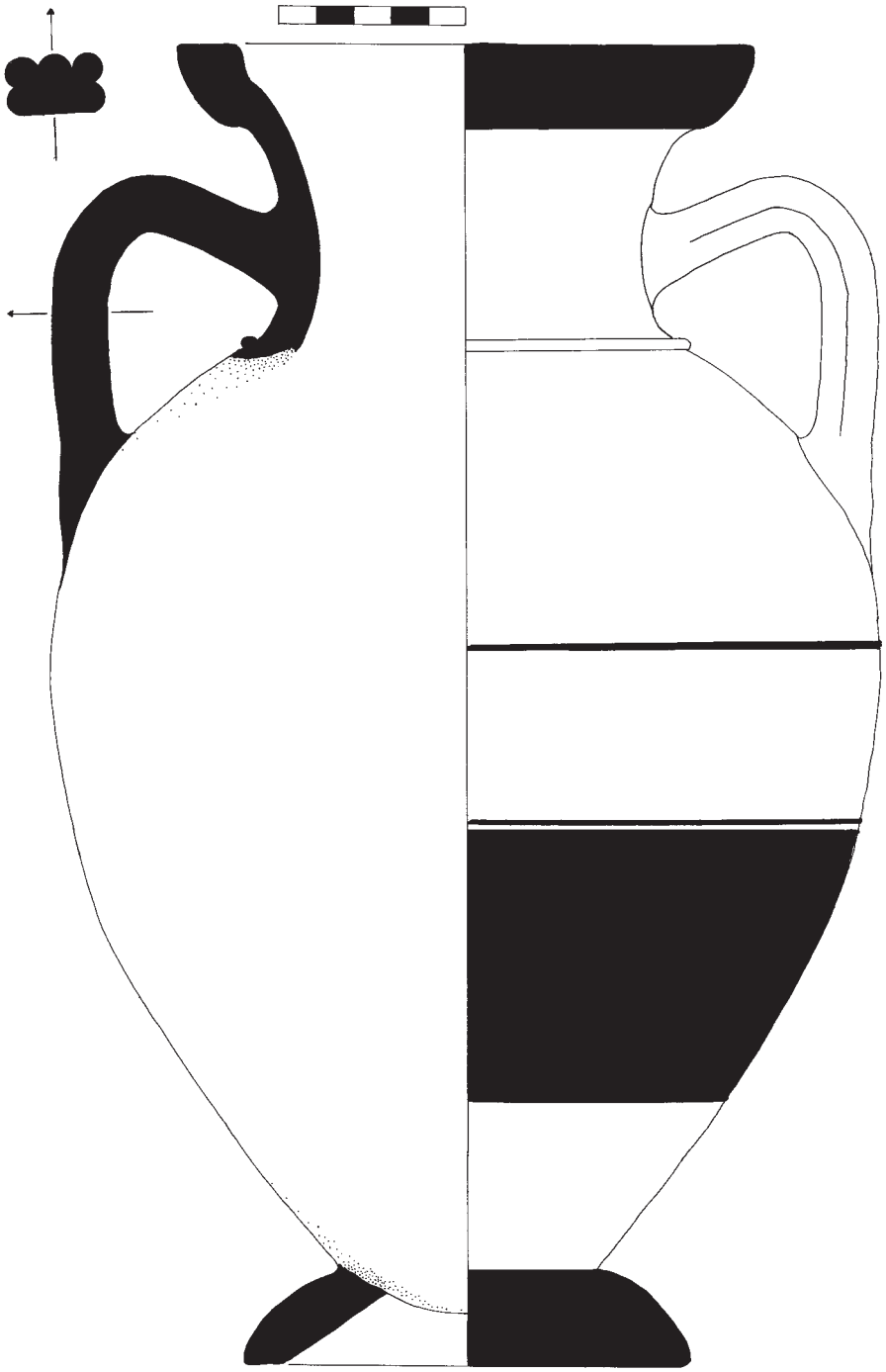


Fig. 50. Drawing of Athens N.M., Prometheus Painter, 5.

Fig. 51. Samos K 1433, KX Painter (Photograph H.A.G. Brijder).

Kneeling Corinthians: three unusual 'plastic' vases

William R. Biers

Within the repertoire of Corinthian 'plastic' vases of the late seventh and sixth century B.C., kneeling figures are rare, as are such figures generally in archaic Greek art. By 'kneeling' one means here a pose in which the legs are placed together and tucked under the upright upper body so that the buttocks rest on them, and the weight is taken primarily by the knees. This is in contrast to the squatting pose, in which the figure sits on the buttocks with the feet flat on the ground and the knees drawn up against the chest. This is the common pose of the conventionally named Corinthian 'komast' vases *(Fig. 1a-b)*[1].

Fig. 1a-b. Corinthian 'komast' vase. Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 3402.

[1] For the most recent summary on Corinthian 'plastic' vases in the form that is conventionally called a 'komast', see Amyx 1988, II, 530-532. For illustration: Ducat 1963, figs. 7, 11, 15-17. Our *Fig. 1* is Allard Pierson Museum inv. no. 3402 (Ducat 1966, 454 no. 10; Wallenstein 1971, IVA, 29k). Thanks go to prof. Herman Brijder for providing the photographs.

At least three Corinthian 'plastic' vases of the sixth century illustrate the kneeling pose, and there are likely to be others[2]. The first, known since the nineteenth century, is now in Vienna and is dated by scholars to the Middle Corinthian period *(Fig. 2a-d)*[3]. The male figure kneels with his weight forward on his knees, with his feet together and his upper torso bent forwards. His feet are restored as straight and so he appears to be resting on his toes, which probably is the correct position (see below). His large, closed hands are placed symmetrically apart on his chest, thumbs opposing each other in a position common to many komasts *(Fig. 1)*. The hands are pierced with vertical holes, possibly for suspension. The broad-shouldered body is nude except for a black-painted belt in a herringbone design around the upper waist, and the remains of two narrow bands around the neck. Suspended from the top band are faint traces of what appears to a pomegranate or even a small amphora-shaped pendant[4]. The body is decorated with abstract designs, in the manner of the komasts, which may be intended to represent tatoos[5]. Circle rosettes are on each shoulder and on each buttock; a lozenge pattern decorates the front of each thigh (similar to the shorter one on the back of the komast in *Fig. 1*)[6]. A seven-dotted rosette with a solid center decorates the center of the forehead.

The hair is divided into rectangular globules by incision; three braids hand forward over chest, and the hair is scalloped over forehead. The face is broad with a rounded, fleshy chin. The mouth is large and straight, the eyes small, oval, and set at a slight angle. Eyebrows and eyelashes are in relief with traces of black paint preserved on them. Faint remains of paint indicate the original presence of a beard, and there are traces of a black pupil in the right eye. Two suspension holes pierce the hair on either side of neck; a filling hole, partially broken away, is in top of head with the hair arranged symmetrically around it.

A second vase, from the sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus at Selinus and now in Palermo, is unusual in that it is in the form of a nude female *(Fig. 3a-b)*[7]. In contrast to the Vienna example, this figure presently sits back on its heals with its legs tucked under the body. Most of the feet are broken away, but the breaks suggest that the feet may have been straight, as in the previous example, so it would have had a more upright pose. Its unnaturally long arms end in paddle-like hands, without differentiated fingers, and rest along the side of the thighs, just above the knees, with the thumbs resting on the top of each leg. This position is not known among komast figures[8]. The figure should be considered as nude; the pubic triangle is indicated by black glaze, as were the nipples, the left one still preserves a dot of reddish/brown glaze. Around the neck, however are the traces of two of a v-shaped lines, presumably necklaces. The lower has small, curved pendants hanging from it with a larger one at the point of the v. A single line of black glaze runs down the center of the back, as is often the case with komasts. Another parallel with the male komast figures is the way the hair is treated in a solid mass, with a pointed projection down the back (see *Fig. 1* for both these parallels). In the front, it is scalloped over the forehead and hangs in two symmetrical slabs over the shoulders. Remnants of black glaze are preserved on the hair, which was encircled by a hair band, preserved in

[2] A presumably Corinthian female figure appeared on the London market in 1990 (Sotheby's London, *Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, 9 July 1990, lot no. 20 (with ill.). The figure is described as kneeling, though apparently missing below the knees, and possibly altered to a female figure by the coroplast before firing. It is decorated with dot rosettes on the buttocks, on the back, and between the large breasts. Thin, short arms, ending in fingerless, squared off hands are placed below the breasts at different levels. Without the ability to autopsy this extraordinary vase, it is perhaps best to leave it out of the discussion of kneeling Corinthian 'plastic' vases.

[3] Vienna, Kunsthistorisch Museum, inv. no. V 1267. Bought in Athens in 1876. H. 0.10 m,; complete, except ends of feet restored. Fabric Munsell 2.5 YR 7/2 (light grey, read by natural light).
F. Winter 1903, *Die Antiken Terrakotten, III: Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, I, 214 no. 3; Maximova 1923, 135 no. 157, pl. 42 (the recorded provenience of Tanagra is apparently in error); Ducat 1983, 444 no. 17 (dated early Middle Corinthian); Wallenstein 1971, no. IVA 23 (dated Middle Corinthian, 595/585 B.C.).
I must thank Dr. Bernhard-Walcher for information about this vase, permission to publish it, and for providing the photographs.

[4] For a similar necklace on a protome from a Middle Corinthian pyxis, Wallenstein 1971, Taf. 7, 4.

[5] For meaning, Fellmann 1978.

[6] In Fellmann's drawings (Fellmann 1978, 12 fig. 11), no. 8 for the circle rosettes and no. 15 for the lozenge pattern.

[7] Palermo, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. N.I. 1645. H. 0.94 m. Complete, but feet broken away. Fabric 7.5 YR/8/4 (pink, read by tungsten light).
E. Gàbrici, Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte, *MA* XXXII (1927), 411 pl. XLIII, no. 12; Amyx 1988, II, 530 note 360.
Thanks go to Dott.ssa C.A. Di Stefano for providing new photos of this vase and permission to publish it.

[8] The position of the hands is paralleled in two small bronzes: a late archaic/early classical figurine of a kneeling male in Berlin who wears a fillet (K.A. Neugebauer 1951, *Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und das Hellenismus* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen in Antiquarium) II, Berlin, 53 pl. 7, no. 42); and a hydria handle, dated to about 540 B.C. now in Boston. The handle is fashioned in the form of two youths, head to head, whose hands rest along the sides of their legs with the thumbs on the front surfaces, in the manner of the Palermo vase (*Classical Journal* 57 (1962), 146 fig. 2).

Fig. 2a-d. Corinthian kneeling male 'plastic' vase. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. V 1267.

reserved outline. The eyes are relatively large and arched, and the mouth is bordered by thick lips and turns down at the corners. Traces of black glaze are preserved around the eyes. Suspension holes are placed through the hair on either side of the head. The filling hole for the vessel is a simple orifice at the top of the head. On the basis of the facial features and parallels to Corinthian komasts, this vase should also belong to the Middle Corinthian Period, in the first quarter of the sixth century.

A third Corinthian 'plastic' vase in the form of a kneeling figure is in Florence and was found in Vetulonia in 1893 *(Fig. 4a-b)*. It is also dated to the Middle Corinthian Period[9]. This figure now leans backward, with its head inclined upwards and to its left. The feet are broken away, so it is not possible to tell if the figure was supported on extended toes, though it is likely. The arms are crossed on the chest, in the manner of some komasts, but the hands are broken away, so it is unclear if they met or not[10]. The usual suspension holes on either side of the neck and a filling hole on top of the head are present. The figure is very badly preserved and fractured so little of the original surface still exists. There apparently seems to be some uncertainty as to its gender. The original excavation report was certain that the vase was in the form of a female figure, and the lack of obvious genitals would suggest this. However, the *CVA* entry was ambiguous ('figura umana'), but Ducat was definite that it was a male ('homme agenouillé) and Wallenstein listed it with komasts[11].

The kneeling pose is also found among East Greek 'plastic' vases of the later 6th century B.C. decorated in terracotta technique[12]. The greater number are nude males kneeling with their hands resting flat on the upper surface of their thighs. A typical example of this type is illustrated in *Fig. 5a-b*[13]. An alternate version substitutes the head, pointed ears and long beard of a satyr[14]. A number of these kneeling figures are preserved (Ducat 1966 lists some nineteen examples), and where the feet are preserved and represented separately, they are extended straight, and the figure rests on the tips of the toes (see *Fig. 5*), as is the case with the restored Corinthian kneeling male in Vienna *(Fig. 2)* and probably our other two examples as well[15].
The three Corinthian 'plastic' vases just described share little in common except the relatively unusual kneeling pose. This pose is occasionally seen in the archaic period[16] and has generally been interpreted as representing a position of rest. However, E. Simon has recently argued that in the case of the well-known ivory kneeling youth from Samos, restored as part of an elegant kithara by Ohly, the figure should be understood as a dancer in the middle of a jump. She further suggests that the equally well-known Agora kneeling boy vase should also be interpreted as a leaping dancer[17]. Subsequently, the concept that kneeling figures should be thought of as leaping dancers has been extended to the East Greek kneeling males, mentioned above, and presumably, by extension, to the satyr variant[18].
The interpretation of kneeling figures perhaps depends on the position of the arms and hands. In

[9] Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 8360. H. 0.115 m. Complete but feet and hands broken away, surface very abraded. Fabric 7.5 YR 6/8(reddisch yellow, read by tungsten light).
NSc 1894, 348; *CVA*, Italy 8, pl. 375, no. 1; Ducat 1983, 454 nr. 12 (Middle Corinthian); Wallenstein 1971, IVA 29M (Middle Corinthian, 595/585 B.C.).
[10] For the hands '…clasped together; or cupped like the paws of a begging animal…' Amyx 1988, 531. See Ducat 1966, fig. 17.
[11] Maximova 1923, 135 note 3 (says that the original excavation report was in errror in identifying the figure as female); Ducat 1983, 454; Wallenstein 1971, 122. Recent investigation of the figure confirms that it is indeed female. Thanks go to Soprintendente Dr. Francesco Nicosia for providing this information. Wallenstein included this vase with twelve other 'plastic' vases whose heads he believed came from the same mold, including our *Fig. 1* (Allard Pierson Museum inv. no. 3402). The surface of the Florence example is so badly preserved that such a judgement seems difficult, unless based only on overall proportions.
[12] Ducat (1966, 67, 89) dates the earliest example of a kneeling male 'plastic' vase to the middle of the century (560/550). The greater number, however, are dated 'vers 550' (78, 89).
[13] Ex de Kolb collection. This vase appeared on the Basle market in 1963 (Münzen und Medaillen, *Kunstwerke der Antike, Auktion XXVI (5 Oktober 1963)*, 36 no. 75, (with ill.); Ducat 1966, 79 no. 2, pl. XL, 2-3. Present whereabouts unknown.
[14] For the general types, see Ducat 1966, 60-89. For a typical example of the satyr, pl XL, 4-5.
[15] As can be seen from *Fig. 5*, the left foot of the East Greek figure has been partially restored on analogy with the right foot, which is complete.
[16] Mitten collected a number of examples in 1966, all small bronzes or figurines of terracotta or faience: Mitten 1966, 5.
[17] Simon 1978, with bibliography on both objects. In both the Samos figure and the Agora vase, the toes are flat on the ground and hence bent at an angle to the whole foot rather than extended straight. Mitten, in discussing what appears to be a fragment of a similar figure from Isthmia, rejects the possibility that the figure is to be conceived of as jumping because of the position of the toes, which he sees as supporting members for a kneeling pose (Mitten 1966, 4) while Simon takes the position of the toes to support her assertion that the figur is to be thought of in the air (Simon 1978, 68). The Agora kneeling boy is still considered as East Greek or, more specifically, Samian by some: E. Walter-Karydi 1973, *Samische Gefäße des 9. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Samos, Band VI, 1), Bonn, 31, 103 n. 88.
[18] Heidi Froning in E. Simon 1989, ed., *Minoische und griechische Antiken* (Die Sammlung Kiseleff in Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg) I, Mainz, 52-53 no. 109. Two of our Corinthian examples are cited as local versions (the Vienna youth and the Florence vase). Many of the kneeling East Greek examples rest on the tips of their toes, as mentioned above.

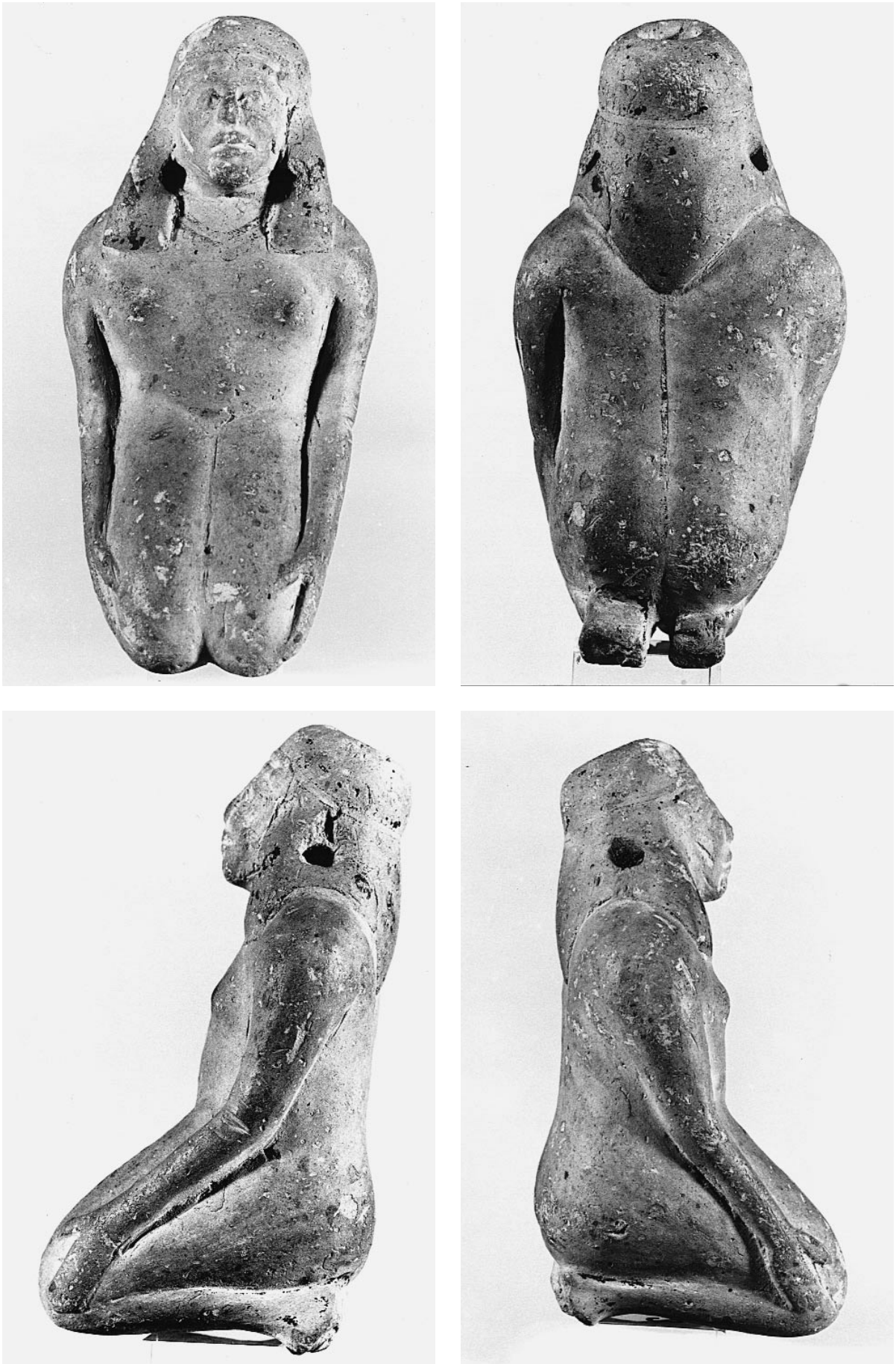


Fig. 3a-d. Corinthian kneeling female 'plastic' vase. Palermo, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. N.I. 1645.

the East Greek 'plastic' vase figures the hands are invariably placed palm down on the tops of the thighs just above the knees in a pose probably derived from a class of figures familiar from Egyptian art, which are usually considered as at rest in a kneeling position. Although such a position for the hands could conceivably be part of a jump in a dance, the overall impression is still one of a sedentary pose.

The kneeling pose is a type known in Egyptian sculpture in the round beginning in the Old Kingdom and used throughout subsequent periods[19]. One version consists of a kneeling figure holding offerings. The kneeler is depicted with his hands resting on his thighs and holding ritual pots in both up-turned palms[20]. The earliest examples date from the Old Kingdom, and the formula is repeated down into the late periods. Both royalty and non-royalty can be shown in this pose with offering pots[21]. A simpler version exists without attributes in which the hands rest palms down on the top of the thighs. This form is seen most usually in the private sphere, and the earliest examples can once again be traced back to the Old Kingdom, as early as Dynasty III. The form was particularly popular in the Late Period with a relatively large number being produced in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[22]. There is even one relatively small (18.5 cm high) nude female figure attested in this pose[23]. The kneeling pose with attributes is clearly one of offering, the plainer version, without offerings, has been described as a simple presentation of the dedicant of himself to a god as an offering[24].

No matter what the pose may have symbolized to the Egyptians, there were evidently a number of examples available that could have influenced Greek coroplasts, especially those in East Greece, where the closest parallels can be found in the kneeling men and satyrs referred to above, and where, in major centers such as Samos and Rhodes, Egyptian and Egyptianizing imports are quite numerous. The pose with the hands on the thighs is too specific to be coincidental and would seem likely to have been derived from Egyptian models. One interesting difference, however, is that in most Egyptian sculptures, the toes are realistically flat on the ground and hence bent at an angle to the foot, wheras, where separately modelled and preserved, East Greek 'plastic' vases show a straight foot at right angles to the ground *(Fig. 5)*. The bent foot does however exist in the Samos ivory, the Agora boy, and the Isthmia fragment, as has been mentioned.

Of course not only sculpture was available to be seen, for there was also a whole host of minor arts, including faience Egyptian and Egyptianizing amulets and figurines, many of which were in the forms of kneeling figures, usually women with attributes, occasionally male flute players. The kneeling woman, often accompanied by a child, is a common type in faience and is also found in Egyptian terracotta 'plastic' vases that are generally thought to date to the New Kingdom. Kneeling male figures without attributes are only rarely seen among this vast category of minor arts, and do not replicate in all details the pose as known in sculpture[25].

What did the pose mean to the Greeks? Kneeling was apparently undertaken when mourning the

[19] The kneeling pose is also used in painting and relief for female mourners. In these figures the arms are variously placed, often with one hand raised to the head. Occasionally one knee is elevated. For schematic representation of the various poses: M. Werbrouck 1938, *Les pleureuses dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, Brussels, 148-149. See also H.G. Fisher 1976, Representations of *Dryt*-Mourners in the Old Kingdom, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, New York, 39-50.

[20] These vessels are called *nw pots*, and are understood to have held liquids.

[21] For a new kingdom version of this form, see the small statue of Thutmosis III: Russman and Finn 1989, 88-89. For a late example in faience (Dynasty XXII): E. Riefstahl 1968, *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes*, Brooklyn Museum, 59 no. 57.

[22] For the Third Dynasty example: Russman and Finn 1989, 12-13. For kneeling figures of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.: Bothmer 1960, pl. 34, figs. 80-81 (Dynasty XXVI, second half of the seventh century); pl. 49, figs. 118-119 (Dynasty XXVI, early sixth century). The type extends well down into the fourth century and later: pl. 84 (Dynasty XXX, midfourth century), pl. 85, figs. 226-227 (Dynasty XXI, about 340 B.C.). For two additional sixth century examples: K. Levin, The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C., *AJA* 68 (1964), pl. 7, figs. 9-10.

[23] Turin, Egyptian Museum inv. Cat. 3033: A.M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.) 1989, *Egyptian Civilization* III. *Monumental Art*, Milan, 173, fig. 264, dated to Dynasty XXV (most of the eighth and the first half of the seventh century B.C.). This stone statue is similar to the female 'plastic' vase in Palermo with hands on the thighs, except that it is not free standing, including a base and back support. The feet, which blend into the base, extend backwards awkwardly at an angle to the presumed ground surface so that the figure's buttocks rest on the backs of the heels, unlike the vertical placement of the feet on East Greek 'plastic' vases (see *Fig. 5*). I would like to thank Dr. Robert Bianchi for this reference and for his advice concerning the Egyptian component of this article.

[24] Bothmer 1960, 44. The submissiveness of the pose is emphasized by Russmann and Finn 1989, 13. 93.

[25] For the faience objects: V. Webb 1978, *Archaic Greek Faience*, Warminster. A good summary of the kneeling woman type in 'plastic' vases: G. Clerc, V. Karageorghis, et al. 1976, *Fouilles de Kition II: Objets Égyptiens et Egyptisants*, Nicosia, 235-237. For Egyptian 'plastics': M.A. Murray 1911, Figure-Vases in Egypt, *Historical Studies* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt Studies. Vol. 2), London, 40-46. See also Maximova 1927, 131-134. She illustrates a 18th Dynasty kneeling male vase (134, fig. 27). Here the hands rest on the thighs, but are clenched. For an alabaster kneeling figure even further removed from the canonical pose, Murray, pl. XXIV, no. 45.

Fig. 4a-b. Corinthian kneeling female 'plastic' vase. Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 8360. Photo courtesy Soprintendenza alle Antichità – Firenze.

dead at the tomb to judge from illustrations on white ground lekythoi of the Classical Period, and a few literary references refer to the practice before the fourth centurtly[26]. Beginning in the fourth century, kneeling worhippers appear in Attic votive reliefs. A number of different gods appear as objects of worship, including many mainly associated with the chtonian gods, such as Demeter and Kore. However, others appear as well, including a number of Olympians, such as Zeus and Artemis, and it has been suggested that the act of kneeling was reserved for urgent prayers to gods whom the worshipper believed could intercede in his or her behalf, gods that might be termed 'saviour-gods'[27]. The majority of kneeling worshippers are women, and Simon has suggested that kneeling was a particularly appropriate pose for the worship of Demeter and Kore[28]. It should be recalled that the unique Corinthian female 'plastic' vase now in Palermo came originally from a Demeter sanctuary.

The three Corinthian 'plastic' vases with which this article began form a group only in regard to their kneeling pose, and the fact that they all exhibit the standard features of Corinthian 'plastics'. Each one has a filling hole inconspicuously placed on the crown of the head and exhibits suspension holes at the neck. Apart from these shared features, the vases are individualized, for instance in the placement of the hands. Egyptian influence seems to be present perhaps only in the inspiration for the over-

[26] The only major study of kneeling figures, particularly those in Attic reliefs, is van Straten 1974, from which the following is taken.
[27] Van Straten's term: 1974, 177, 183-184.
[28] E. Simon 1969, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich, 93.

Fig. 5a-b. East Greek kneeling male plastic vase. Ex de Kolb collection. Photos courtesy of Dr. Herbert A. Cahn.

all pose, which could have been derived directly from Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects[29]. It is striking that the Egyptian kneeling pose with the hands on the thighs was known in East Greek 'plastic' vases decorated in terracotta technique. In our present understanding these seem to appear somewhat later than the Corinthian kneelers and are closer in pose to Egyptian sculpture, as has been mentioned. However, they do not copy the Egyptian method of rendering the bent feet in kneeling sculpture, and this perhaps derives from the differences between formal, finished stone sculpture and relatively crude, mass produced molded terracotta figures. It might be objected that the contemporary Agora kneeling boy has his toes bent under, but this figure is larger and more finished than the general run of mass produced terracottas and 'plastic' vases and in fact approaches terracotta sculpture in quality.

Parallels to the contemporary Corinthian komasts stands out, which is not surprising in that the vases were surely made in the same workshop. The question remains as to why the coroplast elected to produce the three unusual, if not unique, vases presented here. Perhaps the 'plastic' vase lends itself to experimentation. Its method of manufacture, often combining wheel-made portions with those made in a mold and by hand allows for experimentation and the creation of types that were tried out once, apparently not adopted, and never seen again. A similar interest in invention can be documented

[29] In the relatively small world of 'plastic' vases influence and inspiration could go both ways, and it should not be thought that all inspiration only traveled from the East to Greece. Corinthian komasts may have influenced some East Greek 'plastic' vases. See W. Biers, Corinthian Plastic 'Komasts' and their influence, *AJA* 89 (1985), 325.

in Corinthian vase painting[30]. There are certainly a number of examples in which only a single vase appears to have been produced, and this also seems to be the case for those from the East Greek area that used molds more often than did the Corinthians[31]. Another factor might be the ultimate use of these vases and their contents. Of the three under discussion, one came from an Etruscan tumulus north of Rome and one from a sanctuary of Demeter in Sicily. They were both exported from Corinth, either for themselves or for their contents, and one has no hint as to whether the choice of form had any relationship to the ultimate destination[32].

The kneeling postion was not generally adopted in Greek art of the Archaic Period, and it is perhaps closest to the truth to suggest that its appearance in our three 'plastic' vases was an experiment that apparently was not repeated. Whether it was inspired by a foreign order, or something the coroplast or his client had seen or heard about, it is perhaps surprising to find this kind of thing going on as late as Middle Corinthian, in the earlier sixth century B.C., for we tend to think of experimentation as more of a feature of the seventh century. The Corinthian interest, stimulated by external impetus of whatever nature, in producing new forms did not die out in the earlier waves of what has been termed 'orientalizing influence', and experimentation with a new shape of 'plastic' vase is what one might expect to find in the thriving, international trading city of Corinth of the sixth century B.C.[33].

[30] For invention in vase painting, see Amyx 1988, 661-662. For the use of interchangeable parts in Corinthian 'plastic' vases, W. Biers, Mass Production, Standardized Parts, and the Corinthian 'Plastic' Vase, *Hesperia* (in press).

[31] For example, single examples of vases in the form of a swan, a heron and a minotaur are known: W. Biers 1989, A Heron in Cleveland, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 76, 292ff; *idem* 1989, A Minotaur in Malibu? *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (*Occasional Papers on Antiquity*, 5), 5ff. For rare or unique Corinthian 'plastic' vases, Amyx 1988, II, 517-533; W. Biers 1992, Archaic Plastic Vases from Isthmia, *Hesperia* 61, 227ff.

[32] For recent research into the trace remains of contents of Corinthian 'plastic' vases, see W. Biers, G. Gerhardt, R. Braniff, Lost Scents 1994, Investigations of Corinthian 'Plastic' Vases by Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry, *MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology*, 11.

[33] An excellent, recent investigation of orientalizing influence on Corinthian art is: T. Rasmussen 1991, Corinth and the Orientalizing Phenomenon, in T. Rasmussen, N. Spivey, eds., *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge, 57-78.

Abbreviations

Amyx, D.A. 1988, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*, Berkeley.

Bothmer, B.V. 1960, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (E. Riefstahl, ed.), Brooklyn.

Ducat, J. 1963, Les vases plastiques Corinthiens, *BCH* 87, 431ff.

Ducat, J. 1966, *Les vases plastiques Rhodiens*, Paris.

Fellmann, B. 1978, Zur Deutung Frühgriechischer Körperornamente, *JdI* 93, 1ff.

Maximova, M.I. 1927, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (trans. Carsow), Paris.

Mitten, D.G. 1966, Two Male Terracotta Figurines from the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon, *AntK* 9, 1ff.

Russman, E. and D. Finn 1989, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, Austin.

Straten, F.T. van 1974, Did the Greeks kneel before their Gods? *BABesch* 49 (1974), 159-189.

Simon, E. 1978, Zwei Springtänzer, *AntK* 21, 66ff.

Wallenstein, K. 1971, *Korinthische Plastik des 7. und 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Bonn.

DEPT. OF ART HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA MO 65211
USA

Eine Hydria (Calpis) aus dem Kreis des Darius- und Unterweltmalers in der Archäologischen Sammlung des Institutes für Klassische Archäologie in Wien

Petros Dintsis

In der Sammlung des Institutes für Klassische Archäologie in Wien befindet sich unter anderen Gegenständen eine Hydria *(Figs. 1-10)*, die im folgenden untersucht werden soll[1]. Die Besonderheit dieser aus Apulien stammenden Hydria liegt in der dargestellten Szene, die in den orphisch-dionysischen Bereich weisen könnte.

Zur weiteren Beschreibung:

Das Gefäß ist vom Anfang des stark eingezogenen Halses bis zum Fuß mit schwarzem Firnis überzogen; die obere Hälfte des Halsinneren ist ebenfalls schwarz gefirnißt. Die tellerförmige flache Mündung mit der seitlich überhängenden Lippe ist außen mit einem laufenden Hund geschmückt. Ein breiter Firnisstreifen ist um die Gefäßöffnung gemalt. Der Ansatz zwischen dem eingekehlten Fuß und dem Körper wird durch eine knappe Einziehung betont, die ebenso wie der profilierte Standring des Fußes tongrundig belassen ist.
Seitlich deuten die horizontalen Griffe etwa die Grenze zwischen der Naiskosszene der Hauptseite und dem reichen Palmettenvolutendekor der Rückseite an. Die Griffansätze werden von einem schwarzen Stabfries umgeben *(Fig. 3)*. Der senkrechte rückwärtige Henkel ist, genau wie die beiden Griffe, schwarz gefirnißt.
Auf einen breiten Firnisstreifen folgt ein rundumlaufendes Mäanderband, das von Kreuzplatten unterbrochen ist, die in vier Quadrate geteilt sind, mit je einem Punkt in den vier Sektoren[2]. Das Mäanderband wird darüber hinaus von je einer tongrundigen Linie oben und unten eingefaßt.
Der Vasenkörper geht gleichmäßig ohne Absetzung in den Hals über, was für eine Calpis[3] typisch ist *(Fig. 8)*.
Das Bild auf der Vorderseite reicht hinauf bis zum Halsansatz, den ein umlaufender Myrtenzweig mit Beeren und Mittelrosette schmückt *(Fig. 10)*.
Den Mittelpunkt der achtblättrigen Rosette, die einen Durchmesser von 3,5 cm hat, bildet ein gelbweißer, großer Punkt. Die Blätter der Rosette sind tongrundig und weisen, neben einem weißen Punkt einen Abschlußstreifen der gleichen Farbe auf.
Zwischen diesem Myrtenkranz und dem erwähnten Mäanderband sehen wir auf der Vorderseite der Vase einen Naiskos[4] *(Figs. 1, 5, 10)* in weißer Farbe[5], der auf einer 5 cm hohen, 4-stufigen Basis steht, deren mittlerer Teil durch einen laufenden Hund geschmückt ist. Die Pfeilerbasis der sich nach oben hin verjüngenden Pfeiler wird durch drei parallele Linien dargestellt, deren Farbe von hell- bis dunkelbraun variiert. Das Kapitell der Pfeiler wird durch ein X, welches oben und unten von zwei parallelen Linien begrenzt ist, angegeben *(Figs. 5, 10)*.
Die Pfeiler tragen einen weißen Architrav (ca. 3,2 cm H), der durch einen Dreiecksgiebel, dessen untere Partie durch zwei hellbraune parallele Linien (1,5 cm Abstand) gekennzeichnet ist,

An dieser Stelle möchte ich Herrn Prof. F. Krinzinger für die Finanzierung der von Frau B. Wagner erstellten Zeichnungen danken (die Zeichnungen sind hier in dem Maßstab von 1:3 angefertigt). Mein Dank gilt weiters auch den Photographen des Institutes Frau G. Gattinger, Herrn K. Kneringer u. Herrn N. Gail.

[1] Diese Vase ist bereits in dem Corpus von Trendall und Cambitoglou 1983, 91, Nr. 19/129a aufgenommen. Für diesen Hinweis und für das kritische Lesen des Manuskripts möchte ich mich bei Herrn Prof. A. D. Trendall sehr herzlich bedanken. H: 48 cm, DM Mündung: ca. 19 cm, innerer DM: ca. 6 cm, Fuß: DM: 15 cm, Wulstrand: 1cm, Loch: DM 6cm, Höhe des Halses: 11 cm (—> Schulter), Zustand der Vase: einige Flecken, ansonsten intakt.

[2] Diese Art der Kreuzplatten ist nur in der apulischen Vasenmalerei ab ca. 360 v. Chr. zu finden. Trendall 1967, 192; Trendall 1990, 95.

[3] Diehl 1964, 30.

[4] In diesem Artikel wird der Grabbau im Zentrum des Gefäßes mit dem griechischen Terminus Naiskos (= Tempelchen) oder mit dem lateinischen Ausdruck Aedikula bezeichnet. In der archäologischen Literatur finden wir darüber hinaus auch die Bezeichnung Heroon. Stähler 1981, 184 bemerkt mit Recht, daß das zwar seltene Vorkommen von Grabreliefs, Grabstatuen und Grabnaiskoi einerseits dafür spricht, daß man in den Naiskosdarstellungen nicht nur die Wiedergabe der Realität sehen darf, sondern auch andererseits sie vor allem "als eigenständige künstlerische Aussagegestaltung zu begreifen" habe. Vgl. ferner Carter 1973, 97 und Anm. 1; Lohmann 1979, 50f; Stähler 1981, 182; Lippolis 1987, 145ff; Pontrandolfo, Prisco, Mugione e Lafage 1988, 191 Anm. 39; Weber 1990, 66ff. (Weitere Literatur hier).

[5] Die apulischen Vasenmaler bemühten sich, die Polychromie ihrer Umwelt mit den ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln wiederzugeben. Vgl. Schefold 1966, 6. So wird die weiße Farbe für Stein oder Stuck von Grabmonumenten, wie man sie tatsächlich in Tarent gefunden hat, verwendet. Lohmann 1979, 22f; Trendall 1990, 305. Vgl. auch Anm. 7.

Fig. 1

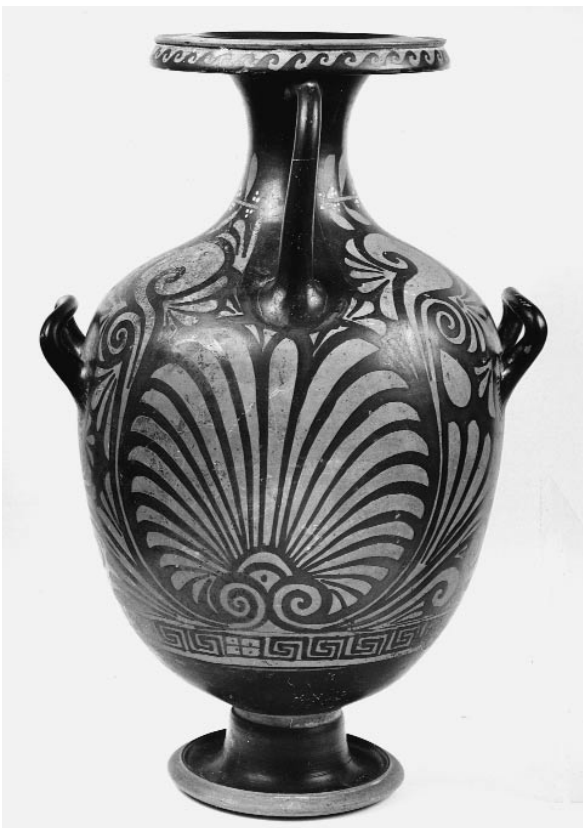


Fig. 2

Fig. 3

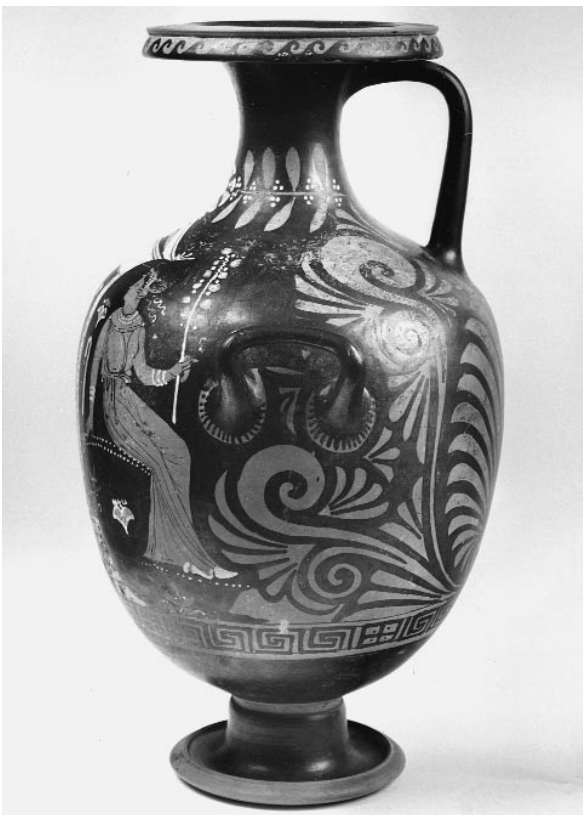


Fig. 4

bekrönt wird. Die untere Kante des Architravs ist ebenfalls durch eine 2,5 mm braune Linie begrenzt, die den Anschein von Tiefe vermittelt.

Das Schräggeison des Giebels wird durch eine tongrundige Linie in zwei Teile geteilt. Durch eine dunkle Verfärbung entlang der Geisonkante erreicht der Künstler eine Tiefenwirkung, wodurch das schwarze Tympanon, das mit einem Gorgoneion[6] geschmückt ist, perspektivisch versetzt wirkt und somit eine Vorstellung von Räumlichkeit gegeben ist. Der Giebel wird durch Akroteren in Form von weißen Palmetten verziert *(Fig. 1.10)*.

Das Innere des Naiskos, der durch tongrundige Farbschattierungen[7] entlang der Pfeiler perspektivisch angegeben ist, wird durch ein dreistöckiges spiegelsymmetrisches *florales Gebilde* geschmückt[8], das aus dem Boden sprießt, der durch eine gelbweiß gepunktete Linie gekennzeichnet wird *(Fig. 5.10)*. In der unteren Ebene sieht man zwei Akanthusblätter, die außer von zwei scheibenförmigen Blüten noch mit reichem Blättergeschlinge flankiert sind. Daraus entspringt eine Blumenkomposition, die neben je einer großen schalenartigen Blüte in der mittleren und obersten Ebene an der Spitze durch eine Lotosblüte bekrönt wird[9]. Auch diese beiden Ebenen sind mit reichem Blattgeschlinge verziert, wobei die Lotusblüte darüber hinaus von zwei, aus Punkten bestehenden, Blüten flankiert wird.

Der Naikos ist von zwei Offrantinnen flankiert *(Figs. 1, 10)*.

Die links in Kontrapost-Haltung stehende, langbeinige schlanke Frau *(Fig. 6)* ist mit einem langen ärmellosen, gegürteten Chiton bekleidet, der auf den Schultern von einer weiß-gelben, runden Fibel zusammengehalten wird. Der Faltenwurf des Chitons wird durch fast parallele schwarze Linien erreicht, wobei der obere Abschluß des Chitons von zwei parallelen Linien eingefaßt ist. Zwischen den Brüsten befinden sich zwei geschwungene Linien, die deren Konturen hervorheben. In ihrer ausgestreckten linken Hand hält die Frau eine weiß-gelbe Tainia[10], an deren Enden dünne, gekräuselte Bändchen herabhängen. In ihrer angewinkelten Rechten[11] hält sie einen palmettenförmigen Fächer[12], der aus eng aneinander liegenden, weißen Federn besteht, die in einer mit Voluten geschmückten Einfassung stecken. Der kurze Stil des Fächers ist an seinem unteren Ende profiliert. Die aus einem Kekryphalos[13] herausragen-

[6] Das Gesicht des Gorgoneions ist in zwei Farben dargestellt: die linke Hälfte ist weiß und die rechte gelb. Ebenfalls ein Gorgoneion im Giebel des Naiskos findet man beispielsweise auf einem Volutenkrater des Pateramalers (vgl. Lohmann 1979, A 781, Taf. 33,1) oder auf einem Volutenkrater des Baltimoremalers (Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 52, Taf. 15). Vgl. weitere Gorgoneia, eines im Giebelfeld des Hadespalastes auf einem Krater in Karlsruhe (*CVA* Karlsruhe (2) Taf. 63,1), ein weiteres auf einer Amphore der Galerie Palladion (Schauenburg 1988, 305). Ferner vgl. Weber 1990, 68.

[7] Die weiße Farbe der Front und die tongrundig angegebenen Innenwände lassen eine konsequente Durchführung einer Materialandeutung durch Farbe nicht erkennen, jedoch wird durch den Kontrast der Farben eine gewisse Tiefenwirkung erzielt. Vgl. Lohmann 1979, 22. Vgl. ferner a.O. 42, 45; Stähler 1981, 183f.

[8] Das Motiv des Pflanzennaiskos, dessen Anfänge, nach bisherigen Kenntnissen, in der Werkstatt des Varresemalers zu finden sind (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 337, Nr. 21, 22, 42) kommt fast ausschließlich auf großen Gefäßen vor. Die einzige kleine Vase mit einem solchen Motiv ist eine Miniaturpelike in Paris und stammt möglicherweise aus einem Kindergrab. Schauenburg 1957, 200.

Es sind uns zahlreiche Gefäße mit Pflanzennaiskoi bekannt, die nicht nur einer, sondern mehreren Werkstätten bzw. Malern zugeschrieben sind. Fast alle Pflanzennaiskoi sind apulischen Ursprungs, daneben gibt es einige lukanische und kampanische: Lohmann 1979, 114, 117 Anm. 935, der in seinem Katalog 53 apulische Pflanzennaiskoi kurz beschreibt. Lohmann 1982, 203, Abb. 10; Simon 1982, 127, Kat. 64; Todisco 1984, 61, Cat. 3b, 63, Cat. 4a u. Anm. 33; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Index, 1288 s.v. plants; Schauenburg 1984, 149ff. u. Anm. 59; Pontrandolfo, Prisco, Mugione e Lafage 1988, fig. 45,5; Sotheby's 12.12.87, 36 Nr. 155; Schauenburg 1989, 36 Anm. 64; Schauenburg 1990, 87 u. Anm. 52, Abb. 31. Siehe weiters Bachofen 1958, Taf. G u.S., 465.

In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch diese Vasen interessant, auf denen Pflanzengebilde zu sehen sind, die aus einer hohen Basis entspringen. Sie befinden sich nicht, wie die oben genannten Pflanzengebilde, in einem Naiskos, stehen aber ähnlich wie diese im Mittelpunkt und sind von Offranten umgeben. Man kann m.E. annehmen, daß diese Pflanzengebilde in ähnlicher Weise zu interpretieren sind: *CVA* Bologna, Museo Civico (3) Taf. 31,3; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 167,6.

[9] Die Akanthusblätter werden in gelb-weißer Farbe dargestellt und weisen neben dunkelbraunen Punkten braune Linien auf, durch die sie zweigeteilt werden. Das Innere der beiden weiß umrandeten, trompetenförmigen Blumen ist in brauner Farbe gehalten, wobei sich im Zentrum ein gelb-weißer Punkt befindet. Die hellbraun umrandeten Blütenblätter der schalenförmigen Blumen sind außen weiß, die Innenseite der Blätter wird braun dargestellt. Durch den so entstandenen Kontrast erreicht der Künstler eine plastische Schalenform der Blüte. Die bekrönende Lotusblüte (oder Lilie) ist in brauner Farbe und abgesetztem Beige gemalt. Durch die Verwendung von weiß und gelb werden teilweise perspektivische Wirkungen erzeugt.

[10] Die linke Seite der Tainia ist von einer braunen Linie begrenzt, wodurch das Band plastisch dargestellt wird. Zu den verschiedenen Arten von Binden vgl. Lohmann 1979, 32 Anm. 244, der drei verschiedene Typen unterscheidet: 1. eine schlichte Binde, 2. eine ebenso schlichte Binde mit flatternden Enden, 3. eine gepunktete Binde. Zur Deutung der Tainia siehe Anm. 51.

[11] Der linke Henkelansatz scheint erst nachträglich mit schwarzer Farbe eingefaßt worden zu sein, was man daran erkennen kann, daß der linke Ellbogen der Frau irrtümlicherweise mit schwarzer Farbe übermalt worden ist. Das erinnert daran, daß Figuren skizziert wurden, danach schwarz eingerahmt und zuletzt der gesamte Hintergrund mit schwarzer Farbe ausgefüllt worden war. Vgl. Noble 1982, 41f. Abb. 5.

[12] Für diese Art Fächer, die in der Literatur im Unterschied zu den "Blatt-Fächern" als "Feder-Fächer" bezeichnet wird, verwendete man meistens Pfauenfedern, genauer Schwungfedern. Vgl. *RE* VI, 2 (1909) s.v. Fächer 1959 ff. (Mau); Schauenburg 1990, 70f.

[13] Diese im wesentlichen weibliche Kopftracht war seit Homer bekannt und besonders in der klassischen Zeit sehr gebräuchlich. Der Kekryphalos konnte aus Stoff oder Wolle bestehen, konnte netzartig und geschmückt sein und war keine fertige Kopfbedeckung, sondern bestand aus einem schalförmigen

den Haare sind an der Stirne mit einem Perlendiadem verziert und am Hinterkopf mit weißen flatternden Bändern zu einem Knoten gewunden, den Hals ziert eine zweireihige Perlenkette, und beide Arme der Frau sind mit drei weiß-gelben, dünnen Armreifen[14] geschmückt. Ihre Füße stecken in Sandalen, die mit Riemen über dem Rist festgehalten werden. Vor ihr in ihrer Schulterhöhe schwebt ein weiß umrandetes, gelbes Efeublatt, hinter ihr, oberhalb des Fächers eine Rosette[15].
Die rechte, mit überkreuzten Unterschenkeln sitzende Offrantin *(Fig. 7)* dreht ihren Kopf nach links zurück in Richtung des Naiskos, während ihr in Dreiviertel-Ansicht dargestellter Körper davon abgewendet ist. Sie ist ebenfalls mit einem langen, ärmellosen Chiton bekleidet, der auch hier an den Schultern durch zwei Fibeln zusammengehalten wird, wobei auch hier der obere Abschluß des Chitons von zwei parallelen Linien eingefaßt ist. Zwischen den Brüsten sieht man auch hier zwei die Konturen betonende, geschwungene Linien. Ihre schmale Taille ist mit einem geschmückten Band[16] gegürtet, dessen Enden herabhängen. Genau wie die links stehende Frau hat auch die Sitzende ihre, durch einen Kekryphalos teilweise bedeckten, Haare hinten zu einem Knoten gebunden, von dem auch hier weiße Bänder herabflattern. Ihre Stirne ziert ein Perlendiadem, am Hals trägt sie eine doppelreihige Perlenkette, und genau wie die andere Gabenbringerin sind auch ihre Arme mit je drei Reifen geschmückt.
Während sie ihre Rechte auf das durch zwei parallele Punktreihen gekennzeichnete Gelände stützt, hält die erhobene Linke einen Zweig mit braunen und gelb-weißen Plättchen.
Neben ihrer Rechten sieht man eine frei hängende Tainia, deren Enden mit gekräuselten Bändern versehen sind. Darunter entspringt eine stilisierte Pflanze aus der Basis des Naiskos, daneben sieht man ein frei hängendes, weiß umrandetes gelbes Efeublatt, ein weiteres gleichfarbiges schwebt vor ihr in Schulterhöhe. Unterhalb der Füße der sitzenden Frau entspringt eine weitere stilisierte Pflanze aus dem Mäanderband.
Während der Schmuck, wie gesagt, in gelb-weißer Farbe angegeben ist, sind die Gewänder und die sichtbaren Körperteile der Offranten tongrundig.

Die fein ausgeführten, wohl proportionierten Köpfe der beiden Frauen *(Fig. 6.7)* sind in die durch den geschwungenen Architrav entstehenden Aussparungen geneigt und wenden sich dem Naiskos zu und vermitteln so den Eindruck einer geschlossenen Komposition. Diese wird noch durch den, eine gegenläufige Bewegung andeutenden, gebogenen Zweig in der Hand der einen Frau und den Fächer der anderen komplettiert.

Die Tatsache, daß die Offrantinnen auf einer höheren Ebene als der Naiskos sitzen bzw. stehen, hat nichts mit der Angabe ihrer Entfernung zur Aedikula zu tun, sondern ist Teil einer Flächenkomposition. Durch dieses unterschiedliche Niveau wird darüber hinaus die inhaltliche Wichtigkeit des Mittelteils der Komposition gegenüber den untergeordneten Gabenbringerinnen deutlich. Daß der Naiskos nicht unbedingt realistisch wiedergegeben ist, spielt keine Rolle, da seine Funktion als Rahmen der inneren Darstellung weitaus wichtiger ist.

Die Rückseite des Gefäßes überzieht ein dichtes pflanzliches Dekor *(Fig. 2.9)*: eine große Fächerpalmette mit ausladenden Blatt- und Blütenranken an beiden Seiten, die durch Stengel mit der Palmette verbunden sind. Der Palmettenkern ist schwarz. Zum Hals hin rollen sich große, breitflächige Voluten aus. Die Zwischenräume sind mit Zwickelpalmetten, weiteren Ranken und pflanzlichen Füllmotiven geschmückt. Die Palmette wird durch ebendiese symmetrischen Volutenranken und Palmettenteile zu einem sich nach oben hin verbreiternden Ornamentfeld zusammengefügt.
Durch die schräge Anlage der Palmette ist die Komposition leicht verzogen, wodurch der Künstler mehr Platz zur Verfügung hatte. Als Folge davon finden wir rechts mehrere Ornamentteile als links.

Für eine Zuweisung zum Kreis des Darius- und Unterweltmalers (340-330/ 330-320 v. Chr.) sprechen stilistische Ähnlichkeiten, wie etwa die ausgeprägte doppelte Faltenlinie, die das rechte Bein der Offrantin betont[17], der Faltenwurf des Gewandes der stehenden Offrantin, der durch viele senkrechte, parallele Linien dargestellt wird[18] und der

Kopftuch, das wie eine Haube um den Kopf gewickelt wurde. Mit seiner Herstellung beschäftigte sich ein eigenes Gewerbe, die κεκρυφαλοπλόκοι. Vgl. *RE* XI, 1 (1921) 126ff. s.v. Kekryphalos (Netoliczka); *Der Kleine Pauly* III 1979, Sp. 176 s.v. Kekryphalos.

[14] Die natürliche Beschaffenheit des Materials wird durch die Farbe wiedergegeben: So wird gelb für das Gold des Schmuckes verwendet. Vgl. auch die "ceramica dorata", wo die gelbe Farbe verwendet wird, um Gold zu simulieren. Antonacci Sanpaolo, Follo e Sfrecola 1989, 141.

[15] Zur Anbringung von Rosetten an verschiedenen Stellen vgl. Schauenburg 1990, 71f.

[16] Der Gürtel der beiden Offranten ist durch gelb-weiße Punkte geschmückt, die wahrscheinlich Gold-Applikationen darstellen.

[17] Vgl. Frauenfiguren des Dariusmalers z.B. auf einer Amphore (Aellen, Cambitoglou et Chamay 1986, Abb. 120. 121) und auch Frauenfiguren auf Hydrien, die mit dem Darius- und dem Unterweltmaler verbunden sind (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 207, 1.3).

[18] Vgl. einen ähnlichen Faltenwurf auf einem Volutenkrater des Unterweltmalers und auf Hydrien, die mit dem Darius- und dem Unterweltmaler verbunden sind (Kunstwerke der Antike. Münzen und Medaillen A.G. *Auktionskatalog* 56, Basel 19.2.1980, Abb. S. 116 unten links; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 203,1; 208,1.6; *CVA* Frankfurt/Main (3) Taf. 3,1).

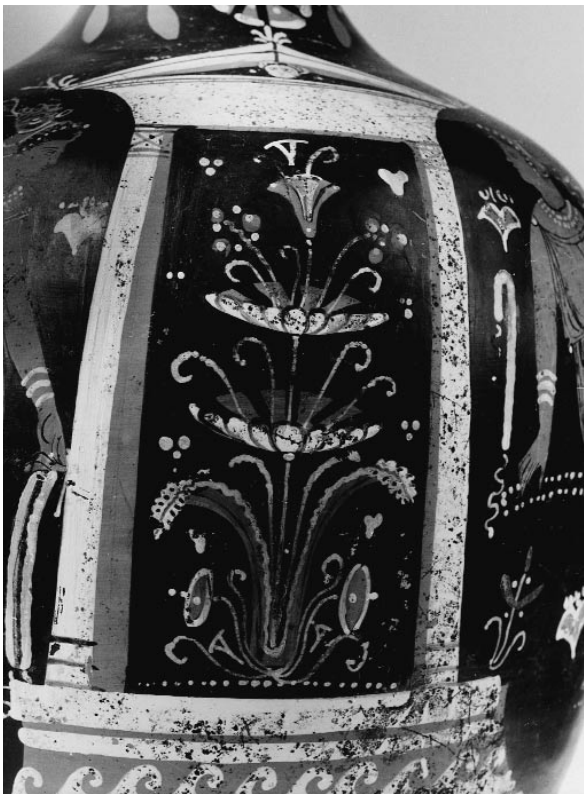


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

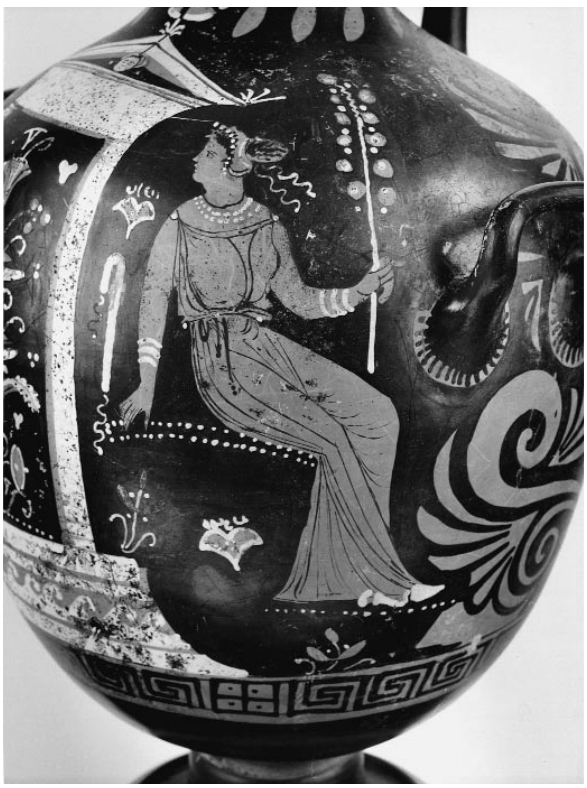


Fig. 7

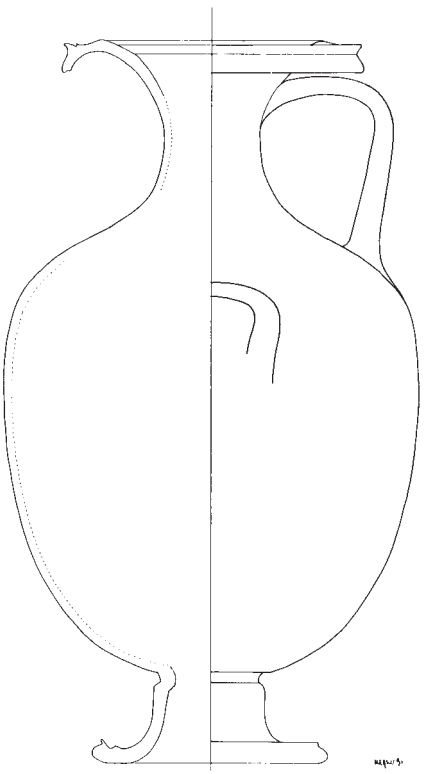


Fig. 8

schwarze Bändergürtel[19]. Weiters die Haltung der sitzenden Frau (im Bereich des Gesäßes und der Beine) mit ihrem senkrecht abfallenden Gewand[20]. Auch die schalenartigen Blüten und die Lotosblüte der floralen Komposition im Naiskos[21], die Art der Ranken- und Palmettenkomposition[22] auf der Rückseite und die dreiblättrige, mit Beeren ausgestattete Pflanze im Feld unterhalb der rechten Offrantin[23] und der Mäander mit Punkten in den jeweils vier tongrundigen Feldern[24] bekräftigen die Zuweisung der Hydria zum Kreis des Darius- und Unterweltmalers.

Die Tatsache, daß die Hydria am Boden ein Loch aufweist[25], deutet darauf hin, daß diese Vase nicht für den täglichen Gebrauch, sondern für den Sepulkralbereich bestimmt war[26]. Das wird darüber hinaus durch die gewählte Thematik verstärkt. Was die Pflanzenkomposition im Naiskos betrifft, so gibt es diesbezüglich verschiedene Deutungen.
Während R. Pagenstecher[27] in den Pflanzennaiskoi die blumigen Wiesen der Unterwelt vermutet bzw. sie in Verbindung mit der pythagoreischen Lehre der Pflanzenmetempsychose bringt und darüber hinaus auch meint, daß sie die Gemälde wiedergäben, die in den Grabstätten im Andenken an deren Ausschmückung aufgestellt worden seien, erachtet P. Wolters[28] hingegen die Heranziehung der empedokleischen *Metensomatosis* für unnötig, da seiner Meinung nach der volkstümliche Glaube und der Sympathiezauber als Mittel, die Hoffnung auf eine erneute Existenz des Toten sichtbar zu machen, als Erklärung für die Pflanzennaiskoi ausreichen.
Für C. Albizzati[29] hingegen schließt der symbolische sakrale Charakter der Pflanzen, die mit den verschiedenen Göttern in Beziehung stehen, den von Pagenstecher geäußerten Gedanken der pythagoreischen Metempsychose aus. H. Jucker[30] nimmt in seiner Untersuchung an, daß mit den Pflanzennaiskoi und Rankenköpfen der Ausdruck

[19] Ähnliche Gürtel sieht man bei Frauenfiguren des Dariusmalers und des Unterweltmalers (Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 175,4; 197,1; 198; 199; 201,3).
[20] Vgl. eine ähnliche Darstellung auf einem Glockenkrater, der nach M. Bernard in CVA Warschau, Nationalmuseum (4) Taf. 25,1 einer Werkstatt aus dem Kreis des Dariusmalers entstammt. Weiters vgl. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 208,6.
[21] Diese Blüten finden ihre Parallelen auf Vasen des Unterweltmalers, z.B. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 198. 199; Aellen, Cambitoglou et Chamay 1986, Abb. S. 24.
[22] Die Art der Komposition und die der Palmette erinnern an den Unterweltmaler, jedoch ist die Palmette der Hydria breiter und offener angelegt. Vgl. Aellen, Cambitoglou et Chamay 1986, Abb. S 195; *CVA* Warschau, Nationalmuseum (4) Taf. 19,1.
[23] Eine ähnliche Pflanze findet sich auf einer Hydria des Darius-Malers (Aellen, Cambitoglou et Chamay 1986, Abb. S. 154).
[24] Schauenburg 1988, 294.

[25] Das Loch an der Unterseite der Vasen wird oft damit erklärt, daß es das Durchlassen der Spenden für die Toten ermöglicht hat. Vgl. dazu Lullies 1982, 94 u. Anm. 10; K. Deppert, *CVA* Frankfurt (3) 10 Taf. 2. Vgl. ferner Meuli 1958, 495; Diehl 1964, 126; Wallenstein 1972, 469f; Lohmann 1979, 15.
In einem späteren Aufsatz wendet sich Lohmann 1982, 231f. dagegen, da man, wie er sagt, in der nachgeometrischen Zeit von der Sitte, flüssige Spenden in das Erdreich einzuleiten, fast ganz abgekommen war. Außerdem seien die apulischen Kammergräber für die Einleitung einer Libation reichlich ungeeignet gewesen. Darüber hinaus sind Vasen mit nachträglich angebrachtem Bodenloch im 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. äußerst selten. In Apulien findet man Vasen mit einer Bodenöffnung nicht vor 360 v. Chr. Nach Lohmann haben die Löcher, sowohl am Boden der Vase als auch im Henkelbereich, sicherlich dazu beigetragen, Risse aufgrund von übermäßiger Spannung während des Brennvorganges zu verhindern. Vgl. dagegen Deppert, a.O. 10 Taf. 2, der der Meinung Lohmanns widerspricht. Vgl. *Jb. des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* II 1983, 189. Schmidt 1984, 34 Anm. 2 glaubt ebensowenig wie Lohmann, daß die Bodenöffnung rituellen Zwecken gedient habe, sondern daß sie "eine Maßnahme der Töpfer [sei], die diese sich bei den nicht für den Gebrauch bestimmten Grabgefäßen erlauben konnten ... ein Anzeichen für die sepulkrale Bestimmung einer Vase".
Vgl. auch Bloesch 1951, 30 Anm. 4, der die erwähnte Verwendungsmöglichkeit zunächst in Betracht zieht, in der Folge aber meint, daß die Löcher wieder verstopft wurden, um Essen für die Toten aufzunehmen.
Die größte Zahl von Vasen mit Bodenöffnung findet man im Inneren von Gräbern. Jedoch sollte man die zahlreichen Darstellungen von Gefäßen am Grabmal, die sicherlich eine Realität wiederspiegeln, nicht außer acht lassen. (Vgl. z.B. Lohmann 1979, Taf. 53,2; 55,1; 56,2). Die Tatsache, daß die Gefäße des öfteren von vorneherein ohne Boden hergestellt wurden und somit für die Lebenden unbrauchbar gemacht wurden – ein alter Brauch – (vgl. dazu *RE* III (1899) 344 s.v. Bestattung [Mau]) läßt ihren rituellen Gebrauch erkennen. Vgl. dazu Prückner 1971, 35f., Kat.-Nr. 60 (Hier weitere Literatur zu durchlöcherten, früheisenzeitlichen Kultgefäßen). Zu Hydrien ohne Boden im allgemeinen siehe Lohmann 1982, 223f.
[26] Stähler 1981, 196; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 548; Senff 1983, 276f; Lohmann 1986, 149; Schauenburg 1989, 32. 39. 49. 52; Schauenburg 1990, 76; Schauenburg 1989, 216, 218 Anm. 15. Vgl. auch Schauenburg 1969, 134ff. und Schauenburg 1977, 289ff., der feststellt, daß der überwiegende Teil der rotfigurigen Vasen für den Totenkult bestimmt war. In einem seiner neueren Artikel mit dem Titel "Zur Grabsymbolik apulischer Vasen" in: *JdI* 104, 1989, 60 präzisiert Schauenburg diese Zahl und sagt, daß bei vorsichtiger Schätzung mindestens 40-45% des vorliegenden Materials ausschließlich für den Sepulkralbereich bestimmt war und daß es als gesichert anzusehen ist, daß zumindest nach der Mitte des 4. Jhs. die großen apulischen Werkstätten fast ausschließlich Vasen für den Grabbereich herstellten. Zu der Problematik, wie weit die gesamte unteritalische Keramik ausschließlich als sepulkral und eschatologisch zu betrachten ist, vgl. Lohmann 1979, 12ff; Lullies 1982, 99 Anm. 27. Siehe auch Anm. 112. Vgl. weiters zur Problematik des offenen Bodens Schauenburg 1980, 48ff; Schauenburg 1984, 384f. Schauenburg 1985, 428f; Schauenburg 1987, 232; F. Rumscheid, *CVA* Göttingen (1) 27; Schauenburg 1990, 76; Trendall 1990, 16; Stähler 1981, 184.
[27] Pagenstecher 1912, 99. Zu den Unterweltswiesen vgl. Lohmann 1979, 126 u. Anm. 1022 (hier weitere Literatur).
[28] Die Deutung als "Sympathiezauber" stammt von A. Dieterich, 8. Beih. *ARW* (1905), 40 und wurde von Wolters 1930, 120. 123. 125 und Schauenburg 1957, 203 übernommen. Gegen diese Deutung spricht sich Lohmann 1979, 132 aus. Vgl. weiters Stähler 1980, 151.
[29] Albizzati 1929, 156 Anm. 3.
[30] Jucker 1961, 164ff., 209ff.

der Hoffnung nach allgemeiner Unsterblichkeit gemeint sei.

Für J. Bachofen[31] ersetzt die Pflanze in ihrer Funktion als Unsterblichkeitssymbol den Verstorbenen. Darüber hinaus wird die "Auferstehung des Leibes dem neu aufblühenden Frühling der Pflanzenwelt völlig gleichgestellt".

K. Schauenburg[32] weist ebenfalls auf den symbolischen und eschatologischen Wert der Pflanzen hin, da es kaum anzunehmen sei, daß in den Aedikula selbst Pflanzen wuchsen. Vielmehr stünden sie an Stelle der ansonsten in Grabmälern dargestellten Toten. An anderer Stelle schließt K. Schauenburg es nicht aus, daß bei den Pflanzen im Naiskos pythagoreische Vorstellungen[33] mitspielen, wofür jedoch keine Beweise zu erbringen seien. Darüberhinaus betont Schauenburg, daß es unumstritten sei, daß die Blütenbäume auf Unsterblichkeitshoffnungen hinweisen[34]. So gesehen kann man das Bildmotiv der Pflanze im Naiskos als ein Gedankenbild bezeichnen. H. Wrede interpretiert Blüten im Naiskos, ähnlich wie Schauenburg, als Lebenszeichen des Verstorbenen, die an seine Stelle treten[35].

K. Kerenyi[36] sieht in den Planzennaiskoi pflanzliche Epiphanien des heroisierten Toten. Darüber hinaus folgten die Pflanzennaiskoi dem gleichen Grundgedanken wie die Ähren[37] in den Naiskoi, nämlich dem Sympathiezauber[38] (Nr. 65, S. 151), wie sich auch Schauenburg ausdrückt. Auf jeden Fall stehen die Pflanzenaedicula mit Jenseitshoffnungen in Zusammenhang: Die Toten sollen genauso weiterleben, wie die Pflanzen auf dem Grab sprießen. Keinesfalls jedoch handelt es sich um zufällig wachsende Blumen und Pflanzen, da das Motiv der Pflanzen sonst nicht in dieser Weise in den Mittelpunkt gerückt worden wäre[39].

Für G. Schneider-Herrmann[40] birgt die Blume in einer Aedikula "die zauberisch-fruchtbaren Kräfte der Natur". An anderer Stelle[41] sieht sie in der im Mittelpunkt stehenden Pflanze, der auch kultische Ehren zuteil werden können, ein dionysisches Sacrum[42] und meint, daß mit Sicherheit als sepulkral nur die Pflanzen anzusehen sind, die in einem Naiskos dargestellt sind.

Für M. Schmidt[43] verkörpern die Pflanzen in der Aedikula die Vorstellung von nicht endendem, üppigem Wachstum, und somit das Leben selbst. Ähnlich G. Andreassi, für den die Analogie zwischen dem Wunder der sich immer wieder erneuernden Vegetation und der unauslöschlichen Hoffnung des Menschen auf ein Leben, das über den Tod hinaus weitergeht, klar ist[44].

Auch H. Lohmann verbindet mit den Pflanzennaiskoi, ähnlich wie Jucker, die Hoffnung auf Unsterblichkeit und weist auf die praecereale Wurzel der darin dargestellten Pflanzen hin[45].

[31] Bachofen 1958, 215. 465. Als mythische Vorbilder einer solchen Pflanzenmetamorphose erwähnt Bachofen Narziß und Hyazinth, die beide im Mittelpunkt religiöser Anschauungen und kultischer Handlungen standen (op.cit. 215). Zu Narziß und Hyazinth vgl. *Der Kleine Pauly* II.III. Sp. 1572f. s.v. Narkissos bzw. Sp. 1254f. s.v. Hyakinthos.

[32] Schauenburg 1957, 201f; Schauenburg 1983, 600f; Schauenburg 1989, 36.

[33] Schauenburg 1957, 203.

[34] Schauenburg 1983, 605. Interessant ist der Vergleich Schauenburgs zwischen der Darstellung des Pegasos im Naiskos auf unteritalischen Vasen als Unsterblichkeitssymbol und den Blütenbäumen, denen die gleiche Funktion zukommt (op.cit. 600f.).

[35] Wrede 1976, 172. Nach Wrede sind neben Blüten auch Rosetten, stilisierte Palmettenranken, Palmetten, Vasen, Schilde und andere Waffen als Lebenszeichen bzw. Attribute des Verstorbenen anzusehen, die ebenso an seiner Stelle im Naiskos dargestellt werden können.

[36] Kerenyi 1962, 136.

[37] Die sepulkrale Bedeutung der Ähren wird mit dem attischen Bestattungsbrauch, Getreide auf dem frischen Grab auszusäen, verbunden. Vgl. Pagenstecher 1912, 100; Wolters 1930, 123. Wie Nilsson 1976[4], 675 darüber hinaus feststellt, wurden die Saatkörner, wie die Körper der Toten, in die Erde gelegt. Nebenbei sei bemerkt, daß es von Südrußland bis Unteritalien üblich war, den Toten goldene Ähren, die wahrscheinlich extra für den Totenkult hergestellt worden sind, mit ins Grab zu geben. Wolters 1930, 123. Vgl. Schauenburg 1957, 173. Was die Darstellung von Ähren in einem Naiskos betrifft, so besitzen wir eine besonders schöne Darstellung von fünf großen Ähren auf der Amphore des Malers der Neapler Medeavase. Vgl. Wolters 1930, 124 Abb. 13 u. 14; Nilsson 1976[4], 675 Taf. 42,3. Eine ausführliche Behandlung der Ähren im Naiskos bietet Lohmann 1979, 130-133, der (S. 133) meint, daß dieses "Vasenbild zwar wie die übrigen Pflanzennaiskoi Jenseitshoffnungen ausdrücken [würde], die aber im Gegensatz zu diesen sehr konkret mit den eleusinischen Mysterien verbunden wären."

[38] Vgl. Anm. 28.

[39] Schauenburg 1957, 201.

[40] Schneider-Herrmann 1970, 103. Die Bedeutung der Blume in der Aedikula wird hier mit dem aufsteigenden Wasserstrahl in einem Luterion verglichen.

[41] Schneider-Herrmann 1971, 125f. u. Anm. 13. Vgl. Schauenburg 1958, 77, der im Gegensatz dazu Dionysos nicht mit der Symbolik der Rankenädikulen in Verbindung bringt.

[42] Diese Annahme wird dadurch bekräftigt, daß Blumenkompositionen öfters in dionysisch-aphrodisischen Bereichen anzutreffen sind, wo sie entweder als Mittel zur Liebeswerbung fungieren oder aus dem Boden emporsprießen. Vgl. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 207,3.4; 208,5; 210,5; 212,1; 213,5; 224,1.5; 227,2; Schmidt 1987, Abb. S. 159; *CVA* Triest (1) Taf. 20,5. Vgl. ferner Daraki 1985, 94ff.

[43] Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 31. Sie unterscheidet zwischen von Menschenhand zusammengefügten Blumenketten, die des öfteren von Offrantinnen gebracht werden und abgepflückte, nicht mehr wachsenden Blumen sind. Im Gegensatz dazu die weiter wachsenden Pflanzen, die das Leben verkörpern. Dadurch, daß der Mensch Blumen auf den Friedhof trägt, versucht er das Wunder des Weiterlebens zu beschwören.

[44] Andreassi 1979, 53. Auch Simon 1982, 128 sieht im wunderbaren Wachsen der immer wiederkehrenden Vegetation ein Symbol der Unsterblichkeit. Vgl. auch M. Flot, in *CVA* Musée de Compiègne 17, Taf. 23,5.

[45] Lohmann 1979, 128ff., 133 ordnet die in Pflanzennaiskoi dargestellten Blumen und Pflanzen botanisch ein, wobei er ihre Auswahl mit der Tatsache erklärt, daß es sich bei ihnen um wichtige praecereale Kulturpflanzen handelte, die für die Ernährung der Bevölkerung und folglich auch im Totenkult von großer Wichtigkeit waren.

A. Trendall sieht in den reich blühenden Pflanzen im Naiskos ein Symbol des Triumphes des Lebens über den Tod[46].

Neben dem im Giebel des Naiskos befindlichen Gorgoneion *(Fig. 1.10)*, das nicht nur apotropäische, sondern auch eine das Grab beschützende Funktion hat[47] bzw. auch, als "Hüterin des Landes der Seligen"[48] und, ähnlich wie die Rosette, als Sinnbild des Lebens gesehen wird[49], sprechen auch die Attribute, die auf dieser Hydria dargestellt sind, deutlich für ihren sepulkralen Gebrauch: so die Tainien – die, wie auch zahlreiche andere Attribute[50], gebräuchliche Bestandteile des Totenkultes waren[51], wobei man ihnen vor allem auf Grabstelen[52] begegnet. Sie stellen das Erlangen einer neuen Lebensstufe bildhaft dar[53] und weisen neben ihrem zeichenhaften Wert auch auf die Ehrung des Toten hin[54].

Die Efeublätter im Feld[55] *(Fig. 6.7)* schließlich, die genau wie Weinrebe und Stechwinde, zu den heiligen Kräutern des Dionysos gehören, verbinden die Darstellung mit ihm, denn auch der Efeu war eine Erscheinungsform des Gottes, als immergrüne Pflanze ein Abbild des ewig göttlichen Lebens[56]. Aufgrund der Tatsache, daß im 4. Jh. in Süditalien die Verbindung des Dionysos mit der Unterwelt besonders stark war[57], wird die Darstellung über den Efeu auch mit dem Sepulkralbereich[58] in Zusammenhang gebracht, wodurch der Tote als Eingeweihter in die dionysischen Mysterien bezeichnet wurde.
Das Motiv der Pflanze wiederholt sich im Zweig, den die rechte Opferbringerin trägt *(Fig. 7)*. Dieser Zweig könnte mit seinen runden Blättern und kleinen weißen Beeren als Bocksdorn identifiziert werden. Dieser Pflanze wurde nicht nur apotropäische, sondern auch kathartische Wirkung zugeschrieben, weshalb man sie auf den Vasenbildern oft in den Händen der Offranten findet, da in erster Linie ihnen die rituellen Reinigungen im Zuge des Begräbnisses zufielen[59]. Ein Blick auf die

[46] Trendall 1990, 306.
[47] Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 52 Anm. 150; Schauenburg 1980, 54; Thimme 1988, 197. Vgl. auch die Gorgoneia an den Henkeln apulischer Grabgefäße, die sicherlich als sepulkral zu deuten sind. Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 52 Anm. 150. Zur Technik der Herstellung der Henkelköpfe vgl. Giuliani 1988, 159ff.
[48] Schefold 1960, 94.
[49] Lullies 1962, 81. Zu der Rosette vgl. Anm. 78.
[50] z.B. Bindenkästen, Spiegel, Phialen oder Luterien usw. Alle diese Attribute, die gleichermaßen im täglichen Gebrauch und im Grabkult eine wichtige Funktion hatten, kann man sowohl als Abbildungen in Funeralszenen als auch als tatsächliche Grabbeigaben nachweisen, wobei die Beigaben unabhängig von Geschlecht, Beruf und Alter der Bestatteten ausgewählt worden sind. Vgl. dazu Stähler 1980, 151f. Thimme 1964, 19 Anm. 19.
[51] Sowohl der Verstorbene als auch sein Grab wurden mit Tainien geschmückt. Thimme 1964, 19. Vgl. auch Kokula 1984, 61, die die Tainia mit einem schützenden Amulett vergleicht, das über den Körper des Verstorbenen gelegt wurde. Was die magische Bedeutung der Tainia und das Binden betrifft, vgl. Eliade 1988, 129f., der im Binden selbst einen kultischen Akt und darin die Sicherung der magisch-vitalen Lebenskraft sieht. Vgl. auch Eitrem 1977, 61, der meint, daß Binde und Knoten magische, restriktive und apotropäische Kräfte haben. Weiters ist die Tainie ein Zeichen für heroisches Dasein. Sie wurde bei den Griechen, genau wie der Kranz, bei Sieg oder Erfolg verliehen. Vgl. Kokula 1984, 61 Anm. 85; Giglioli 1950, 34. Was den sepulkralen Gebrauch der Tainia betrifft vgl.: Zanker 1966, 17; Schmalz 1970, 86; 92 Anm. 159; Kenner 1971, 19f. Vgl. auch Eitrem 1977, 66, der sagt, daß neben Gräbern und Grabstelen auch die Totenbahren mit Binden umwunden wurden. Lohmann 1979, 32; Stähler 1981, 186; Schauenburg 1990, 76. Vgl. weiters *RE* IV A2 (1932), 2002ff. s.v. Tainia (Schuppe). Vgl. auch Krug 1967. Interressant ist eine Amphore, deren Naiskos nur mit einer großen Tainia gefüllt ist, die somit ins Zentrum des Geschehens rückt, wodurch ihre sepulkrale Bedeutung in besonderer Weise hervorgehoben wird (Lohmann 1979, Taf. 56,3). Auf einem Volutenkrater sehen wir eine große, weiße Binde in einem eher flüchtig angedeuteten Grabmal, das durch zwei Striche bezeichnet ist (Schauenburg 1983, 606, Abb. 8).
[52] Einige Beispiele von Tainien auf Grabstelen seien hier genannt: Kokula 1984, 61f. u. Anm. 87; Lohmann 1979, Taf. 22, Taf. 51,1; Stähler 1981, 181; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 161,2.3, Taf. 162,2, Taf. 165,4, Taf. 166,1.2; Schauenburg 1987, Abb. 11, Abb. 13; Schauenburg 1990, Abb. 12, Abb. 16, Abb. 27, Abb. 36, Abb. 38. Zur Anbringung von Tainien vgl. Pfanner 1977, 6ff.
[53] Vg l. Thimme 1970, 20.
[54] Stähler 1980, 152. Binden, die verschiedene Körperteile schmücken, sollen auf einen frühen, gewaltsamen Tod des Verstorbenen hinweisen. Vgl. dazu Schauenburg 1983, 345f.
[55] In der apulischen Vasenmalerei stoßen wir öfter auf die Darstellung von frei hängenden Efeublättern. Lohmann 1979, 124f. Anm. 1007. Schauenburg und Senff messen manchen frei hängenden Efeublättern keine Bedeutung zu und bezeichnen sie daher als "Füllmuster". Schauenburg 1977, 291; Senff 1983, 275 Anm. 25.
[56] Sowohl Dionysos als auch seine Begleiter schmückten sich mit Efeukränzen. Auch das Attribut des Dionysos, der Thyrsosstab, war mit Efeu bekränzt. Darüber hinaus hatte Dionysos, der als Säugling mit Efeu geschmückt wurde und von den Mänaden aufgezogen worden war, in gewissen Kulten den Beinamen "Kissos" (Efeu). Als Kissos wird auch der Gefährte des Dionysos bezeichnet, der nach einem für ihn tödlichen Sprung von dem Gott in eine Efeupflanze verwandelt worden war. Vgl. dazu Murr 1890, 141ff.; Baumann 1982, 85; Giebel 1993, 62; Lohmann 1979, 66; Schneider-Herrmann 1971, 129. Vgl. auch Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 121; Hornbostel et al. 1980, 184; Stähler 1981, 186.
[57] Vgl. Lohmann 1979, 78. 122, besonders 124f. Vgl. Anm. 109.
[58] Die Bedeutung des Efeus im Zusammenhang mit dem Totenkult ist seit der mykenischen Zeit gegeben, wie Darstellungen und Funde bezeugen. Vgl. *RAC* IV 1959, 611ff., s.v. Efeu (E. Simon); Lohmann 1979, 125; Stähler 1981, 196. Erwähnenswert sind in diesem Zusammenhang zwei 1987 gefundene Goldblättchen in Form von Efeu, die einer verstorbenen Frau in Thessalien auf die Brust gelegt worden waren. Burkert 1991², 28.
[59] Aufgrund seiner erwähnten, unheilabwehrenden Kräfte wurden Zweige des Bocksdorn (ράμνος, Lycium europaeum) an Fenstern und Türen befestigt. Weiters wurden im Zuge der Totenopfer Zweige dieser Pflanze verbrannt. Lohmann 1979, 124. Zur Schutzfunktion von Zweigen und Kränzen im allgemeinen vgl. Deubner 1933, 95. Darüber hinaus verbrannte Orpheus neben Wacholder- und Schwarzpappelholz auch Holz des Bocksdorns, um so in die Zauberkünste der Hekate eingeführt zu werden. Murr 1890, 104ff.

Ikonographie der apulischen Vasenmalerei der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. zeigt uns aber auch, daß Bocksdornzweige und Büsche oft in Zusammenhang mit dionysischen Szenen vorkommen[60].

Die Pflanzen, die außerhalb des Naiskos[61] zu sehen sind, könnten, gemeinsam mit den punktierten Bodenerhebungen, darauf hinweisen, daß sich die Szene in der freien Natur abspielt[62] – möglicherweise in der "idealen" Natur, in der man sich das Dasein der Eingeweihten vorstellte[63]. Die abgebildeten Pflanzen kann man entweder als Lorbeer- oder Myrtensträucher identifizieren[64]. Beide sind seit jeher bevorzugte Grabpflanzen und haben eine besondere sepulkrale Bedeutung, vor allem was ihre reinigende Wirkung[65] betrifft. Diese immergrünen Pflanzen gelten als Symbol für die Unsterblichkeit[66], wobei Lorbeer darüber hinaus als Zeichen des Sieges und des Triumphes über den Tod gilt[67]. Jedoch hat die Myrte im Grabkult eine stärkere Bedeutung als der Lorbeer gehabt, man kann sogar sagen, daß die Myrte die typische Grabpflanze der Griechen war[68]: so sehen wir sie auf weißgrundigen Lekythen, wo die Gräber mit Myrtenkränzen[69] geschmückt werden, weiters auf unteritalischen Vasen, wo sie sowohl als Opferzweig als auch als Grabpflanze zu sehen ist. Die sepulkrale Verwendung der Myrte ist uns auch in der Literatur überliefert: So klagt Elektra, daß niemand Myrten auf das Grab ihres Vaters gepflanzt habe[70]. Auch auf dem Grab des Polydoros wuchsen Myrten[71], und laut Plinius[72] sollen die Pythagoräer, in Myrtenblätter gehüllt, begraben worden sein. Vergil[73] verbindet die erotische und die sepulkrale Bedeutung der Myrte, indem er die im Leben unglücklich Liebenden in der Unterwelt in einem Myrtenhain wandeln läßt. Ebenso in einem Myrtenhain befindlich stellt sich Herakles in den Fröschen des Aristophanes[74] das Elysium der Eingeweihten vor, wo der Chor der Mysten Dionysos/Iakchos[75] auffordet, seinen Kopf mit einem üppigen, beerenreichen Myrtenkranz zu schmücken, um am Chortanz der Geweihten teilzunehmen. Dadurch kommt die Bedeutung der Myrte auch für Mysterienfeiern zum Ausdruck.

Für die Jenseitserwartung der Griechen war die Einweihung von größter Wichtigkeit, weshalb sie auch am Grab deutlich manifestieren wollten, daß ihre Verstorbenen in die Reihe der Seligen gehörten. Und genauso könnte die Myrte am Grab verstanden werden.

Auch der aus einem Myrtenzweig bestehende Kranz mit Mittelrosette, der den Hals der Hydria schmückt *(Figs. 1.10)*, ist als sepulkral zu deuten. Kränze hatten im Totenkult seit Jahrhunderten eine Rolle gespielt. Ein Kranz hat weder einen deutlichen Anfang noch ein Ende, er stellt einen Kreis, ein in sich geschlossenes Ganzes dar und ist daher seit jeher ein Symbol des Dauernden und über den Tod hinausgehenden Lebens, des Ewigen. Dieser Aspekt wird noch dadurch verstärkt, daß Kränze

[60] Aus Fülle der Darstellungen seien hier einige genannt: Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 161,2; 163,2; 165,4; 167,2.3; 206,5; 207,1; 213,2; 220,5; Aellen, Cambitoglou et Chamay 1986, Abb. S. 79, 154, 163, 183; *CVA* Frankfurt/Main (3) Taf. 2,1. Hier sei auch erwähnt, daß aus Anlaß des großen dionysischen Festes der Anthesterien am Morgen des Choenfestes ("Tag der Befleckung", μιαρά ἡμέρα) Blätter des Bocksdorn, der auch sonst als gut zur Abwehr von Gespenstern galt, gekaut wurden. An diesem Festtag versammelten sich darüber hinaus die Männer, mit Efeukränzen geschmückt, zu einem Wettrinken. Burkert 1972, 242ff.

[61] Schon seit der Zeit Homers ist die Sitte, Bäume, Büsche und Blumen am Grab zu pflanzen, überliefert. Aus diesem Brauch entwickelten sich später die Kepotaphia, die zu einem Grabmal gehörenden Gartenanlagen. *RE* III (1899), 1966f. s.v. Cepotaphium (Samter); Pfuhl 1905, 93; *RAC* II (1954) s.v. Blume 452 (Th. Klauser). (Vgl. dazu Jucker 1961, 210). Lohmann 1979, 126f. u. Anm. 1026.

[62] Schneider-Herrmann 1970, 103; Schneider-Herrmann 1971, 129; Stähler 1981, 181.

[63] Der Wunschraum "Jenseits" wird bereits seit Homer als liebliche Landschaft voller Wiesen, Bächen und Bäumen mit angenehmem Klima und voller Wohlgerüche vorgestellt. Vgl. Gladigow 1974, 305. 307.

[64] Zur Problematik der Identifizierung zwischen Myrte und Lorbeer vgl. Thimme 1969, 161, der meint, daß Ölzweig, Myrte und Lorbeer immergrüne Pflanzen seien und ähnlich geformte Blätter besitzen, womit schon bei einer geringen Stilisierung derselben es sehr schwer wird, zwischen ihnen zu unterscheiden. Ölzweig und Myrte besitzen gegenständig angesetzte Blätter, der Lorbeer hat versetzte Blätter, die in Gruppen am Zweig sitzen. *Der Kleine Pauly*, a.O. III, 1528 s.v. Myrtos (K. Ziegler). Schauenburg 1969, 39f. Ein Kranz und ein Zweig, die Apollo auf einer apulischen Situla trägt, werden von Schauenburg im Hinblick auf Apollo als Lorbeer identifiziert. Schauenburg betrachtet es jedoch als ungewöhnlich, daß der Lorbeer mit Beeren wiedergegeben wird, was ihn auch an eine Myrte denken läßt, da Apollo auch die Epiklesis "Myrtoos" führt. Vgl. auch Lohmann 1979, 118.

[65] Murr 1890, 94; Ogle 1910, 287ff.; Wiesner 1970, 64f. s.v. Lorbeer; Hampe 1976; 201f.; Lohmann 1979, 123f; Stähler 1980, 151.

[66] Knell 1965, 72; Thimme 1969, 161 u. Anm. 34.

[67] Jucker 1961, 210.

[68] Thimme 1969, 162. Vgl. auch Wiesner 1970, 104 s.v. Myrte; Eitrem 1977, 66. Vgl. ferner Murr 1890, 90.

[69] *Der kleine Pauly* III, 1528 s.v. Myrtos (K. Ziegler). In Griechenland und in Italien war die Myrte als Kranzpflanze sehr beliebt. Vgl. *RE* XVI (1933) 1180 s.v. Myrtos (Steier).

[70] *RE* XVI (1933) 1182 s.v. Myrtos (Steier); Thimme 1969, 162.

[71] Vgl. Vergil, *Aeneis* III, 23.

[72] Plinius, *NH* XXXV, 160; *RE* III (1899) 340 s.v. Bestattung (Mau).

[73] Vergil, *Aeneis* VI, 444ff.

[74] Aristophanes, *Batrachoi*, 153-156. Vgl. ebenfalls a.O. 330-334.

[75] Die Myrte ist im Kult des Dionysos in seiner Auffassung als Iakchos in den Eleusinischen Mysterien bezeugt, wo die, an der Prozession nach Eleusis teilnehmenden Mysten Myrtenkränze trugen. Murr 1890, 89f; *RE* XVI (1935) 1180 s.v. Myrtos (Steier).

aus immergrünen Pflanzen hergestellt wurden[76]. Auch die beiden Rosetten, von denen sich eine in der Mitte des Myrtenkranzes am Hals, die andere oberhalb der linken Offrantin befindet *(Fig. 1.6)*, deuten ebenfalls auf eine Verbindung zum Grabkult hin, da sie einen Unglück abwehrenden und Glück bringenden Sinn besaßen[77] und darüber hinaus ein Zeichen des Lebens waren[78]. Letzteres gilt auch für die Wellenornamente an der Lippe der Mündung und an der Basis des Naiskos[79]*(Fig. 1)*. Es ist darüber hinaus zu beobachten, daß auf unteritalischen Vasen die Rosette des öfteren gleichzeitig mit Wellenband und Myrtenzweig dargestellt ist und in dieser Kombination laut Thimme für Wasser, Himmel und Erde steht. Es läßt sich weiters vermuten, daß jedes der genannten Zeichen nicht nur stellvertretend für eines der drei Elemente war, sondern daß diese Elemente in einem besonderen Sinn als "Orte der ewigen Seligkeit" gemeint waren. Dies bedeutet weiter, daß Wellenband, Rosette und Zweig in ihrer Funktion als Seligkeitszeichen eine besondere Bedeutung für die Eingeweihten der Mysterienkulte haben konnten[80].
Die sepulkrale Sphäre wird auch durch das dichte Palmettengeranke, welches die gesamte Rückseite des Gefäßes bedeckt, ausgedrückt *(Fig. 2.9)*[81].

Was den Fächer[82] der linken Opferbringerin betrifft *(Fig. 6)*, der sowohl ein repräsentatives Schmuckstück als auch ein Gebrauchsgegenstand war, so scheint er wohl eine besondere Bedeutung zu haben. Nach G. Schneider-Herrmann[83] haben Fächer eine zweite Sinngebung, die sie mit magischen Kräften erfüllt. Laut H. Smith ist der Fächer ein Symbol der Läuterung, die durch starken Wind herbeigeführt wird[84]. Darüber hinaus schafft der Fächer nicht nur Kühlung im Diesseits, sondern auf dem von ihm verursachten Windhauch schwebt die Psyche, wie der pythagoreisch-orphische Seelenglaube besagt[85]. Lohmann[86] hingegen bezweifelt diese Annahme und weist darauf hin, daß der Fächer oft mit verschiedenen Attributen dargestellt wurde, im letzten Viertel des 4. Jhs. mit solchen, die auf Mysterienkulte anspielen. Tatsächlich sind Darstellungen von Fächern sehr oft in dionysischen Szenen anzutreffen[87].

Für die Seitenfiguren, die den Naiskos flankieren[88] *(Fig. 1.10)*, wird eine Reihe von verschiedenen Termini verwendet: So trifft man die Bezeich-

[76] Lullies 1982, 101, 114f; Deubner 1933, 79; 94ff. Allgemein zum Kranz im Totenkult vgl. *RE* XI,2 (1922) s.v. Kranz (Ganszyniec).
[77] Möbius 1929, 26f; Möbius 1941, 23; Lullies 1960, 148; Lullies 1982, 98.
[78] Lullies 1962, 80f.; Christou 1964, 248. Zur sepulkralen Bedeutung der Rosette vgl. Christou 1968, 69f; Kübler 1950, 18; Kübler 1959, 157.
[79] Thimme 1969, 159. Dieses Ornament ist in der apulischen Vasenmalerei öfters zu finden, unter anderem nicht nur an Lippen von Hydrien (z.B. *CVA* Frankfurt/Main (3), Taf. 3,2.3; *CVA* Triest (1), Taf 2,2; Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, Taf. 12.13) aber auch bei Krateren unterhalb der Lippe (z.B. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 161,1; 168,1.2; 351,11, und an der Basis von Naiskoi (z.B. Trendall and Cambitoglou, op.cit., Taf. 165,1.3; 201,1; 203,2; 210,3; 268,3; 273,1; 364,6; Simon 1982, Nr. 64; Sotheby's 22.5.1989, 188.189; CVA Urbana Champaign (1), Taf. 46,1.2) oder bei anderen Vasenformen anstatt des Mäanders (z.B. Trendall and Cambitoglou, op.cit., Taf. 216,1.2; 217,1.2.5.6; 218,1.2; 219,3-6; 223,1-4; 225,2; 227,1; 228,5; 229,3-6; 230,1-6; 231,1-6; 232,1-3; 235,1.2.7; 236,1.2.6.7; 237,5.6). Wellenbänder findet man auch an der Innenseite von Tellern (z.B. Trendall and Cambitoglou, op.cit., Taf. 237,1-3; 248,1-7; 249,1-7, 250,1.2; 252,7-11).
[80] Thimme 1969, 162f., der die angeführte Kombination Wasser, Himmel und Erde mit Heraklits dreistufiger Ordnung der Welt (Feuer-Wasser-Erde) in Zusammenhang bringt. Vgl. dazu Fränkel 1962, 438ff. Thimme weist zurecht darauf hin, daß die genannten Ornamente, die sich im Sepulkralbereich bis in das 2. und zum Teil auch bis in das 3. Jh. zurückverfolgen lassen, bedeutungsvolle und für diesen Zweck passende Zeichen waren. Gleichzeitig räumt er ein, daß diese Ornamente in der Antike aber nicht in jedem Fall als funerär verstanden werden mußten.
[81] Schauenburg 1961, 92. Vgl. dazu Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 36f. u. Anm. 199.200.
[82] Der Fächer, der aus dem Orient eingeführt wurde, ist in Griechenland erst seit dem 5.Jh.v. Chr. in Verwendung. Er ist ein häufig gebrauchtes Attribut von Frauen auf Vasendarstellungen, noch häufiger als der Spiegel, wobei er in Süditalien anscheinend erst von den Nachfolgern des Tarporley-Malers öfter dargestellt wurde. Die Darstellungen konzentrieren sich hauptsächlich auf die letzten vierzig Jahre des 4. Jhs. und können sehr oft in Kombination mit Attributen vorkommen, die auf Mysterienkulte anspielen (z.B. Fächer und Traube; Fächer und Tympanon); ursprünglich war der Fächer als Opfergabe für Frauen am Grab gegeben – in der Mitte des 4.Jhs. auf zwei Amphoren zu sehen; in späteren Grabszenen begegnet er uns auch als Opfergabe für Männer – hier handelt es sich offenbar um eine Unachtsamkeit des Vasenmalers – Lohmann 1979, 74. Über den Fächer vgl. weiters *RE* VI,2 (1909) 1959ff. s.v. Fächer (Mau); *Kleiner Pauly* II, 506 s.v. Fächer (Groß). Für die Griechen war der Fächer ein persisches Gerät. Vgl. Schauenburg 1955/56, 68f. Anm. 63.
[83] Schneider-Herrmann 1970, 101f. Vgl. Andreassi 1979, 55.
[84] Smith 1970, 74.
[85] Vgl. dazu Nilsson 1976[4], 692 Anm. 2, der sagt (O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922, ND Dublin-Zürich 1972), 27) daß die Seele nach orphischen Vorstellungen von den Winden getragen wurde und mit dem Atem vom Universum her in den Körper eingehe, was mit dem Volksglauben, daß die Befruchtung durch den Wind geschieht, in Einklang steht. Vgl. dazu auch Lohmann 1979, 127 Anm. 1035.
[86] Lohmann 1979, 74f.
[87] Der Fächer kann beispielsweise mit Trauben, Tympanon, Efeublatt, Thyrsosstab, Situla, Spiegel und Weinranken dargestellt sein. Siehe Hübner 1862, 180, Nr. 371; *CVA* Verona, Museo del Teatro Romano (1) IV D, Taf. 6,1a-c; Lohmann 1979, 243 A 570; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 163,3.4; 165,1.4; 179,2; 188,3; 192,6; 194,1; 195,1; 197,1; 200,1.2; 204,1.2; 206,3; 208,2.
[88] Die stereotype Art der Verteilung der Opferbringer ist seit dem Iliupersis-Maler zu beobachten. Lohmann 1979, 6f.

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

nungen Opfergabenbringer, Offranten, Hinterbliebene oder Grabbesucher[89], die sich liebevoll um das Grab der Verstorbenen kümmern und es mit verschiedenen Gaben schmücken und somit ihrer Pflicht als Hinterbliebene nachkommen. M. Schmidt[90] verwendet für die anonyme Gemeinschaft, die über den Familienverband hinausgeht, den Begriff "Gemeinde". Die Grabbesucher sind "zur Seligkeit Bestimmte". Es handelt sich bei ihnen um noch lebende[91] Mitglieder einer Kultgemeinschaft[92] mit besonderer Jenseitserwartung, der auch der Verstorbene angehörte. Die Seitenfiguren werden aufgrund ihres gleichbleibenden jugendlichen Alters und ihrer Emotionslosigkeit auch als Selige im Jenseits betrachtet[93]. Der Übergang von Opfernden zu Seligen scheint oft unmerklich, und sie sind sowohl Hinterbliebene als auch Mitglieder der neuen Gemeinschaft, durch sie wird also eine zeitliche Mehrschichtigkeit ausgedrückt[94]. Damit wird die Zweigesichtigkeit aller Mysterienkulte deutlich, da sie sowohl Irdisches als auch Jenseitiges berühren[95]. Durch die religiösen Handlungen der Offranten werden die Verstorbenen weiter integriert und ihr jenseitiges Glück geschützt. Für den latenten Jenseitsaspekt der Offranten spricht meines Erachtens auch die Tatsache, daß sie auf manchen Vasen durch Pflanzen ersetzt werden[96] und somit das gleiche "Schicksal" wie die Verstorbenen erleiden, die durch Metamorphose in eine Pflanze zum Symbol der Unsterblichkeit werden.

Auch das Gefäß selbst – nämlich die Hydria – ist im Zusammenhang mit dem griechischen Jenseitsglauben eng mit dem Totenkult verbunden[97]. Hydrien wurden zur Totentrankspende verwendet und vor allem in Gräbern von Frauen gefunden[98]. Gemeinsam mit Loutrophoren und Peliken waren sie die bevorzugte Gefäßform zur Darstellung von Frauengräbern[99]. Mit der Hydria konnte auch eine orphische Vorstellung verbunden gewesen sein, wonach der Tote nach seinem Eintritt in die Unterwelt mit diesem Gefäß Wasser von der Quelle der Mnemosyne[100], der vergöttlichten Erinnerung, erbitten sollte. Der Tote mußte von dieser Quelle trinken, um sich daran zu erinnern, was er zu Lebzeiten bei der Mysterienweihe erfahren hatte, um so im Jenseits das Mysterienfest für immer weiterfeiern zu können[101].

Alle bisher aufgeführten Motive und Darstellungen lassen erkennen, daß es sich hier um eine Grabvase par excellence handelt: In der Darstellung ist der Geist des Mysterienkultes klar ersichtlich und dominierend. Am Beispiel des Efeus ist weiter oben gezeigt worden, welche Rolle er in der dionysischen Welt spielt. Meines Erachtens fungieren die Efeublätter hier nicht als "Füllmaterial" oder "Füllmotiv", wie K. Schauenburg und R. Senff meinen[102]. Auch scheinbar nebensächliche religiöse Symbole auf solchen Darstellungen repräsentieren eine lange religiöse, kultische und sepulkrale Tradition und sind sicherlich bewußt in die Gesamtkomposition eingepaßt. Weiters bekräftigt die Darstellung des Bocksdornzweiges, der sehr oft mit dionysischer Thematik in Verbindung steht[103], die überlegte Komposition. Auch beim Myrtenzweig bestand, wie bereits erwähnt, eine Verbindung zu Dionysos[104]. Alle diese dionysischen Symbole finden sich nämlich nicht zufällig auf einigen Vasen mit Pflanzennaiskoi. Ein aufmerksamer Blick auf solche Vasen zeigt, daß einiges sehr wohl gegen die These von K. Schauenburg[105] spricht, der der Ansicht ist, daß kein Hinweis auf den sonst stark verbreiteten dionysischen Jenseitsglauben spürbar ist, da für ihn

[89] Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 22.24; Lohmann 1979, 327 s.v. Opferbringer; Stähler 1981, 186; *Jb. des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg*, NF 2, 1983, 187.189.

[90] Schmidt 1974, 135. Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 23ff. 36.

[91] Dies wird auch durch die rote Farbe – die Farbe des Lebens, mit der die Offranten gemalt sind, verdeutlicht. Vgl. Schefold 1966, 4; Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 23.

[92] Vgl. auch Lohmann 1979, 66.

[93] Diese Tatsache spricht den Figuren die Unmittelbarkeit eines realen Handelns ab. Schmidt, Trendall und Cambitoglou 1976, 22f; Stähler 1981, 186.

[94] Meuli 1958, 502; Stähler 1981, 187.

[95] Schneider-Herrmann 1970, 112.

[96] Andreassi 1979, Abb. S. 52; *CVA* Lecce, Museo Provinciale Castromediano (2), Taf. 46, 1.3; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 368,1-2, 3-4; Schmidt 1987, Abb. S. 159.

[97] Diehl 1964, 67f., 125f., 138ff., 163f.; Knell 1965, 71f.; Schauenburg 1977, 290; Lohmann 1979, 69. 151; Hoffmann 1980, 147; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 548; Senff 1983, 276f;. Rihl 1992, 45. In Apulien scheint die Hydria in der zweiten Hälfte des 4 Jhs. v. Chr. sehr beliebt gewesen zu sein.

[98] Diehl 1964, 140; Trendall 1990, 306. Die Tatsache, daß Hydrien in enger Verbindung mit der Sphäre der Frauen stehen, scheint auf die Tätigkeit des Wasserholens, das den Frauen überlassen wurde, zurückzuführen zu sein. Auch auf Darstellungen sind es ausschließlich Frauen, die Hydrien im Grabkult verwenden. Aufgrund archäologischer Funde und literarischer Quellen sind Hydrien aber sowohl für Frauen als auch für Männer als Aschengefäß bezeugt. Darüber hinaus konnte die Hydria am Grab bedeuten, daß der Bestattete unverheiratet war, da die Hydria üblicherweise zum Einholen des Brautbades verwendet wurde. Lohmann 1979, 52. 150f.

[99] Lohmann 1979, 18f. 52. 149ff.

[100] Diehl 1964, 164ff; Nilsson 1974³, 238f; *Der Kleine Pauly* III, Sp. 1371, s.v. Mnemosyne; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 548.

[101] Graf 1992, 169. Vgl. auch Cole 1980, 238.

[102] Siehe Anm. 55.

[103] Vgl. Anm. 59.

[104] Vgl. S. 71 u. Anm. 75.

[105] Schauenburg 1957, 203.

keine eindeutigen dionysischen Attribute feststellbar sind. Tatsache ist jedoch, daß zahlreiche Vasen mit Pflanzennaiskos von Offranten mit dionysischen Attributen umgeben sind[106]. Durch den Fächer wiederum wird nach G. Schneider-Herrmann orphisch-pythogoreisches symbolisiert[107], wenn man, wie schon erwähnt, annimmt, daß hier der Fächer dargestellt ist, der den Windhauch verursacht, auf dem die Psyche dem Seelenglauben gemäß dahinschwebt. Mit der Hydria als Gefäß zum Wasserholen von der Quelle der Mnemosyne könnten auch Vorstellungen verbunden gewesen sein, die orphisches Gedankengut berühren. An die pythagoreische Lehre der Pflanzenmetempsychose[108] denkt, was die Blumenkomposition im Naiskos betrifft, wie erwähnt, Pagenstecher. Auch K.Schauenburg vermutet für die Pflanze im Naiskos Pythagoreisches, ohne dafür, wie er selbst sagt, Beweise erbringen zu können.

Es vermischen sich hier also sowohl dionysisches als auch orphisches Gedankengut, das Jenseitsvorstellungen, die mit einem orphisch-dionysischen Mysterienkult[109] verbunden sind, vermuten läßt, wobei orphische und dionysische Gedanken einander keineswegs ausschließen. Es ist vielmehr wahrscheinlich, daß die dionysischen Mysterien schon im 5. Jh. gewisse "orphische" Elemente entlehnt hatten. Denn Orpheus wurde damals als "Prophet des Dionysos" und "Begründer aller Initiationen" bezeichnet[110]. Wandernde Priester, sogenannte Orpheotelesten, nahmen anhand von orphischen Büchern Reinigungszeremonien vor und weihten in bakchische Mysterien ein. Nach O. Kern sind diese Orpheotelesten, deren Heros Eponymos Orpheus geworden war, die Verfechter einer bestimmten Art dionysischer Religion, deren Gott ein Gott der Erlösung ist[111]. So läßt sich allgemein von den rot-

[106] Bei vielen Darstellungen mit Pflanzennaiskoi kann man beispielsweise als Attribut ein **Tympanon** finden (Lohmann 1979, Katalog: A 820, A 312, A 314; Schauenburg 1984, 151, Abb. 29) oder **Trauben** (Lohmann 1979, A 314, A 386, A 667, A 748, A 750, A 783, A 793, A 802; Schauenburg 1984, 150, Abb. 28; Schauenburg 1990, 87, Abb. 31; Simon 1982, Kat. 64, Abb. S. 127) oder auch eine **Situla** (Todisco, a.O. 63, Cat. 4a) oder einen **Spiegel** (Lohmann 1979, A 127, A 143, A 193 [hier: 2 Phialen mit Efeublatt], A 210, A 312, A 314, A 354, A 386, A 504, A 595, A 621, A 748, A 783, A 802, A 820, A 830; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, Taf. 208,6; Schauenburg 1984, 151, Abb. 29; Todisco 1984, 63, Cat. 4a; Schauenburg 1990, 87 Abb. 31; Sotheby's 14.12.1987, 37 Nr. 155; Trendall 1955, Taf. 41, k Z 25; Simon 1982, Kat. 64, Abb. S. 127; *CVA* Polen, Poznan Museum Taf. 4,2a). Der Spiegel als Attribut ist hier auch als dionysisches Zeichen, der Eingeweihten, der Mysten [des orphischen Dionysos Zagreus] zu verstehen. (Giebel 1993, 67ff. Vgl. auch *JbBadWürt* 6, 1979, 194; Simon 1962, 1422f. Vgl. Lohmann 1979, 74 Anm. 563 (hier weitere Literatur). Lohmann 1979, 73f. mißt dem Spiegel hingegen keine religiös-symbolische Bedeutung zu.

[107] Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Darstellung auf einer apulischen Amphore im Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte in Triest (*CVA* Triest (1) Taf. 17,3), wo der Naiskos anstelle von Offranten von zwei Fächern flankiert ist. Diese Verselbständigung unterstreicht den symbolischen und religiösen Charakter dieses Gegenstandes, womit m.E. die zunehmende Bedeutung der Attribute im religiösen-mythischen Kontext in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. sichtbar wird. Im Gegensatz dazu meint Lohmann 1979, 94, daß " die Vasenmaler einen Verstorbenen weniger durch Attribute als Eingeweihten in orphische oder dionysische Mysterien bezeichnen, sondern vielmehr mit einer Eindeutigkeit, die Vermutungen über einen orphischen Symbolismus in Opfergaben wie Spiegeln und Fächern sehr fraglich erscheinen läßt."

[108] Danach durchwandert die Seele nach dem körperlichen Tod noch viele Kreise und geht Verbindungen mit Pflanzen und Tieren ein. An diese ursprünglich orphische Lehre schließen sich später die Pythagoreer und auch Empedokles an. Vgl. Kern 1927, 53. Zu dieser Problematik vgl. Lohmann 1979, 127 Anm. 1035, der in der Pflanzenmetempsychose eine empedokleische Lehre sieht.

[109] Innerhalb der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei spielt die Welt des Dionysos eine große Rolle, wobei das Interesse vor allem seinem sepulkralsymbolischen Aspekt galt (Kossatz-Deißmann 1990, 9). Den Mysten des Dionysos erwartet ein neues, schönes Leben, von dem die Uneingeweihten ausgeschlossen sind. In Unteritalien findet man seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. dionysische Mysterien, die im Laufe der Zeit eine große Verbreitung erfahren. In Cumae findet man beispielsweise einen eigenen Begräbnisplatz, der die Jenseitserwartungen bezeugt. Vgl. Stähler, 1983, 60; Burkert 1991², 27; Graf 1992, 168. Auch Orpheus spielte im Jenseitskult eine wichtige Rolle. Daß Orpheus jedenfalls in Unteritalien mit der Führung im Jenseits verbunden war, zeigen sowohl bildliche Darstellungen auf Vasen aus dem 4. Jh. (siehe Pensa 1968, 249; Schmidt 1974, 105ff; Lohmann 1979, 94f; Schauenburg 1984, 367. 369f. 382. 384; Wegner 1988, 184f.; Schauenburg 1989, 236 u. Anm. 32; Schauenburg 1989, 35) als auch in Gräbern gefundene Goldblättchen mit Inschriften, beispielsweise aus Hipponion, Thurioi und Petelia, mit Hilfe derer sich der Tote als Eingeweihter ausweisen und sich im Hades zurechtfinden konnte (Pugliese Carratelli 1988, 162ff; Eliade 1992, 106ff; Graf 1992², 168ff; Giebel 1993, 74. Interessant ist, daß uns auch verschiedene Verfasser orphischer Gedichte bekannt sind, von denen einige aus Magna Grecia stammen: z.B. Brotinos von Kroton, Kerkops und Zopyros aus Herakleia; Orpheus von Kroton, Orpheus von Kamarina und Timokles von Syrakus (Plassmann 1992², 17). Zur orphisch-dionysischen Problematik vgl. weiters: Guthrie 1952, 41ff. Vgl. Schmidt 1974, 133ff. Schneider-Herrmann 1963, 97 u. Anm. 24.

[110] Graf 1992², 167; Eliade 1978, 339; Plassmann 1992², 17; Giebel 1993, 48.

[111] Nach Kern 1927, 45.48 trägt der Dionysos der Orphiker u.a. den Beinamen Lyseus und die Religion, die er vertritt, stellt die einzige Erlösungsreligion der klassischen Zeit dar. Diese Religion leitet sich aus Thrakien her, wo laut Überlieferung zuerst an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele geglaubt wurde. Auch als Zagreus ist der orphische Dionysos bekannt. Er entstammt der Verbindung zwischen Zeus und Persephone. Die eifersüchtige Hera lockt das Kind in den Hinterhalt der Titanen. Durch einen Spiegel abgelenkt, indem er sein Antlitz erkennt, wird Zagreus von den Titanen zerrissen und verschlungen. Lediglich sein Herz kann von Athena gerettet und in einer Ciste aufbewahrt werden. Die Blitze des Zeus töten die Titanen und aus ihrer Asche entsteht das neue Menschengeschlecht, das sowohl Göttliches von Zagreus, als auch Böses von den Titanen enthält. Gegen diese titanischen Elemente richten sich die

figurigen Vasen Unteritaliens sagen, die nun fast nur mehr im Grabkult Verwendung finden[112], daß sie uns die Allgegenwärtigkeit des Dionysos vor Augen führen[113]. Nicht nur auf den Gott selbst und seinen Thiasos stößt man immer wieder, sondern eben auch auf eine Fülle von Attributen, die für seine Welt charakteristisch sind, wie Weinranken, Weintraube, Efeublatt, Efeuranken, Tympanon, Situla, Maske etc. Und es scheint, daß die Dionysosmysterien besonders in Italien ein gleichwertiges Gegenstück zum Eleusinischen Kult geworden sind[114]. Mehr als anderen griechischen Göttern war es Dionysos aufgrund der Vielgestalt seiner Umwandlungen möglich, bei vielen Völkern und religiösen Schichten Eingang zu finden. Dionysos steht mit seinen vieldeutigen Symbolen für Fruchtbarkeit, Erotik, Trunkenheit und für die Wiederkehr der Toten und drückt die paradoxe Einheit von Leben und Tod in einer Gestalt aus[115].
Die Voraussetzungen für die gegenseitige Beeinflussung der einzelnen Kulte und Weltanschauungen waren gegeben: Es gab eine Vielzahl dionysischer Kultgruppen[116] und eine Menge von Büchern des Orpheus, auf die sich die eine oder andere Gruppe berufen konnte. Für manche dieser Vereine führte die Einweihung in den Kult des Dionysos nicht nur zur beseeligenden Erfahrung der Ekstase, sondern darüber hinaus zur Hoffnung auf ein seliges Leben nach dem Tod. Dies geht auch ausdrücklich aus einem Text hervor, der auf Goldblättchen in Gestalt von Efeublättern zu finden ist: "Jetzt bist du gestorben, und jetzt bist du geboren worden, dreimal Seliger ... und dich erwarten unter der Erde die Weihen, die auch die anderen Seligen (feiern)[117]."
Dies alles läßt die Frage zu: Handelt es sich bei der Szene auf der Hydria also tatsächlich um eine aus dem orphisch-dionysischen Bereich? Manche Indizien sprechen dafür, aber es darf nicht übersehen werden, daß trotz intensiver Forschungen in den letzten Jahrzehnten im Bereich um Dionysos und Orpheus vieles umstritten ist und auch bleiben wird. Die Art und Weise der Verschmelzung beider Mysterien ist noch ein vielschichtiges Problem[118]. Soviel läßt sich jedenfalls sagen: Auch die Darstellung eines "einfachen" Naiskos mit Pflanze, die an Stelle des Verstorbenen dargestellt ist, zeigt bereits, daß hier ein Jenseitsglauben, der mit Mysterienvorstellungen zusammenhängen kann, zugrunde liegt.
Aus dem bisher Gesagten wird weiters die Neigung der Apulier zur Transzendenz und zum Mystizismus und den damit verbundenen Jenseitserwartungen deutlich. In dem Maße, in dem die traditionellen religiösen Vorstellungen und offiziellen Staatskulte an Bedeutung verloren, wandten sich die Menschen auch in diesem Kulturkreis immer stärker privaten Kultgemeinschaften zu. Diese waren äußerst vielgestaltig und entsprachen dem zunehmenden Individualismus, vor allem seit dem 5. Jh., als sich die Bande der traditionellen Religionen lockerten[119]. Die Suche nach individuelleren Glaubensformen könnte auch mit den unsicheren politischen Verhältnissen dieser Zeit in Zusammenhang stehen. Der einzelne sucht nach Heil und Geborgenheit, und es galt, die Seele aus dieser Welt in eine bessere hinüber zu retten. Darüber hinaus stellte das Jenseits auch einen "Wunschraum" mit wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Utopien dar, die im krassen Gegensatz zu den Lebensumständen der Menschen stand. Die Funktion der Mysterien bestand nicht zuletzt darin,

Reinigungs- und Läuterungsrituale der Orphiker, die u.a. durch Askese zu einer tieferen Frömmigkeit gelangen sollen. Die geläuterten und geweihten Mysten werden von ihrer "Urschuld" (der Ermordung des Dionysos) erlöst und können im Jenseits ein glückliches Leben neben den Göttern führen. Falls die Seele jedoch noch einer weiteren Reinigung bedurfte, so wurde sie wieder "eingekörpert" und nach der Seelenwanderung in ein weiteres Leben gesandt. Kern, op.cit., 41ff.; Simon 1962, 1418f.; Giebel 1993, 62ff.

[112] Zu dieser Problematik siehe Langlotz 1957, 401ff.; Schneider-Herrmann 1977/78, 253ff; Schauenburg 1977, 290f.; Lohmann 1979, 14ff. u. Anm. 95; Lohmann 1982, 193f. 241; Lullies 1982, 99 Anm. 27 (hier weitere Literatur). Vgl. auch Anm. 26.

[113] Hinweise auf die Bedeutung des Dionysos finden sich bereits im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. (z.B. in Cumae, vgl. Anm. 109) oder auch später, wo ein Chorlied in der Antigone von Sophokles Dionysos als Herren Italiens anruft. Vgl. Burkert 1991², 42. Zur besonderen Präsenz des Dionysos in Unteritalien vgl. Schauenburg 1957, 173; Schneider-Herrmann 1960, 72; Kerenyi 1964, 342. Darüberhinaus ist die Welt des Dionysos auch auf tarentinischen Terrakotta-Appliken präsent (Lullies 1962, 68), bei denen es sich ebenfalls, um mit den Worten von Lullies (op.cit., 82) zu sprechen: "um Wahrzeichen des Lebens und um mythische Bilder [handelt], die einerseits auf die Vergänglichkeit des Menschen hinzielen, andererseits der Hoffnung auf ein dauerndes Dasein in einem besseren Jenseits Ausdruck verleihen."

[114] Vgl. Burkert 1991², 28. Die Mysterien des Dionysos wurden nie durch eine bestimmte Stadt institutionalisiert bzw. waren sie auch nie auf einen bestimmten Ort beschränkt, wie dies im Gegensatz dazu beim Eleusinischen Kult durch die Athener der Fall war. Cole 1980, 236.

[115] Eliade 1978, 340.

[116] Cole 1980, 236. Bacchische teletai und andere Initiationszeremonien verschiedenster Art wurden von kleinen örtlichen Gruppen durchgeführt. Interessant ist die Aussage Platons (*Leges* 815 B-D), der beispielsweise bacchische Tänze erwähnt, die mit teletai und katharmoi verbunden waren, aber an keine Stadt gebunden waren, und von ihm als "οὐκ ἐστι πολιτικόν" bezeichnet wurden.

[117] Graf 1992, 170ff.; Giebel 1993, 64, 72. Die erwähnten goldenen Efeublätter sind in Thessalien im Grab einer Frau gefunden worden. Burkert 1991², 28.

[118] Vgl. Lohmann 1986, 71: "So ist hier alles im Fluß"; Schneider-Herrmann 1963, 97; Burkert 1991², 13. Vgl. auch Pensa 1977, 88.

[119] Giebel 1993, 64.

die unerträglichen Verhältnisse erträglicher zu machen[120]. Man denke nur an die ständigen Kriege zwischen Italikern und Italioten, besonders nach dem Tod des Archytas im Jahre 361 v. Chr., der eine Schwächung des bis dahin blühenden Tarent zur Folge hatte. Im Zuge der Auseinandersetzungen sah sich Tarent immer wieder gezwungen, Feldherren, wie Archidamos III. von Sparta (342 v. Chr.), den Molosserkönig Alexander (334 v. Chr.), Kleonymos von Sparta (303 v. Chr.) oder zuletzt Pyrrhos zu Hilfe zu rufen, sowohl gegen die einheimischen Stämme als auch gegen die am Ende des 4. Jhs. immer stärker werdende römische Präsenz, die sich im Norden Apuliens manifestierte[121]. Somit reiht sich unsere Hydria durchaus harmonisch ein in eine ganze Reihe von Sepulkralgefäßen, durch deren Darstellungen der philosophisch-religiöse Synkretismus der Zeit genauso zum Ausdruck kommt wie die Sehnsucht der Menschen nach einem besseren Leben hier oder im Jenseits.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Aellen, C., A. Cambitoglou et J. Chamay 1986, *Le peintre de Darius et son milieu*. Ausstellungskatalog, Genf.

Albizzati, C. 1929, Saggio di esegesi sperimentale sulle pitture funerarie dei vasi italo-greci, in *Dissertazione della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* XIV.

Andreassi, G. 1979, *Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto. Ceramica italiota a figure rosse della collezione Chini del Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa*, Rom.

Antonacci Sanpaolo, E., L. Follo e S. Sfrecola 1989, Alcuni aspetti tecnologici della ceramica policroma della Daunia nella collezione Sonsone di Mattinata, in *Atti del 11º convegno nazionale sulla Preistoria-Protostoria, Storia della Daunia*, San Severo 2-3 dicembre, 139-170.

Bachofen, J. 1958, *Bachofens Gesammelte Werke VII. Die Unsterblichkeitslehre der orphischen Theologie*, Stuttgart.

Baumann, H. 1982, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur*, München.

Bengtson, H. 1969, *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, HAW III,4, München.

Bloesch, H. 1951, Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period, *JHS* 71, 29-39.

Burkert, W. 1972, Homo Necans, *RGVV* 32, 242 ff.

Burkert, W. 1991², *Antike Mysterien*, München.

Carter, J. 1973, The Figure in the Naiskos-Marble Sculptures from the Necropolis of Taranto, *OpRom* 9, 97-104.

Cole, S. 1980, New Evidence of the Mysteries of Dionysos, *GrRomByzSt* 21, 223-238.

Christou, Ch. 1964, Λακωνικοί μετ' αναγλύφων αμφωρείς, *Delt* 19, 123-265.

Christou, Ch. 1968, *Potnia Theron. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung, Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt einer Gottheit*, Thessaloniki.

D'Andria, F. 1988, Messapi e Peucetici, in *Italia omnium terrarum alumna*, 653-715.

Daraki, M. 1985, *Dionysos*, Paris.

Deubner, L. 1933, Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassischen Altertum, *ARW* 30, 70-104.

Diehl, E. 1964, *Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums*, Mainz.

Dieterich, A. 1905, *ARW*, 8.Beih.

Eitrem, S. 1977, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Hildesheim.

Eliade, M. 1978, *Geschichte der religiösen Ideen* I, Freiburg-Basel-Wien.

Eliade, M. 1988², *Ewige Bilder und Sinnbilder. Über die magische religiöse Symbolik*, Frankfurt.

Eliade, M. 1992, *Schamanen, Götter und Mysterien. Die Welt der alten Griechen*, Freiburg.

Fränkel, H. 1962, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, München.

Geisau v., H. 1979, s.v. Hyakinthos, in *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* II, Sp. 1254-55.

Geisau v., H. 1979, s.v. Narkissos, in: *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* III, Sp.1572-74.

Giebel, M. 1993, *Das Geheimnis der Mysterien. Antike Kulte in Griechenland, Rom und Ägypten*, München.

Giglioli, G. 1950, Phyllobolia, *ArchCl* 2, 31-47.

Giuliani, L. 1988, Verfielfältigte Lockenköpfe zur Produktion apulischer Volutenkratere, in *Kanon. Festschrift für Ernst Berger*, Basel, 159-165.

Gladigow, B. 1974, Jenseitsvorstellungen und Kulturkritik, *ZRG* 26, 289-309.

Graf, F. 1992, in: O. Plassmann, *Orpheus. Altgriechische Mysterien*, München.

Groß, W.H. 1979, s.v. Fächer, in: *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* II, Sp.506.

Groß, W.H. 1979, s.v. Kekryphalos, in: *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* III, Sp.176.

Guthrie, W. 1952, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London.

Hampe, R. 1976, Tönerner Phormiskos aus Metapont, *AA*, 192-202.

Hoffmann, H. 1980, Knotenpunkte. Zur Bedeutungsstruktur griechischer Vasenbilder, *Hephaistos* 2, 127-154.

Hornbostel, W. et al. 1980, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern. Die antike Sammlung W. Kropatschek*, Mainz.

Hübner, E. 1862, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, Berlin.

Jucker, H. 1961, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, Lausanne.

Kenner, H. 1971, *Das Mädchen von Antium*, Wien.

Kerenyi, K. 1962, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis*, Zürich.

Kerenyi, K. 1964, Bildtext einer italischen Vase in Giessen, in *Hommages à Jean Bayet*, 334-348.

[120] Gladigow 1974, 304f. Vgl. ferner Cole 1980, 237.

[121] Bengtson 1969, 291. 357. 395ff.; D'Andria 1988, 686ff.; Moreno, 76ff. Ferner vgl. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1982, 445f; Lombardo 1987, 76ff.; Trendall 1990, 17f. Weiters vgl. auch Mazzei 1987, 187; Volpe 1990, 35f.

Kern, O. 1927, *Die griechischen Mysterien in der klassischen Zeit*, Berlin.
Kern, O. 1972, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin.
Klauser, Th. 1954, s.v. Blume, *RAC* II, Sp.451-2.
Knell, H. 1965, Das Erechteion, *Antaios* 7/1, 68-75.
Kokula, G. 1984, *Marmorlutrophoren*, Berlin.
Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1978, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen*, Mainz.
Kossatz-Deißmann, A. 1990, Das Thema der Übergabe des Dionysoskindes in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, in *Kunst und Kultur in der Magna Graecia*, Tübingen.
Kübler, K. 1950, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen.
Kübler, K. 1959, *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts* I, Berlin.
Krug, A. 1967, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst*, Diss. Mainz.
Langlotz, E. 1957, Vom Sinngehalt attischer Vasenbilder, in *Festschrift für Robert Boehringer*, Tübingen, 397-421.
Lippolis, E. 1987, Organizzazione delle necropoli e struttura sociale nell'Apulia ellenistica. Due esempi: Taranto e Canosa, in Römische Gräberstraßen, *AbhMünchen* 96, 139-154.
Lohmann, H. 1979, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*, Berlin.
Lohmann, H. 1982, Zu technischen Besonderheiten apulischer Vasen, *JdI* 97, 191- 249.
Lohmann, H. 1986, Der Mythos von Amphiaraos auf apulischen Vasen, *Boreas* 9, 65-82.
Lohmann, H. 1986, Eine apulische Amphora mit Gigantenkampf, in *Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg*, Mainz, 149-157.
Lombardo, M. 1987, La Magna Grecia dalla fine del V secolo a.C. alla conquista romana, in *Magna Grecia. Lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico*, Milano.
Lullies, R. 1960, Βάτραχοι. *Festschrift für Walter-Herwig Schuchhardt*, Baden- Baden, 139-149.
Lullies, R. 1962, Vergoldete Terracotta-Appliken aus Tarent, 7. Erg. *RM*, Heidelberg.
Lullies, R. 1982, Abermals: Zur Bedeutung des Kranzes von Armento, *JdI* 97, 90-117.
Mazzei, M. 1987, Nota su un gruppo di vasi policromi decorati con scene di combattimento, da Arpi, *AnnAStorAnt* 9, 167-186.
Meuli, K. 1958, Die Unsterblichkeitslehre der orphischen Theologie, in *J.Bachofens Gesammelte Werke* VII, Stuttgart.
Möbius, H. 1929, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, Berlin.
Möbius, H. 1941, Griechisch-orientalische Bleimedaillons aus Ionien, *AA*, 1-36.
Moreno, P. La colonizzazione greca, in *Storia della Puglia a cura di G.Musca* I, 69-81.
Murr, J. 1890, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie*, Innsbruck.
Nilsson, M. 1976[4], *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I. HAW V.2,1, München.
Noble, J. 1982, The Techniques of Painted South Italian Pottery, in M. Mayo and K. Hammer (Hrsg.), *The Art of South Italy. Vases from Magna Grecia Catalogue Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, Richmond.
Ogle, M. 1910, Laurel in Ancient Religion and Foklore, *AJPh* 31, 287-311.
Pagenstecher, R. 1912, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, Strassburg.
Pensa, M. 1968, Problemi di iconografia della ceramica apula, *Athenaeum* 46, 236-253.
Pensa, M. 1977, *Rappresentazioni dell'oltretomba nella ceramica apula*, Rom.
Pfanner, M. 1977, Zur Schmückung griechischer Grabstelen, *HASB* 3, 5-15.
Pfuhl, E. 1905, Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs, *JdI* 20, 47-96.
Plassmann, J.O. 1992[2], *Altgriechische Mysterien*, München.
Pötscher, W. 1979, s.v. Mnemosyne, in *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* III, 1370-1371.
Pontrandolfo, A., G. Prisco, E. Mugione, e F. Lafage 1988, Semata e Naiskoi nella ceramica italiota, *AnnAStorAnt* 10, 181-202.
Prückner, H. 1971, in: *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg II. Neuerwerbungen 1957-1970*, Mainz.
Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1988, L'orfismo in Magna Grecia, in *Magna Grecia* III. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica, 159-170.
Rihl, S. 1992, *Die Keramik der Sammlung Nowak aus dem Höbarthmuseum der Stadt Horn*, Wien.
Schauenburg, K. 1955/56, Die Cameliden im Altertum, *BJb* 155/56, 59-94.
Schauenburg, K. 1957, Dionysiaka, in *Festschrift für Ernst Langlotz*, Bonn, 170-174.
Schauenburg, K. 1957, Zur Symbolik unteritalischer Rankenmotive, *RM* 64, 198-221.
Schauenburg, K. 1958, Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, *JdI* 73, 48-78.
Schauenburg, K. 1961, Göttergeliebte auf unteritalischen Vasen, *AuA* 10, 77-101.
Schauenburg, K. 1969, Ganymed in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, in *Opus Nobile, Festschrift für Ulf Jantzen*, Wiesbaden, 130-137.
Schauenburg, K. 1977, Zu Götterstatuen auf unteritalischen Vasen, *AA*, 285-297.
Schauenburg, K. 1980, Skylla oder Tritonin? Zu einer Gruppe canosinischer Askoi, *RM* 87, 29-56.
Schauenburg, K. 1983, Eros im Tempel? *AA*, 599-606.
Schauenburg, K. 1983, Zur Telephossage in Unteritalien, *RM* 90, 339-358.
Schauenburg, K. 1984, Aktaion in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei, *JdI* 84, 29-46.
Schauenburg, K. 1984, Unterweltbilder aus Großgriechenland, *RM* 91, 359-387.
Schauenburg, K. 1984, Zu einer Hydria des Baltimoremalers in Kiel, *JdI* 99, 127-160.
Schauenburg, K. 1985, Zu einer Gruppe polychromer apulischer Vasen in Kiel, *JdI* 100, 399-443.
Schauenburg, K. 1987, Flügelgestalten auf unteritalischen Grabvasen, *JdI* 102, 200-232.
Schauenburg, K. 1988, Der Raub des Kephalos auf unteritalischen Vasen, *RA* Fasc.2, 291-306.
Schauenburg, K. 1989, Zu einigen apulischen Vasen in einer Privatsammlung, *AA*, 227-241.
Schauenburg, K. 1989, Zur Grabsymbolik apulischer Vasen, *JdI* 104, 19-60.

Schauenburg, K. 1989, Zu zwei Krateren des Malers von Berlin F 3383, in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, Mainz, 215-219.
Schauenburg, K. 1990, Zu Grabvasen des Baltimore-malers, *JdI* 105, 67-94.
Schefold, K. 1960, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Ausstellung in der Kunsthalle Basel), Basel.
Schefold, K. 1966, Die Farbe als Bedeutungsträger in der griechischen Vasenmalerei, *Palette* 22, 1-12.
Schmalz, B. 1970, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen*, Berlin.
Schmidt, M. 1974, Orfeo e orfismo nella pittura vascolare italiota, in Orfismo in Magna Grecia, in *Atti del quattordicesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Tarent, Oktober 1974, 103-137.
Schmidt, M. 1984, Hermes als Seelengeleiter auf einer apulischen Lutrophoros in Basel, *AntK* 27, 34-40.
Schmidt, M. 1987, Beziehungen zwischen Eros, dem dionysischen und dem "eleusinischen" Kreis auf apulischen Vasenbildern, in *Cahiers d'Archeologie Romande 36. Images et Société en Grèce ancienne. L'Iconographie comme méthode d'analyse. Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8.-11.Febr.1984*, 156-167.
Schmidt, M., A.D. Trendall, und A. Cambitoglou 1976, *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel*, Basel.
Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1960, Statue des Dionysos in Tarent, *BABesch* 35, 71-75.
Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1963, Zwei Studien zur apulischen Vasenkunst. Eros auf einer Tonschale mit anthropomorphem Handgriff, *BABesch* 38, 92-99.
Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1970, Spuren eines Eroskultes in der italischen Vasenmalerei, *BABesch* 45, 86-117.
Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1971, Der Ball bei den Westgriechen, *BABesch* 46, 123-132.
Schneider-Herrmann, G. 1977/78, Unterschiedliche Interpretationen süd-italischer Vasenbilder des 4.Jhs. v. Chr., *BABesch* 52/53, 253-257.
Senff, R. 1983, Die rotfigurige Hydria mit Grabmalszene in Vrede, *Boreas* 6, 271-277.
Simon, E. 1959, s.v. Efeu, *RAC* IV, Sp.610-620.
Simon, E. 1962, Zagreus. Über orphische Motive in Campanareliefs, in *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, 1418-1427.
Simon, E. 1982, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities), Mainz.
Smith, H. 1970, Deadlocks?, *BABesch* 45, 68-85.
Sotheby's 1987, 12.12.
Stähler, K. 1980, Die Phrixosschale in Münster, *Boreas* 3, 137-156.
Stähler, K. 1981, Griechische Vasen des Archäologischen Museums der Universität Münster. Erwerbungen 1980-1981, *Boreas* 4, 177-189.
Stähler, K. 1981, Spätklassisch großgriechische Vasen der Sammlung W.B., Münster, *Boreas* 4, 190-197.
Stähler, K. 1983, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Vasen* (Die Sammlung D.J. in Ostwestfalen)
Thimme, J. 1964, Die Stele der Hegeso als Zeugnis des attischen Grabkultes, *AntK* 7, 16-29.
Thimme, J. 1969, Rosette, Myrte, Spirale und Fisch als Seligkeitszeichen in etruskischen und unteritalischen Gräbern, in *Opus Nobile, Festschrift für Ulf Jantzen,* Wiesbaden, 157-163.
Thimme, J. 1970, Griechische Salbgefässe mit libyschen Motiven, *Jb. der staatlichen Kunstsammlung Baden-Würtemberg* 7, 7-30.
Thimme, J. 1988, Ein großgriechischer Klappspiegel aus klassischer Zeit, in *Kanon. Festschrift für E.Berger,* Basel, 192-199.
Todisco, L. 1984, Nuovi grandi vasi dei pittori di Baltimore e del Sakkos Bianco, *Xenia* 7, 49-66.
Trendall, A. 1955, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Vatikan.
Trendall, A.D. 1967, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* I, Oxford.
Trendall, A.D. 1990, *Rotfigurige Vasen aus Unteritalien und Sizilien*, Mainz.
Trendall, A.D., A. Cambitoglou 1982, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* I, Oxford.
Trendall,A.D., A Cambitoglou 1983, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, Suppl.I, Oxford.
Volpe, G. 1990, *La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione. Paesaggio agrario, produzione, scambi*, Bari.
Wallenstein, K. 1972, Der Aryballos im Aryballos, *AA*, 458-474.
Weber, M. 1990, *Baldachine und Statuenschreine*, Rom.
Wegner, M. 1988, Orpheus Ursprung und Nachfolge, *Boreas* 11, 177-225.
Wiesner, J. 1970, *Lexikon der Antike* (Religion) II,2, München.
Wolters, P. 1930, Die goldenen Ähren, in *Festschrift für James Loeb,* München, 111-129.
Wrede, H. 1976, Lebenssymbole und Bildnisse zwischen Meerwesen, in: *Festschrift für Gerhard Kleiner*, Tübingen, 147-178.
Zanker, P. 1966, Eine Eigenart außerattischer Grabreliefs, *AntK* 9, 16-26.
Ziegler, K. 1979, s.v. Myrtos, *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* III, Sp.1527-8.

INSTITUT FÜR KLASSISCHE ARCHÄOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN
FRANZ KLEINGASSE 1
A-1190 WIEN

BaBesch 70 (1995)

Rural settlement and socio-political organization
The *Riu Mannu* survey project in Sardinia[1]

M. Beatrice Annis, Peter van Dommelen, Pieter van de Velde

Although survey data are in themselves fairly 'simple',
the problems on which they can reliably be brought to bear are large and complex.
Cherry 1983, 390

STUDYING RURAL LANDSCAPES IN SARDINIA

The study of rural landscapes has become a major topic in Mediterranean archaeology. Traditionally rural landscapes have been considered marginal to an essentially urban society[2], but the importance of rural settlement and the role of the landscape in general have increasingly been emphasized by several archaeological field surveys since the late 1960s. Field surveying has now become an integral aspect of Mediterranean archaeology, and is often referred to as 'landscape archaeology'[3]. This landscape research has been defined as 'the archaeological study of the relationship of people to land in antiquity and more particularly of the relationships between people to land in the context of the environment they inhabited'[4].

In contrast to this latter perspective in which the physical (or 'natural') aspects of the landscape are emphasized, the *Riu Mannu* survey project is aimed at exploring the human dimension of rural landscapes. This project is an initiative of the Department of Archaeology[5] of Leiden State University (the Netherlands). The research objective is to explore the development of socio-political organization from an explicitly archaeological point of view in the regional context of west central Sardinia *(Fig. 1)*. The perspective adopted is a rural one, in line with recent trends in (Mediterranean) archaeology and in contrast to the traditional monumental and urban focus. The research project has been designed from two complementary points of view: first a methodological one, in which the basic question is how socio-political issues can be dealt with archaeologically; and secondly a substantive one, in which developments of rural settlement in west central Sardinia are examined with respect to (proto-) urban centres in or near the region. The latter theme has been further elaborated in more specific questions which relate to different archaeological periods.

Sardinia offers good opportunities for such a research project, because the sheer size of the island has allowed the development of a distinct indigenous culture, while its agricultural and mineral resources have attracted attention from elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Contacts have ranged from mere exchange of *e.g.* obsidian in the Neolithic to outright colonization in the last millennium B.C. and after.

[1] Permission for the *Riu Mannu* survey was kindly granted by the Italian Ministery of Culture at the favourable intercession of dr. Vincenzo Santoni, archaeological *Soprintendente* of Cagliari and Oristano provinces. The survey project is carried out in Sardinia since 1992: after a pilot season in October 1992, there have been annual campaigns in October. Organizationally and financially the survey project is supported by the Department of Archaeology of Leiden University and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (N.W.O.); considerable practical backing has been extended by the local authorities of Gùspini and its mayor Tarcisio Agus, and by the local association of amateur archaeologists *Neapolis*, headed by Mario Ortu: they have provided us with lodging, and with storage facilities for the finds. Professional collaboration has also been established with archaeologist Ubaldo Badas (director, Museo e Parco Archeologico Genna Maria, Villanovaforru) and geologist Rita Melis (department of Earth Sciences of Cagliari University). We also feel much indebted towards Gino Artudi and Sandro Perra of Terralba, who through their freely shared intimate knowledge of the area and their interest in our fieldwork have established rapports which go beyond mere acquaintance. A final word of acknowledgement has to go to the numerous *pastori e contadini sardi*, who have allowed us to enter their fields.

[2] Cf. Snodgrass 1987, 67.

[3] See Barker and Lloyd 1991 for an overview.

[4] Barker 1985, 1.

[5] The *Riu Mannu* Survey was set up as a project of the section Theory and Method of the Department of Archaeology of Leiden State University. Its permanent staff members are Pieter van de Velde (section Theory and Method), M. Beatrice Annis (Department of Pottery Technology) and Peter van Dommelen (section Classical Archaeology). Corrie Bakels (section Palaeobotany, Department of Prehistory) also contributes to the research project.

Fig. 1. Map of Sardinia, showing the location of the study area of the Riu Mannu *survey in west central Sardinia. (height 0-100-400-1000 m above sea level) (drawing by Peter van Dommelen)*

Our aims imply that the *Riu Mannu* survey must be a regional research project both in design and scope: organization and development of rural settlement in west central Sardinia are to be studied by archaeological survey. Basic to this approach is the assumption that characteristics of a settlement pattern relate to and therefore provide insight into the social organization of the population of a region. In contrast with the conventional view of settlements as essentially homogeneous entities, the sites of which may be recognized in the field, we rather regard settlements (including isolated farmsteads) as focal points from where the landscape is organized, classified and appropriated. Consequently, the *Riu Mannu* survey focuses on the distribution of artefacts across the landscape without however ignoring more aggregative levels such as settlements. Due to this attention to relative artefact densities and scatters, this archaeological field survey may be characterized as an instance of *off-site* archaeology[6].
The conception of 'landscape' in this project is based on the observation that people's lives are not restricted to settlements. Next to their home basis, neighbouring settlements are important to people as nodes in their webs of social relations as well, and they also use ('appropriate') their surroundings to make a living in the widest possible meaning[7]. It follows that *off-site* locations (= outside settlements) are as important to consider as *on-site* ones (= inside settlements). Indeed, every fieldwalk confirms that people have left traces everywhere in the landscape: small scatters of sherds, remains of tool fabrication, or simply lost items; also, 'haloes' of household garbage around settlements are frequently observed[8]. Landscape – or any – archaeology cannot live from sites alone, but it needs all that can be found.

Another characteristic of the *Riu Mannu* survey is the considerable size of the research region which measures ca. 1100 km^2 *(Fig. 2)*. The study of relatively large regions has been something of a hallmark of survey projects in the Mediterranean since the early days of survey archaeology. Many have achieved a remarkable intensity of research through the application of an explicit sampling strategy[9]. Despite methodologically questionable criticism on precisely this point[10], surveying a region by sample rather than *supposedly* covering a limited area in its entirety has become a characteristic feature of most Mediterranean surveys[11], especially in Italian survey archaeology.[12] In this respect the *Riu Mannu* survey is entirely in line with surveys elsewhere in the Mediterranean. It does not share, however, the physical environmental emphasis common to much Italian landscape archaeology.

While regional analysis and survey archaeology have been a common aspect of Italian archaeology for several decades now[13], Sardinian archaeology has kept aloof from this development: both prehistoric and historic archaeology have traditionally been strongly focused on monumental or urban sites. Most prehistoric archaeology centres on the *nuraghi* (dry stone-walled towers), on megalithic tombs and well-sanctuaries, while the large colonial cities and cemeteries of the later periods are the main concern of classical and medieval archaeology. Regional surveys of these sites (in particular of *nuraghi*) and of other known find spots (usually chance finds) have occasionally been conducted[14] but none of these has been based on a probabilistic framework[15]. Despite claims of the opposite, the American survey of Roman re-occupation of *nuraghi* also appears to accord with this non-statistical practice[16]. Notable exceptions known to us are the Bonu Ighinu survey which consisted of a virtually complete survey of a tiny valley in the mountains of northern Sardinia[17], and the recently started survey of the colonial hinterland of Nora in SW Sardinia[18]. Both surveys, however, cover a limited area completely, whereas the *Riu Mannu* survey is based on a rather differently conceived set of fieldwork methods.

LANDSCAPE AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN WEST CENTRAL SARDINIA

The west central region of Sardinia, adjacent to the Gulf of Oristano, has been selected as the study area for the *Riu Mannu* survey project. This region *(Fig. 2)* is defined by natural boundaries in such a way that the three main geomorphological landscapes of the island (mountains, plains, coast) are well represented. To the SW the region is delimited by the high and steep mountains of the Iglesiente and to the W by the Gulf of Oristano, while the

[6] Schofield 1991, 3-5.
[7] Cf. Bender 1992, 750-752.
[8] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 201-202; Snodgrass 1987, 113-117; Bintliff 1992.
[9] Cherry 1983, 390-391.
[10] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 129-130.
[11] Barker 1991, 1-3.
[12] Cf. Cambi 1986, 533-541.
[13] *E.g.* Attolini et al. 1991.
[14] *E.g.* Progetto i nuraghi 1990; Sebis 1987; Tore and Stiglitz 1987; Zucca 1987, 115-147.
[15] Cf. Dyson and Rowland 1990, 531 note 30; Rowland and Dyson 1991, 54-56.
[16] Maryland-Wesleyan survey: Dyson and Rowland 1992.
[17] Trump 1990.
[18] Rendeli and Botto 1993.

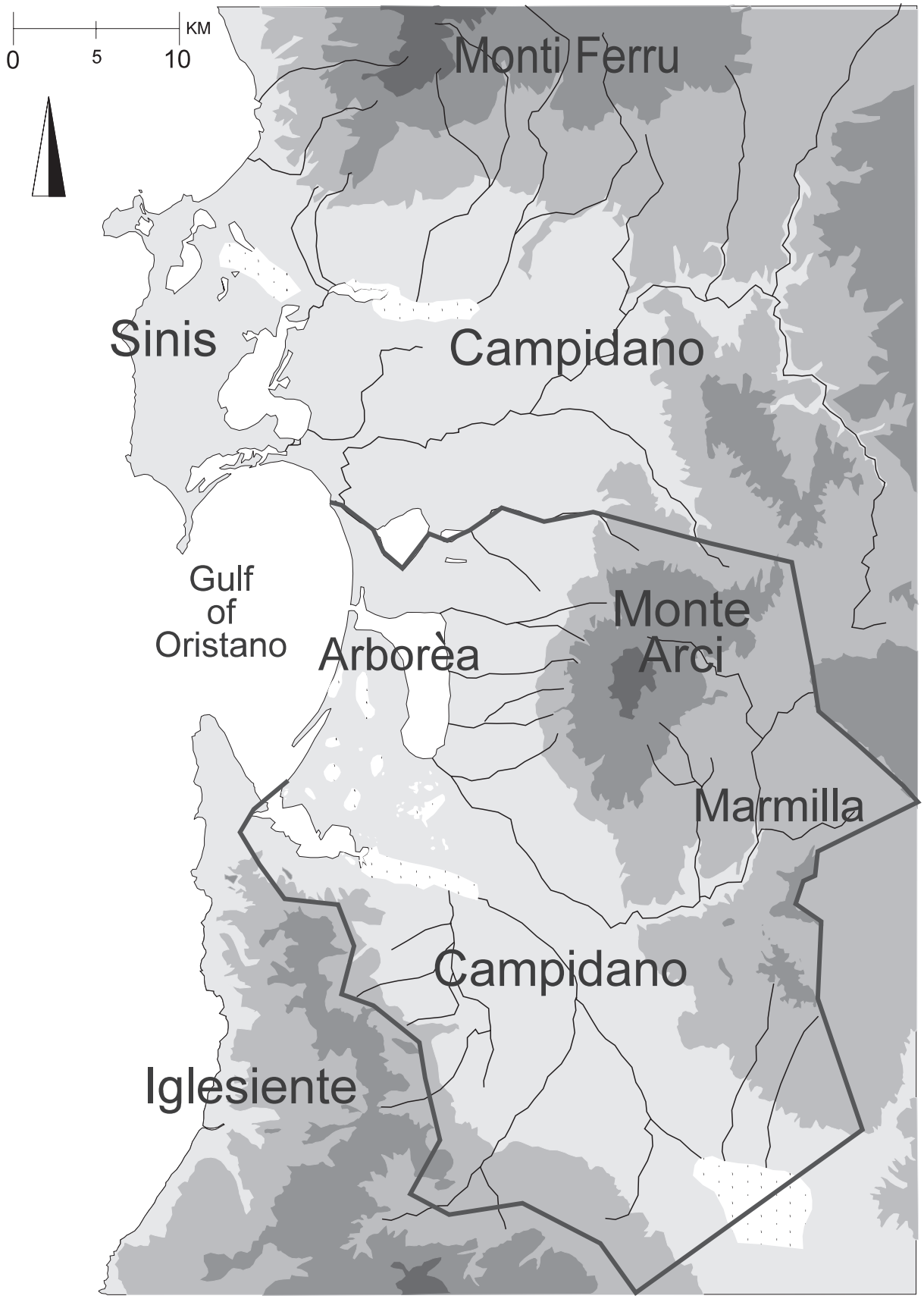


Fig. 2. Map of the principal landscapes of west central Sardinia, showing the location of the study area of the Riu Mannu *survey (reconstructed situation in the later 1st millennium B.C.; height 0-100-300-700 m above sea level) (drawing by Peter van Dommelen).)*

northern and eastern margins are made up by the Monte Arci massif and two vertically rising *giare* or table mountains.
The Central Campidano plain, roughly orientated NW-SE, takes in the major part of this region. It is bounded to the west by the Arborèa wetlands along the Gulf of Oristano, and to the north by a string of lagoons, small rivers and ponds near Santa Giusta. The southern limit is a low and originally marshy saddle (Sanluri marshes) which divides the Central Campidano from the Campidano of Cagliari. The southern half of the Central Campidano is incised by two NW-wards running rivers (Riu Mannu and Riu Mògoro) and their tributaries which drain the hills and mountains on either side of the plain. The northern half is dissected by numerous rills, which flow westward from the Monte Arci towards the sea. The western side of the southern Central Campidano as well as the entire northern half present heavy and poorly sorted soils that have developed on the extensive *pediment* formations of the Iglesiente and Monte Arci mountains; the *glacis* formations of the Marmilla hills have given rise to much lighter soils along the eastern fringe of the southern Central Campidano[19].
The wetlands of the Arborèa, now reclaimed, make up the coastal area between the Campidano plain and the Gulf of Oristano. A sandy region, it gradually turned into wetlands with the rising Holocene sea level, and at least since Roman times the Arborèa has been an area of large dunes interspersed with both brackish and sweet water lagoons, creeks and fens[20]. The Central Campidano to the east is made up of slightly higher and considerably drier grounds.
The uplands of Sardinia are located on either side of the Campidano plain. To the west the Monte Arcuentu and Monte Linas dominate the almost impenetrable Iglesiente mountain ridge, and to the east the Monte Arci volcano rises somewhat isolated.
The hills of the Marmilla make up a more or less enclosed basin to the E of the Campidano, 'to the rear' (E) of the Monte Arci, and can easily be reached through three river valleys, the most important of which is the gorge of the Riu Mògoro. The gentle relief of the Marmilla is intertwined by many small and a few larger valleys (mainly of the Upper Riu Mògoro). The basin is delimited in the N and E by the towering tablelands of Gèsturi and Siddi, to the W by the Monte Arci massif[21].

All major landscape types of Sardinia can be found in our study area, but the coastal Arborèa, the Campidano plain and the hills of the Marmilla constitute a relatively high proportion of it. Often, uplands and plains have been opposed in Sardinian (pre-) history as *Barbaria* and *Romania*, respectively, and the survey region may therefore be regarded a 'representative place' of the entire island[22], notwithstanding the statistical unbalance. Although the three landscapes are generally grouped together, the relatively hilly Marmilla is considered a distinct subregion with a clearly different 'life style' or *genre de vie* with its high density of population living in comparatively small villages[23]. In a way, the Marmilla can be considerd a link between plains and mountains.

In principle all pre-modern occupation is taken into consideration, yet three periods have been singled out for more detailed attention: in the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age, the distribution of settlement in different landscapes will be contrasted; the interaction between Phoenician and Punic colonization and indigenous settlement and economy will be examined across the region; and integration of late Roman and early Medieval local markets in the wider Mediterranean economy will be compared in relationship to the surrounding landscape. Because of both the variety and mutual proximity of the landscapes, west central Sardinia appears a suitable setting for realizing these aims.

An important additional argument is the good state of conservation of both the landscapes and the archaeological record contained in it. The Arborèa lowlands and Campidano plain are extensively worked and the effects of erosion and alluviation are generally limited. In the Marmilla, erosion is restricted to the higher hill slopes; recent covering by colluvial deposits occurs in minor valleys only. Therefore, the major river valleys and lower hill slopes are quite suitable for surveying. In the plains, alluvial deposits along the major rivers (Riu Mannu and Riu Mògoro) are restricted to rather narrow strips. In the Arborèa coastal area alluviation has occurred only in the (now reclaimed) Sassu lagoon and many small ponds and marshes. Archaeological visibility in the field is usually quite good and the surface finds are numerous and varied. Fieldwork from 1992 onwards has revealed high densities of surface finds: in *off-site* situations they range up to four pieces per m^2, which means

[19] Seuffert 1970, 64-65, 72-77, 81-84.
[20] Cf. Delano Smith 1978.
[21] The latter landscape unity corresponds closely to the Masullas-Simala landscape system as this has been distinguished in the wider Marmilla and adjacent Trexenta regions (Maccioni and Melis 1989, 117-119).
[22] Brigaglia 1987, 30-33.
[23] Le Lannou 1979, 182-187; cf. Lewthwaite 1988, 166-168.

that (tens of) thousands of artefacts are to be found in each field. In concentrations ('sites') this figure may rise to 40 fragments per m^2 (i.e., 400,000 per ha).

THE *RIU MANNU* SURVEY: SAMPLING STRATEGY AND FIELDWORK METHODS

The *Riu Mannu* survey examines long-term developments at a regional scale on the assumption that remains of human presence can be found (almost) everywhere: it combines an overview of regional trends in settlement patterns with a detailed focus on small-scale artefact distributions. Human activities are not confined to settlement sites only: herding and tillage are equally important but carried out in the field, while other kinds of non-settlement 'activity foci' can also be found, *e.g.* "terraces, roads, bridges, quarries and mines, caves …, pottery- and lime-kilns, cisterns, wells, individual graves, oil and wine presses, chipping floors, isolated towers, animal folds, agricultural storage sheds, farm houses, rural sanctuaries and shrines"[24]. Because it is difficult to distinguish between more or less bounded activity areas and activities covering larger stretches of land (*e.g.* herding), it seems beside the point to sustain the distinction between *off-site* and *on-site* activities[25]. In order to keep track of human activities in different places in the landscape, the distribution of surface finds should be studied *across* the landscape with variations in find densities and concentrations. Accordingly the object of study must be expressed in terms of relative densities of surface finds (both artefacts and other traces) per period.

Mediterranean archaeology has predominantly focused on distribution patterns of discrete sites, largely dismissing what was to be found between them as mere 'background noise'. However, as relatively high surface find densities outside sites are common in the Mediterranean[26], these 'sporadic finds' have lately received some attention under the heading of *off-site* finds[27]. The same favourable conditions apply to so-called 'on-site' situations and these have been examined in more detail by means of intensive 'city-surveys'[28]. In practice, however, very few surveys have explicitly abandoned the traditional site concept to study surface finds as potentially being distributed continously over the landscape. The *Riu Mannu* survey is an attempt to study variations in surface find densities across the landscape as a coherent whole and to examine human activities in it as being interrelated. In this approach, the term 'site' is used only where artefact densities are appreciably higher than in the surrounding area.

As a regional research project, the *Riu Mannu* survey combines general and specific objectives: socio-political development is studied at a general regional level, while more specific themes such as colonial-indigenous relationships or coast-inland interaction require a more detailed and area-specific focus. The sampling strategy, therefore, has to be sufficiently broad with regard to general objectives, while it should also allow for more specific questions. These requirements necessitate a differentiated sampling design. Complex sampling strategies are not uncommon in survey archaeology; in Italy, the Albegna survey[29] or the Cecina valley survey[30] can be cited.

Sampling a landscape is most efficiently achieved through transects at right angles to the 'grain' of the terrain such as river courses, valley bottoms, or ridges[31]. West central Sardinia, however, is geomorphologically a mosaic and no single line can be identified as 'the' grain of it. We therefore subdivided the region into nine areas, which are internally more or less coherent from a geomorphological point of view[32]. Perpendicular to the axes of these areas blocks (or 'transects') of 1x5 km were plotted, in order to incorporate most of the environmental variation of each area along their length. As a first step in this design one out of every four transects was ('systematically') selected for incorporation in our basic sample *(Fig. 3)*. As can be expected, many of these transects are smaller than the standard 1x5 km as the borders of the landscape units are quite irregular.
In the second step of the design the survey region was subdivided into primary and secondary areas for strategical, historical and archaeological research reasons[33]. The primary or key areas have been singled out where the major landscapes (Arborèa wetlands, Campidano plain, and Marmilla

[24] Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994, 138.
[25] Cherry 1983, 394-397.
[26] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988a.
[27] Stoddart and Whitehead 1991, 141-142; Wilkinson 1990; Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994.
[28] Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988b.
[29] Cambi 1986, 536-541.
[30] Terrenato 1992, 570-578.
[31] Judge, Ebert and Hitchkock 1975, 93, 100, 121-122.
[32] A similar procedure underlies the so-called *Land System and Terrain Analysis* approach frequently adopted by physical geographers. Cf. also the close correspondence between the divisions of the Marmilla area following this approach and the one proposed by us (see Maccioni and Melis 1989).
[33] Cf. Redman 1987, 255-257.

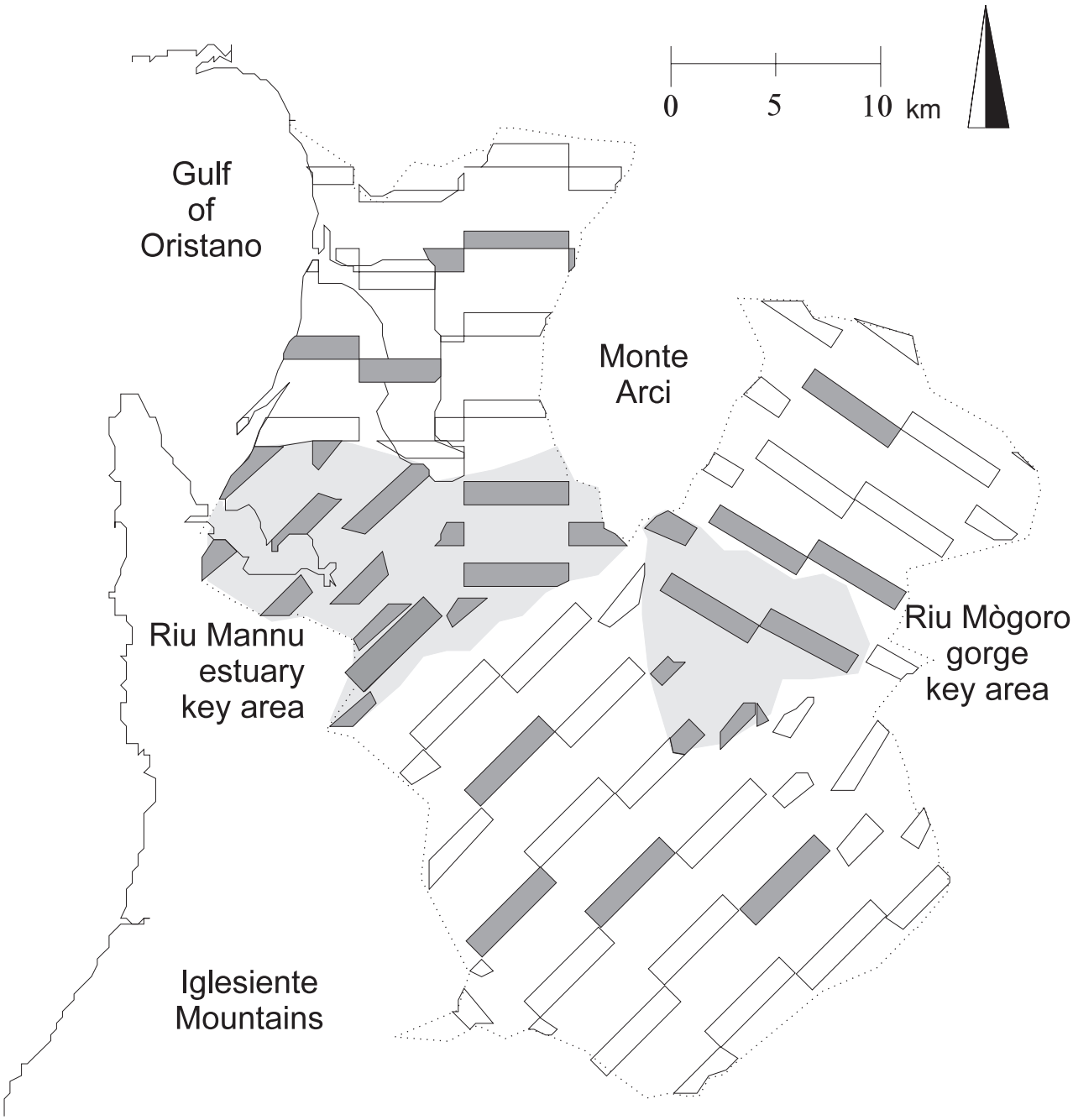


Fig. 3. The Riu Mannu sampling strategy: the sample under investigation (dark shading) consists of the weighted intersection of two key areas (light shading) and a probabilistic sample taken from the entire region (drawing by Peter van Dommelen).

hills) meet, the secondary areas are the landscapes beyond. The first key area is where Campidano and Arborèa meet at the lower reaches and the estuary of the Mògoro and Mannu rivers. Easy access from the sea to both areas is historically and archaeologically attested. The second key area centres on the escarpment which bounds the Campidano plain to the east, where Campidano and Marmilla meet. Especially the Riu Mògoro gorge cutting this boundary must have been a thoroughfare between hills and plain. The secondary areas are situated to the N (Arborèa, northern Central Campidano), to the E (Marmilla), and to the S (southern Central Campidano). The primary/secondary division works out in a statistical stratification of the sample: within the two key areas all transects in the basic sample are being examined, whereas only a limited number of transects located centrally in the secondary landscapes are investigated. In the primary stratum there are 22 transects, and in the secondary stratum 11 transects are to be walked *(Fig. 3)*.

It might be objected that the final sample is not truly random because stratification has been introduced, the strata delimited on non-statistical criteria, and weighted differently. But it can be argued – it has been demonstrated in comparative research as well[34] – that this sample is more effective with regard to the specific research aims than a random selection, precisely *because* use has been made of existing knowledge about the region[35] *in conjunction with* a systematic and probabilistic sample, our basic draw. Sampling is one means towards an end, and other means – systematic scheme, stratification and weighting, but also the application of existing knowledge to delimit the region and its subdivisions – are equally pertinent and may contribute substantially to a more efficient achievement of the research purposes.

The fieldwork methods in our survey have been designed after earlier experiments and experiences in Indonesia and Italy[36] and are fundamentally different from those conventionally used. The difference regards the underlying statistical principle of data collection: instead of a continuous linear observation as with (conventional) line walking, we work with a point-by-point registration principle. In excavation archaeology, this principle has been used for so-called 'test pitting' methods[37]. With regard to field survey, point-by-point finds collection deals with the problem of archaeological visibility: since only discrete small spots (usually measuring 2 m^2) are examined, visibility is much less affected by factors such as overgrowth. By this method the recovery of surface finds is likely to remain much more consistent despite different visibility conditions. A second advantage is of a statistical nature: collecting quantitative information on continuous *off-site* distribution patterns of surface finds is hardly feasible with conventional line walking. Collecting samples with the point-by-point principle overcomes problems of visibility and reliability[38], as *all* finds from *each* point can be processed afterwards without having to cope with insurmountable amounts of finds. Methodically, the figures derived from *line* walking are difficult to convert to *surface* densities; practically, variable visibility conditions preclude comparison.

Statistical[39] and practical considerations have led us to define the following fieldwork procedure *(Fig. 4)*: in each transect, a local grid is defined with the x- and y-axes orientated along the long and short sides of the transect respectively. To allow generalizations, a 120m wide sample grid is randomly located along the length of the transect (y in *Fig. 4*). Within this sample grid collection points (usually measuring $2m^2$) are set out at intermediate distances of 30m[40]. Whenever higher find densities are encountered, this 'mesh' is reduced to 10m in order to register more detailed distribution patterns. At each collection point, all portable finds are collected, bagged and labelled. These finds make up the *quantitative* collection for primarily statistical use. Between the collection points, artefacts are

[34] Judge, Ebert and Hitchkock 1975; Plog 1976.
[35] Redman 1987, 257-262.
[36] Van de Velde 1984 and Van Dommelen 1992 respectively.
[37] See *e.g.* Nance and Ball 1986.
[38] Cf. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 132-135, Shennan 1985, 17.
[39] About five hundred collection points are sufficient to achieve a confidence interval of between 2.5 and 5% at confidence levels better than 90%. If the interval is represented by w, the standardized confidence level by z, the variance by s^2, and the number of collection points by N, then the following relation obtains: $w = z.s/\sqrt{N}$. The variance has a theoretical maximum value of $s^2=p.(100-p)= 50.(100-50) = 2500$, so $s = \sqrt{2500} = 50\%$. For w = 2.5%, and at a confidence level of 90% (z = 1.65) the equation can be solved for N = 1090; with w = 5% the number of sampling points becomes N = 275 (approx.). These two figures indicate the range of acceptable limits and correspond to the numbers of points to be sampled: between 275 and 1090. From these numbers, and with an eye on the efficiency of their setting out, the sampling grid has been designed: for a full transect of 1x5 km it measures 5 sampling points wide, and 170 long, altogether 850 data collection points per transect.
[40] We assume that gross patterns in the densities of the surface finds are in the order of 50m or more. If so, the distances between field observations should be smaller than 50m to forestall synchronism of grid and data patterns. In this survey the general 'mesh' has been set at 30m; where more subtle variations are expected it is reduced to 10m.

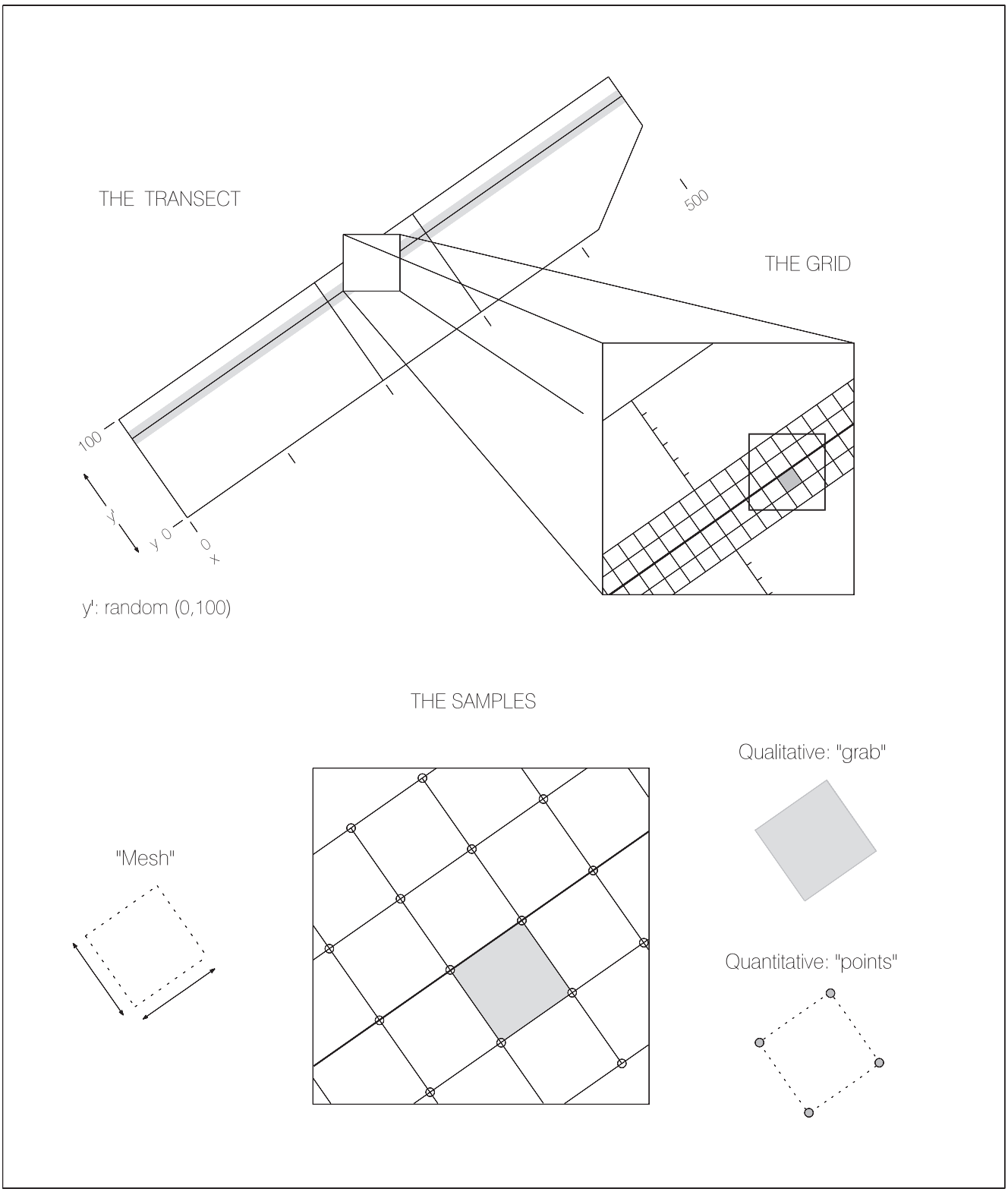


Fig. 4. Sketch of the fieldwork methods and the sample grid involved, showing 2 m² collection points at 30 m intervals (x and y scales of the transect in decameters) (drawing by Peter Deunhouwer, Archeologisch Centrum, Leiden).

Coordinates	Texture	Very Coarse	Coarse	Medium	Fine	Total
Transect: Number of fragments	Weight fr.	gr. fr.	gr. fr.	gr. fr.	gr. fr.	
Coordinates: Concentration (if applicable)	Fabric types Weight Number of fragments	gr. fr.	gr. fr.	gr.	gr.	gr.
	Other details					

Registration no	Texture	Fabric	Function	Shape	Finishing	Manufacture	Provenance	Other details	Documentation (Drawings-photos-bibliography)

Table 1: Form used for registering all relevant details concerning pottery from the qualitative collections.

taken only if they have diagnostic value. In those cases where the grid spacing has been reduced, such diagnostic materials are systematically collected per 10 x 10 m square, bagged and labelled and kept separate as the so-called *qualitative collection* (also known as 'grab sample'). Since these finds are not part of the statistical sample, they are not included in statistical analysis; they do, however, provide important 'qualitative' (*e.g.* typo-chronological) information for the finds of the 'quantitative' sample.

Work in the field consists of two major jobs, one of which is the actual collection of surface finds, the other the setting out of the sample. The grid of the collection points is set out in the field by means of a theodolite, working from the *Carta Tecnica* (scale 1:5,000 in the western part of the region and 1:10,000 elsewhere) which results in an average error of c. 1 or 2 m. While two persons are almost permanently engaged with marking off the grid, the others examine the collection points and pick up the finds, bagging and labelling them and recording the archaeological visibility. They usually work as one team whose supervisor records information about overall visibility, local geomorphology, soil, land use, weather conditions and other details, using standard sheets.

FINDS PROCESSING AND DATA RECORDING

Among the materials collected by the *Riu Mannu* survey so far, ceramic fragments account for 84% of the quantitative sample (77% of all surface finds). Another important find category is obsidian with 12% (19%, respectively), while stone and flint represent only 2% (2%). The remaining 2% (2%) consist of various other materials, of which glass is the most common one while metal is very rare.

The first stage of processing the finds of the *Riu Mannu* survey takes place in Sardinia and involves the registration of the materials collected. The second stage of finds processing, the actual description and identification of the finds, is carried out in Leiden[41]. The transects constitute the units of analysis which starts with the examination and description of the qualitative finds from find concentrations ('sites'); they are the most diagnostic

[41] The permit to export the material temporarily to the Netherlands has been conceded by the *Ufficio Esportazione* (dr.ssa L. Siddi and dr. C. Tronchetti) through the kind intervention of dr.ssa D. Mureddu (*Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano*). It is essential for laboratory analysis at the Department of Pottery Technology in Leiden.

and will give clues to the nature of the finds collected in the sampling points. Using this information as a background the quantitative collections from the sites are then described and as far as possible identified. Finally, the remaining *off-site* finds from the transect are put through the same process. As explained above, the quantitative data constitute the basis for further statistical and spatial analyses. Since ceramics and obsidian are categories with clearly distinct features, they are examined separately.

With regard to ceramics, this material constitutes the bulk of the finds (84% of our sample), thus representing the principal tool for answering the questions posed by the research project. Gathering all finds at the collection points has entailed the decision to regard the sherds that were picked up as if they had been excavated. This means that the ceramic material is subjected to the same methods of recording and analysis as applied to pottery excavated in a stratigraphical context[42]. The finds, both qualitative and quantitative, are divided into four classes according to their overall texture: very coarse, coarse, medium and fine. This classification also applies to eroded sherds, which at first sight appear to be without any diagnostic value. Next, within these four classes, the fragments are assigned to broad functional categories, which are more or less suitable to all periods: building materials, *dolia* and other large storage jars, transport amphorae, so-called utilitarian wares, cooking pots, table wares, and miscellaneous objects (oil lamps, terracotta figurines etc.). Within these basic categories, the analysis of the different fabrics is then carried out[43]. Eventually the fragments are, as far as possible, described in detail: texture, fabric, functional category, shape, finishing (treatment of the surface and decoration), manufacturing technique, provenance, typo-chronological data, bibliography and, if applicable, graphic and photographic documentation. Obviously in the processing and recording of the quantitatively collected sherds, weight and numbers of the fragments assigned to each of the four basic categories are important. More important, however, is the quantitative registration of the different fabrics that have been distinguished within the basic categories (table 1). From the above it is clear that major importance is attached to the fabric definition. In this respect, the composition of the clay matrix and its characteristics, complemented by the grain size distribution, has proved to be as informative as the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the inclusions[44]. Identification and dating of the finds are the basis and *conditio sine qua non* for answers to further-reaching questions about the characteristics of the different 'contexts', the functional associations, the relative density of the different categories in the various periods, and the calibration of the data[45]. A major handicap for the identification of surface finds is, as is well known, the loss of the formal and decorative characteristics. The more fragile artefacts from the pre- and proto-historical periods obviously suffer most, but the stronger products from the later periods can be equally affected by erosion and fragmentation. As the fabric is often the only available datum, it seems to sense to try and define the most common fabrics in each transect[46].

The second important find category, obsidian (12.5% in our sample), is very different from ceramics in every respect: while post-depositional factors are detrimental to the latter, the former is almost unaffected by it; ploughing may even result in an addition of pseudo-tools to the archaeological record. But also, worked obsidian flakes[47] are not well suited for dating purposes (the same holds for the occasional pieces of flint). At the most general level of analysis and description primary, secondary and tertiary preparation flakes are distinguished from cores, blanks and tools; these classes are crossed with the three optically different types of obsidian, banded, translucent, and opaque[48].

[42] Analysis and processing are carried out according to the methods generally employed at the Department of Pottery Technology (University of Leiden): Jacobs 1993; Van As 1991/92.

[43] Fabric is the spatial arrangement and the relationship between the three components of the texture: matrix, grains and voids: Stienstra 1986. See also Orton, Tyers and Vince 1993, 132-151, 231-242.

[44] Annis 1992; Annis forthcoming.

[45] Millet 1987; 1991a; 1991b.

[46] At this moment some fabrics have been distinguished only macroscopically (using a binocular microscope). Thin section analysis will follow in time.

[47] The Monte Arci, the only known source of quality obsidian in Sardinia (Tykot 1992), is located in the heart of the research area. On the island obsidian has been worked from the Early Neolithic to the beginnings of the Iron Age. Three optically distinct varieties of this volcanic glass derive from four or five sources on the slopes of this mountain (Hallam, Warren and Renfrew 1976; Tykot 1992). They have been mined at several places, and 89 workshops are on record (Puxeddu 1958). Obsidian is also available from secondary deposits downslope in the glacis to the west and south of the Monte Arci: natural pieces of obsidian of several kilogrammes can be found in particular along the northern bank of the Riu Mògoro and in lesser quantities along the numerous small streams that dissect the western pediment. Here, and farther afield occasional 'stations' with traces of obsidian working are encountered (*e.g.*, Atzeni 1992).

[48] Roughly equivalent to the A, B and C varieties respectively: Tykot 1992.

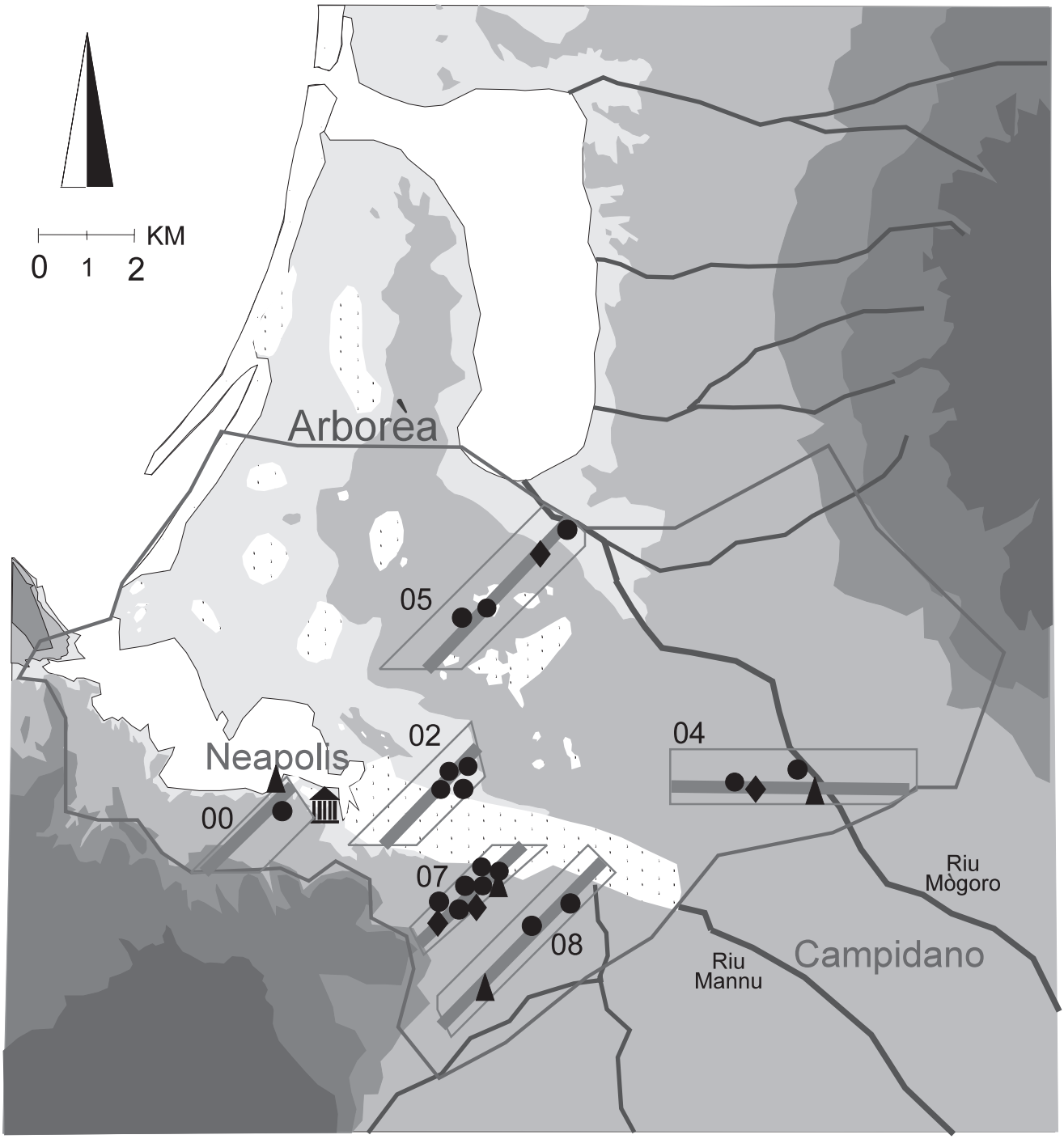


Fig. 5. Map of the southern Arborèa, showing the Riu Mannu Estuary key area and the six transects surveyed until 1994 (nrs. 00-02-04-05-07-08). The symbols in the transects indicate the sites located by the survey dating from the prenuragic (▲), nuragic (◆) and Punic-Roman (●) periods (height 0-5-50-100-300 m above sea level) (drawing by Peter van Dommelen.

Individual cores, blanks and tools are further described on metrical and technological variables. The other gross find categories, "stone" and "other" not even accounting for 2% of the finds each, are sometimes disproportionately important for interpretation: (fragments of) milling stones or glass, architectural pieces contribute towards settlement definition and sometimes even dating. Flint, rare among our survey finds, is treated similarly to obsidian.

SOME PRELIMINARY RESULTS: FIELDWORK

The *Riu Mannu* survey fieldwork campaigns take place yearly in late September and October. At that time of the year, the grapes have just been harvested and autumn ploughing starts, which makes for excellent survey conditions: because of the absence of crops access to fields is easily obtained. So far, one trial season (1992) and two fully fledged campaigns (1993, 1994) have been held. At the time of writing, nine transects have been surveyed to a total lenght of 30.0 km. The processing of finds has just concluded the experimental phase, which concerned all finds (mostly pottery) from the *Santa Chiara*- transect (*Fig. 5*, no. 02) and is summarily described in the next section. They served as a pilot study, because the finds appeared to be relatively homogeneous. For the transects that have been surveyed some general, preliminary observations are made below mainly about the landscapes, and also some general statistics of major find concentrations will be reported.

The key area around the mouth of the Riu Mannu river *(Fig. 5)* is partitioned into three strips of land by the two rivers flowing almost East-West through it. Until now, six transects have been surveyed here, three in the southern strip, and three in the centre.

The southern part of this area is physically an extension of the Campidano plain to the SE of it; it is a rather narrow strip of land delimited to the S/SW by the steep Iglesiente range, and to the N by the lower reaches of the Riu Mannu river and the San Giovanni lagoon. Geologically it consists of the pediment of the mountains, made up of two terraces with in places a steep step of several metres; especially the upper terrace is dissected by gullies. On its northern edge the lower terrace ends in a bluff of 4-5 m above the Riu Mannu sediments[49]. Presently largely reclaimed, the former brackish fenlands extend over a width of c. 1 km to either side of the Riu Mannu canalization. The area between the Riu Mannu and Riu Mògoro stream valleys, the low Terralba rise, is of mostly aeolian origins, and especially in the S and W sizable dunes can be found. In the central and western parts of this rise, clayey subsoils have given rise to sometimes extensive freshwater bogs ('*pauli*', in the Sardinian language). The knoll gently slopes towards the alluvial deposits of the Riu Mannu and Riu Mògoro which consist of clayey sands. Both rivers have been regularized in the first half of this century, yet former levees, oxbows, backswamps etc. can still be clearly discerned. The third subarea, N of the Riu Mògoro stretching towards the (long extinct) Monte Arci volcano, is again a strip of Campidano, in this case made up of the pediment of the Monte Arci. Here, as to the south of the Riu Mannu, the soils consist of an ill-sorted array of pebbles, sand and even clay.

Archaeologically, the area has proven rich (cf. *Fig. 5*): average densities per transect have ranged from 0.8 to 4.6 pieces per square metre (8,000-46,000 pcs/ha), with the highest figures on the Terralba rise. While everywhere the majority of the finds consists of pottery sherds, two places with high obsidian counts should be mentioned: in the *Perda Clara* transect (no. 04 in *Fig. 5*), nearest to the Monte Arci, where obsidian fragments occur naturally in the colluvial deposits, 31% of the finds are of obsidian (including some unworked fragments), and in the *Saboccu* transect (no. 00 in *Fig. 5*), which is farthest from this obsidian source, obsidian accounts for 37% of the finds (for the majority flakes/blades, with a local density of approx. 2 flakes/m^2). An important concentration of sherds, obsidian and flint flakes, which has generically been dated to the 'prenuragic' period, has been located on the eastern slope of the Terralba rise near the Riu Mògoro. Two more prenuragic sites have been located on the higher grounds of the southern strip.

Two nuragic period sites have been encountered in the southern strip of the key area, and two more on the Terralba rise, one of which near the former bank of the Sassu lagoon where a vast agglomeration of finds, suggestive of a settlement of dispersed huts, was observed.

The overwhelming majority of sites in this key area, however, is of Punic or Roman age[50]. All of these are located either in the immediate vicinity of

[49] Formerly the Riu Mannu valley will have been deeper, as only in Roman times did the sea level attain its present datum, causing the valley to be silted up (possibly hastened by the construction of a causeway across the laguna by the Romans, if not their predecessors: Delano Smith 1978).

[50] 19 out of 27 sites located in this area have been dated to the Punic or Roman period (3 of which lie outside the statistically defined sample grid).

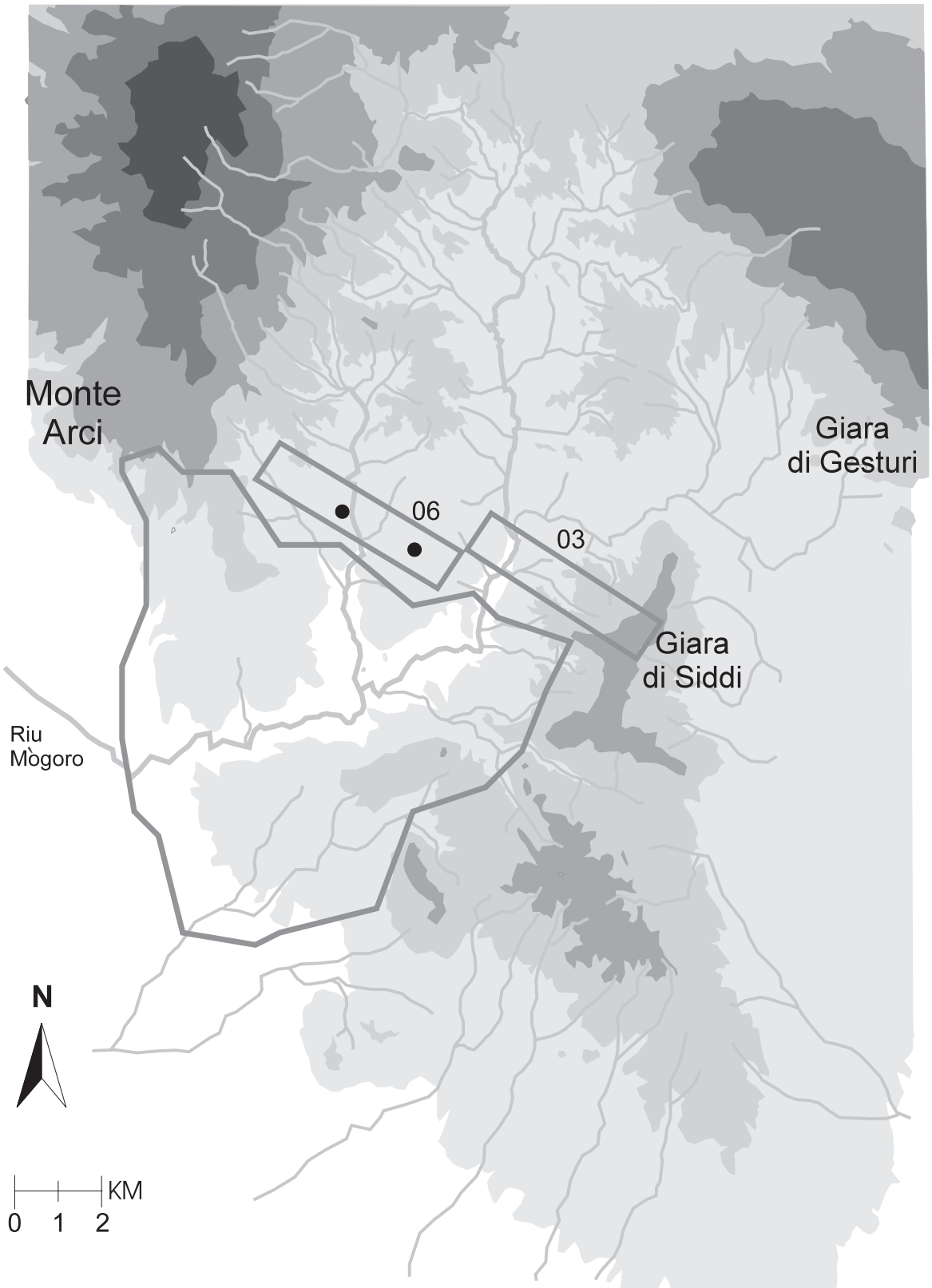


Fig. 6. Map of the Marmilla hills and upper Riu Mògoro course and tributaries showing the Riu Mògoro Gorge key area and the two transects examined just outside it (nrs 03 and 06). (The symbols in the transects indicate the sites located by the survey dating from the Punic-Roman (●) periods (height 100-200-300-400-500 m above sea level) (drawing by Peter van Dommelen).

the Riu Mannu or Riu Mògoro stream beds or on the Terralba sandy rise. In the first case, the sites cluster invariably on the lower pediment terrace S of the river and on the alluvial deposits just N of it. The site density in this period is consequently considerable, arriving maximally at c. 5.5 sites per km^2. As the sites cluster in only a limited part of the area, the actual density may locally have been still higher, as *e.g.* in transect 02, where three contemporaneous sites are located at distances of only a few hundreds of metres (cf. below). The contrast with modern settlement is considerable, as only one abandoned farm is nowadays located on the sample grid. The nearby location of the town of *Neapolis* must have contributed significantly to the development of rural settlement in this key area during these centuries. In fact, the periods covered by these sites, ranging from the Classical Punic period (5th century B.C.) to later Imperial Roman times (4th century A.D.) roughly coincide with the supposed period of existence of this town. Most of the sites are characterized by the abundant presence of roof tiles as well as both coarse and fine wares. Worked stone elements also occur (cf. the preliminary results of transect 02 presented below).

In the Marmilla, two transects have been surveyed in the area north of the Riu Mògoro gorge key area *(Fig. 6)*. They span the area almost completely from SE to NW, perpendicular to the general direction of the two major valleys of the Flumineddu and the Riu Mannu (both upper courses of the Riu Mògoro). The Marmilla basin, drained by these rivers, consists of marl and chalk hills and is surrounded by volcanic land forms: the Monte Arci volcano to the west, in the NE and E the Gèsturi plateau and in the SE the Siddi table mountain. The two table mountains are solidified lava flows capping the underlying marls and protecting these from erosion, which elsewhere in the basin has resulted in the characteristic rounded hills. The valleys in between are rather sinuous and narrow.
Along the rivers small strips of alluvial soil are intensively cultivated nowadays; the loamy bottom lands between the hills more extensively. Archaeologically, find densities are low: on the average 1.3 and 2.3 pcs/m^2 have been brought in. Mainly in the lower tracts of our Marmilla transects we have met with a thin *off site* spread of (sub)recent pottery sherds from Campidanese workshops and on the slope and top of the Siddi table mountain an occasional worked obsidian flake has been found. A small Roman graveyard was discovered and also a small 'activity locus' (for want of a better term) in a pass *(Fig. 6)*. In comparison with the much higher find and site densities in the Riu Mannu estuary key area the finds from these two transects suggest that our division of the landscape into primary and secondary strata is indeed a reflection of the archaeological record. There is possibly also a contrast between archaeological and modern site densities in the Marmilla: 0.2 sites/km^2 (small, premodern) were found, whereas we crossed one modern farmcourt, one village, and one cemetery.

SOME PRELIMINARY RESULTS: POTTERY

As a first step in the analysis of the pottery, a pilot study was set up. The main goal was to get a clear picture of the problems, in particular with a view to building a suitable data-base. For this purpose, we have chosen the Santa Chiara transect, which is situated at the heart of the Riu Mannu estuary key area (no. 02, *Fig. 7*). This transect is relatively rich in concentrations ('sites') and the collected material is sufficiently varied, but not too heterogeneous.

In anticipation of a full report about the finds collected and the distribution patterns recorded in the Santa Chiara transect, some preliminary results can be pointed out.
The macroscopical analysis of the qualitative collection of this transect has produced, among other things, the identification of a number of fabrics. One of these is assumed to be local since it is well represented in several periods, and also used for building material. This fabric (labelled A) has an iron-bearing (reddish brown), fairly porous matrix with a large amount (20-35%) of poorly sorted inclusions with an angular/sub-angular rounding. Quartz, both the colourless and milky variety, and felspars are dominant. Rock fragments, iron-manganese nodules and mica flakes are also present, but in much smaller amounts. Dark small grains of volcanic material (presumably amphibole) occur sporadically. This fabric is not only used for tiles and bricks, but also for *dolia* (huge storage jars) with finger imprints on the rim and foot as well as for massive so-called *salvacenere* ('ash-shields'; see *Fig. 8*, no. 1)[51]. Both of these can be ascribed to the Punic period, as similar items have been found in Carthage and Tharros[52]. Many amphorae and basins *(bacili)* dating from the same period are characterized by the same fabric (*Fig. 8*, nrs 2 and

[51] Taramelli 1918, 140; Zucca 1987, 83, 186.
[52] Vegas 1989, 259 and Acquaro and Uberti 1984, tav. XVII.

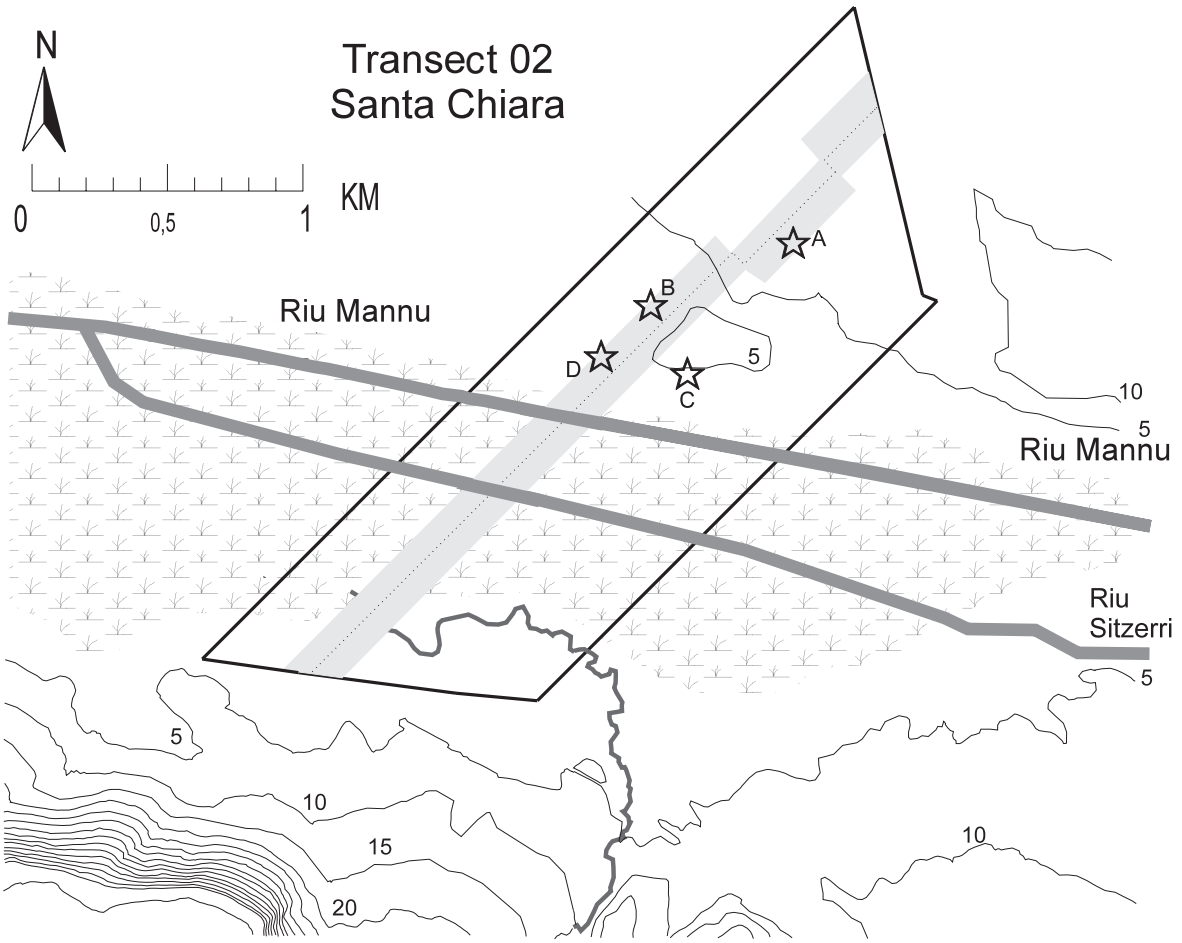


Fig. 7. The Santa Chiara transect (02), showing the sample grid examined and the sites located by the survey. The shown courses of the Riu Mannu river and its tributary the Riu Sitzerri are those as canalized in this century; the extent of the Riu Mannu estuary swamps has approximately been reconstructed for the later first millennium B.C. (altitudes in m above sea level).

3). The clay was presumably quarried near the Riu Mannu river[53]. A fairly large number of yellowish-red, calcareous and quite compact sherds with a smaller amount of inclusions initially appeared to make up one more or less coherent fabric[54]. Binocular analysis, however, has shown that this group consists of a few distinct fabrics, which still have to be defined in detail. The clay of at least one group, which contains micro-fossiles among the inclusions, might come from the small peninsula of Capo Frasca, where Miocene marls surface in places. The origin of another fabric (labelled D) has been identified in coastal Tunesia[55]. Thin section analysis has proved this fabric to be almost identical to Phoenician amphorae from an excavation in Carthage[56]. This shows once again the importance of comparing survey finds with excavated and well-dated material[57]. Unfortunately, only emergency excavations have taken place in

[53] We intend to collect clay samples in the area for comparison.
[54] Annis, Van Dommelen and Van de Velde 1993-94, 40.
[55] This is significant in view of the colonization of Sardinia (Van Dommelen, in press).
[56] The excavation is a project of the University of Hamburg, directed by Hans Georg Niemeyer with the assistance of Roald Docter of the University of Amsterdam (Niemeyer, Docter et al. 1993; see also Docter 1994). Different types of Phoenician amphorae from the excavation have been analyzed at the Department of Pottery Technology. According to the excavators, the type discussed here is an amphora which was produced in Carthage from the late 8th century until the 5th century B.C.
[57] Cf. int. al. Yntema 1993, 9-10; Attema 1993, 208, 261-263.

the study area, which represents a serious obstacle for this type of research[58].

Finally, as to the character of the settlements in the Santa Chiara transect, it can provisionally be said that the bulk of the ceramic material of the three sites A, B and D can be dated to the Punic period: 4-3th century B.C.[59], although a slightly earlier date cannot be excluded[60]. The presence of probably imported black glaze table wares (so-called 'Attic') in site 02-B may indicate a slightly earlier date for this site (late 5th-early 4th century B.C.: *Fig. 9*). All sites are characterized by the presence of roof tiles, large storage jars, Punic transport amphorae, cooking pots and basins. It is inferred, therefore, that they represent permanently inhabited farms not only involved in agriculture, but also with access to (colonial) trading networks. Their location and the distribution of the off-site finds support this idea. Sites 02-A and 02-D have yielded remarkably few fine wares, while site 02-D presents a high number of Punic transport amphorae. Its position on the northern bank of the river, close to the city of Neapolis, might suggest a commercial function.

APPENDIX

Catalogue of finds shown

Fig. 8

no. 1: inv. no. 02.56.250.33x (site 02-A). *Dolium*: triangular outflaring rim decorated with large impressions in the shape of 'finger-imprints' with smaller circular impressions in between. Fabric A. Similar fragments

[58] The recently started systematic excavations in Pinn'e Maiolu directed by Ubaldo Badas (Villanovaforru, Marmilla) represent a welcome exception.

[59] 'Periodo punico 2': Barreca 1986, 11.

[60] Site C is located outside the sample grid and has therefore neither been surveyed systematically nor considered in the quantative analysis.

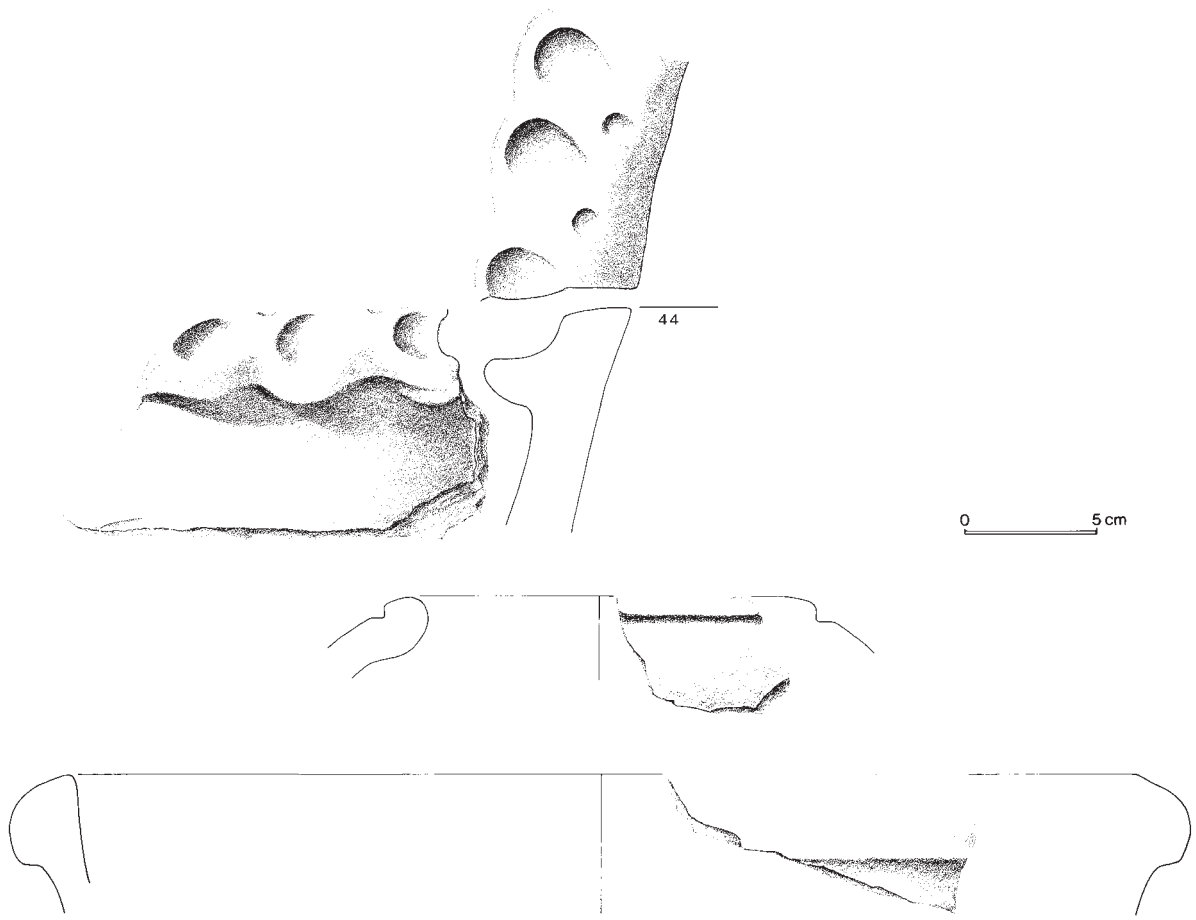


Fig. 8. Selection of Punic finds from the Santa Chiara transect (cf. catalogue) (drawing by Erick van Driel,

Fig. 9. Selection of finds of imported Attic Black Glaze ware from the Santa Chiara transect (cf. catalogue) (drawing by Erick van Driel, Archeologisch Centrum, Leiden).

have been found in Tharros (Acquaro and Uberti 1984, 71 tav. XVII, no. 1 THT 83/38/3) and Carthage (Lancel, Morel and Thuiller 1982, 218 fig. 66, A 150-20).

no. 2: inv. no. 02.56.250.41x (site 02-A). Punic transport (neckless) amphora: fragment of the rim, which is internally expanded and off-set from the body by a narrow groove. Fabric A. These amphorae are well-known throughout the western Mediterranean in the Punic period and have been dated in the V to III centuries B.C. (cf. an example found in Sardinia, S. Antioco: Bartoloni 1988a, 95 fig. 6e). In west central Sardinia, similar amphorae fragments have been found in Tharros (Blasco Arasanz 1989, 267 fig. 1-6, no. THT 88/9/2/1) and the Marmilla (Gatto 1985, 181 tav. LI, no. 741). The shape appears to be Bartoloni's type D4, which is dated to the 5th century B.C. (Bartoloni 1988b, 47 fig. 9). Because of the absence of fragments of the shoulder and body, however, it is impossible to identify the fragment with any certainty.

no. 3: inv. no. 02.68.178.86x (site 02-D). Large and deep bowl *(bacile)*: rim fragment belonging to the type *via Brenta IV*, which is dated to the IV-III century B.C. (Chessa 1992, 108). It is characterized by an expanded rounded, almond-shaped rim. Fabric A. A similar bowl, dated to the later III century B.C. has been found in Carthage (Lancel 1979, 54 fig. 64, no. 157.60). In west central Sardinia, similar bowls are known from Tharros in both plain (Gaudina 1994, 243-244 fig. 1: type A1) and decorated versions (Manfredi 1991, fig. 2c).

Fig. 9

no. 1: inv. no. 02.71.211.065x (site 02-B). So-called fish-plate: floor fragment on a ring-shaped foot which is slightly grooved, sloping in the centre to a dip hole. The fragment shows extensive remains of a dark brown gloss, except for the dip hole, which is dark red. A similar plate has been found in the Nora necropolis and is dated to the middle of the IV century B.C. (Bartoloni and Tronchetti 1981, 129 fig. 10, no. 101.16.3). The absence of the rim precludes a more precise dating.

no. 2: inv. no. 02.71.211.004x (site 02-B). Bowl: fragment of the incurving rim and the inwardly curving body, covered with a shining black glaze. The form is close to the so-called coppa L21, which dates to the end of the 5th century B.C. Cf. similar pieces from the Nora necropolis (Bartoloni and Tronchetti 1981, 129 fig. 10, no. 103.16.5) and from the via Brenta excavations in Cagliari (Tronchetti 1992, 70 tav. XXIX, no. 37-130).

References

Acquaro, E. and M. Uberti 1984, Lo scavo del 1983 (Tharros X), *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 12, 53-71.

Alcock, S.E., J.F. Cherry and J.L. Davis 1994, Intensive survey, agricultural practice and the classical landscape of Greece, in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, Cambridge, 137-170.

Annis, M.B. 1992, Ricerche mineralogico-petrografiche e analisi fisico-chimica di campioni ceramici provenienti da diversi contesti romani, in L. Paroli (ed.), *Ceramica invetriata tardoromana e altomedievale in Italia*, Firenze, 603-620.

Annis, M.B. forthcoming, Ceramic ethno-archaeology in Sardinia (Italy): thin-section analysis and the potter's craft, *Journal of Field Archaeology*.

Annis, M.B., P.A.R. van Dommelen and P. van de Velde 1993/1994, The *Riu Mannu* survey project in west central Sardinia: a first interim report, *Newsletter Department of Pottery Technology Leiden University* 11/12, 31-44.

As, A. van 1991/92, Pottery Technology: the bridge between archaeology and the laboratory, *Newsletter Department Pottery Technology Leiden University* 9/10, 1-6.

Attema, P.A.J. 1993, *An Archeological Survey in the Pontine Region. A contribution to the early settle-*

ment history of South Lazio (900-100 BC), Groningen (Ph.D. Thesis).
Attolini, I. et al. 1991, Political geography and productive geography between the valleys of the Albegna and the Fiora in northern Etruria, in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds.), *Roman landscapes*, London, 142-152.
Atzeni, E. 1992, Reperti neolitici nell' Oristanese, in *Sardinia Antiqua. Studi in onore di Piero Meloni*, Cagliari, 21-54.
Barker, G. 1985, Landscape archaeology in Italy, in C. Malone and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV, vol. 1. The human landscape* (BAR International Series 243), Oxford, 1-19.
Barker, G. 1991, Approaches to archaeological survey, in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds.), *Roman landscapes*, London, 1-9.
Barker, G. and J. Lloyd (eds.) 1991, *Roman landscapes*, London.
Barreca, F. 1986, *La civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna* (Sardegna Archeologica Studi e Monumenti 3), Sassari.
Bartoloni, P. 1988[a], Anfore fenicie e puniche da Sulcis (S. Antioco: Area del Cronicario, Campagne di scavo 1983-86), *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 16, 91-110.
Bartoloni, P. 1988[b], *Le anfore fenicie e puniche di Sardegna*, (Studia Punica 4), Roma.
Bartoloni, P. and C. Tronchetti 1981, *La necropoli di Nora*, (Collezione di Studi Fenici 12), Roma.
Bender, B. 1992, Theorising landscape and the prehistoric landscapes of Stonehenge, *Man* 27, 735-755.
Bintliff, J. 1992, Appearance and reality: understanding the buried landscape through new techniques in field survey, in M. Bernardi (ed.), *L'archeologia del paesaggio*, vol. 2 (Atti del IV Ciclo della ricerca applicata in campo archeologico, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena), 14-26 gennaio 1991), Firenze, 89-137.
Bintliff, J.L. and A.M. Snodgrass 1985, The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the First Four Years, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12, 123-161.
Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988a = Bintliff, J.L. and A.M. Snodgrass 1988, Off-site pottery distributions: a regional and interregional perspective, *Current Anthropology* 29, 506-513.
Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988b = Bintliff, J.L. and A.M. Snodgrass 1988, Mediterranean survey and the city, *Antiquity* 62, 57-71.
Blasco Arasanz, M. 1989, Las ánforas de la campaña de 1988 (Tharros XV-XVI), *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 17, 263-284.
Brigaglia, M. 1987, La geografia nella storia della Sardegna, in M. Guidetti (ed.), *Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, vol. I, Milano, 1-39.
Cambi, F. 1986, L'archeologia di uno spazio geografico: il progetto topografico dell'Ager Cosanus-Valle dell'Albegna, *Archeologia Medievale* 13, 527-544.
Cherry, J.F. 1983, Frogs around the pond: perspectives on current archaeological survey projects in the Mediterranean region, in D.R. Keller and D.W. Rupp (eds.), *Archaeological survey in the Mediterranean area,* (BAR International Series) 155, Oxford, 375-416.
Chessa, I. 1992, Le forme aperte, in C. Tronchetti et al., Lo scavo di via Brenta a Cagliari. I livelli fenicio-punici e romani, *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Caglari e di Oristano* 9, Supplemento, 95-121.
Delano Smith, C.1978, Coastal sedimentation, lagoons and ports in Italy, in H. Blake, T. Potter and D. Whitehouse (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, Vol. I, (BAR International Series) 41, Oxford, 25-33.
Docter, R.F. 1994, Karthagische Amphoren aus Toscanos, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 35, 23-139, Table 7.
Dommelen, P.A.R. van 1992, Una rivalutazione di ricognizioni estensive: il caso dello Scarlino survey, in M. Bernardi (ed.), *L'archeologia del paesaggio*, vol. 2, (Atti del IV Ciclo della ricerca applicata in campo archeologico, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena), 14-26 gennaio 1991), Firenze, 859-876.
Dommelen, P.A.R. van, in press, Some reflections on urbanization in a colonial context, *Acta Hyperborea* 7 (Proceedings of the symposium on urbanization in the Mediterranean, 9th-6th century BC, 18-20 May 1994).
Dyson, S. and R. Rowland jr, 1990, Conservatism and change in Roman rural Sardinia, in A. Mastino (ed.) *L'Africa Romana* 7 (Atti del VII Convegno di Studio, Sassari, 15-17 dicembre 1989), Sassari, 525-532.
Dyson, S. and R. Rowland jr, 1992, Survey and settlement reconstruction in west-central Sardinia, *AJA* 96, 203-224.
Gatto, R. 1985, Anfore, in C. Lilliu (ed.), *Territorio di Gesturi. Censimento archeologico*, Cagliari, 181-186.
Gaudina, E. 1994, Bacini punici non decorati da Tharros: appunti per una tipologia (Tharros XX), *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 22, 243-247.
Hallam, R., S.E. Warren and C. Renfrew 1976, Obsidian in the western Mediterranean, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 42, 85-110.
Jacobs, L. 1983, A summary of the research methods, *Newsletter Department Pottery Technology Leiden University* 1, 34-35.
Judge, W.J., J.I. Ebert and R.K. Hitchkock 1975, Sampling in Regional Archaeological Survey, in J.W. Mueller (ed.), *Sampling in Archaeology*, Tucson, 82-123.
Lancel, S. 1979, *Byrsa I. Mission archéologique française à Carthage. Rapport préliminaire des fouilles 1974-1976* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 41), Rome.
Lancel, S., J.P. Morel and J.P. Thuiller 1982, *Byrsa II. Mission archéologique française à Carthage. Rapports préliminaires des fouilles 1977-1978: niveaux et vestiges puniques*. (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 41), Rome.
Le Lannou, M. 1979, *Pastori e contadini di Sardegna*, Cagliari (Italian translation of *Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne*, Tours 1941).
Lewthwaite, J. 1988, Trial by durée: a review of historical-geographical concepts relevant to the archaeology of settlement on Corsica and Sardinia, in J. Bintliff, D. Davidson and E. Grant (eds.), *Conceptual issues in environmental archaeology*, Edinburgh, 161-186.
Maccioni, L. and R. Melis 1989, Esempio di cartografia tematica integrata per la pianificazione del territorio, *Bollettino dell'A.I.C.* 75-76, 111-119.

Manfredi, L.-I. 1991, Repertorio decorativo dei bacini punici di Tharros. Campagne 1988-1990 (Tharros XVII), *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 19, 191-213.
Millet, M. 1987, A question of time? Aspects of the future of pottery studies, *Bulletin of the University of London Institute of Archaeology* 25, 99-108.
Millet 1991a = Millet, M. 1991, Pottery population or supply patterns? The Ager Tarraconensis approach, in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds.), *Roman Landscapes,* London, 18-26.
Millet 1991b = Millet, M. 1991, Roman towns and their territories: an archaeological perspective, in J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and country in the Ancient World*, London/New York, Routledge, 169-189.
Nance, J. and B. Ball 1986, No surprises? The reliability and validity of test pit sampling, *American Antiquity* 51, 457-483.
Niemeyer, H.G., R.F. Docter et al. 1993, Die Grabung unter dem Decumanus Maximus von Karthago. Vorbericht über die Kampagnen 1986-1991, *Römische Mitteilungen* 100, 201-244, Tables 52-59.
Orton, C., P. Tyers and A. Vince 1993, *Pottery in archaeology*, Cambridge.
Plog, S. 1976, Relative efficiencies of sampling techniques for archaeological surveys, in K.V. Flannery (ed.), *The early Mesoamerican village*, New York, 136-158.
Progetto i nuraghi 1990, *I reperti - Ricognizione archeologica in Ogliastra, Barbagia, Sarcidano*, Milano.
Puxeddu, C. 1958, Giacimenti di ossidiana del Monte Arci in Sardegna e sua irradiazione, *Studi Sardi* 14-15, 10-59.
Redman, C. 1987, Surface collection, sampling, and research design: a retrospective, *American Antiquity* 52, 249-265.
Rendeli, M. and M. Botto 1993, Nora II. Prospezione a Nora, 1992, *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano* 10, 151-189.
Rowland, R. jr. and S. Dyson 1991, Survey archaeology in Sardinia, in G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds.), *Roman Landscapes*, London, 54-60.
Schofield, A. 1991, Interpreting artefact scatters: an introduction, in A. Schofield (ed.), *Interpreting artefact scatters,* Oxford, 3-8.
Sebis, S. 1987, Ricerche archeologiche nel Sinis centromeridionale. Nuove acquisizioni di età nuragica, in *La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo tra il secondo e il primo millennio a.C.* (Atti del II convegno di studi 'Un millennio di relazioni fra la Sardegna e i paesi del Mediterraneo', Selargius-Cagliari 27-30 novembre 1986), Cagliari, 107-116.
Seuffert, O. 1970, *Die Reliefentwicklung der Grabenregion Sardiniens. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung von Fussflächsystemen* (Würzburger geographische Arbeiten 24), Würzburg.
Shennan, S. 1985, *Experiments in the collection and analysis of archaeological survey data: the East Hampshire survey*, Sheffield.
Snodgrass, A.M. 1987, *An Archaeology of Greece*, Berkeley.
Stienstra, P. 1986, Systematic macroscopic description of the texture and composition of ancient pottery: some basic methods, *Newsletter Department Pottery Technology Leiden University* 4, 28-48.
Stoddart, S. and N. Whitehead 1991, Cleaning the Iguvine stables: site and off-site analysis from a central Mediterranean perspective, in A. Schofield (ed.), *Interpreting artefact scatters: contributions to ploughzone archaeology,* Oxford, 141-148.
Taramelli, A. 1918, Il tempio nuragico di S. Anastasia in Sardara (Prov. di Cagliari), in A. Taramelli 1982, *Scavi e scoperte 1918-1921* (Sardegna archeologica, Reprints), Sassari, 85-163.
Terrenato, N. 1992, La ricognizione della Val di Cecina: l'evoluzione di una metodologia di ricerca, in M. Bernardi (ed.), *Archeologia del paesaggio* (IV ciclo di lezioni sulla ricerca applicata in archeologia, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena), 14-26 gennaio 1991), Firenze, 561-596.
Tore, G. and A. Stiglitz 1987, Gli insediamenti fenicio-punici nel Sinis settentrionale e nelle zone contermini (ricerche archeologiche 1979-1987), *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano* 4, 161-174.
Tronchetti, C. 1992, La ceramica attica a vernice nera, in C. Tronchetti *et al*., Lo scavo di via Brenta a Cagliari. I livelli fenicio-punici e romani, *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano* 9, Supplemento, 67-83.
Trump, D.1990, *Nuraghe Noeddos and the Bonu Ighinu Valley – excavation and survey in Sardinia*, Oxford.
Tykot, R.H. 1992, The sources and distribution of Sardinian obsidian, in R.H. Tykot and T.K. Andrew (eds.), *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: a footprint in the sea*, Sheffield, 57-70.
Vegas, M. 1989, Archaische und mittelpunische Keramik aus Karthago. Grabungen 1987/1988, *Römische Mittelungen* 96, 209-265.
Velde, P. van de 1984, Gunung Wingko: the 1982 surface survey, *Modern Quaternary Research in Southeast Asia* 8, 165-176.
Wilkinson, T.J. 1990, Soil development and early land use in the Jazira region, Upper Mesopotamia, *World Archaeology* 22, 87-103.
Yntema, D.G. 1993, *In Search of an Ancient Countryside. The Amsterdam Free University Field Project at Oria, Province of Brindisi, South Italy (1981-1983)*,(Scrinium 6), Amsterdam.
Zucca, R. 1987, *Neapolis e il suo territorio*, Oristano.

VAKGROEP ARCHEOLOGIE
ARCHEOLOGISCH CENTRUM
POSTBUS 9515
NL-2300 RA LEIDEN

BaBesch 70 (1995)

Romanisation in the Brindisino, southern Italy: a preliminary report

Douwe Yntema

I. INTRODUCTION

Romanisation is a widely and often indiscriminately used term. The process expressed by the word involves at least two parties: one of these is the Roman world and the other party or parties is or are one or more non-Roman societies. These are the basic ingredients which are present in each definition, be it explicit or implicit, of that term. Many scholars have given their views on what they think it should mean. Perhaps the most satisfactory definition was formulated by Martin Milett. In his view, Romanisation is not just another word to indicate Roman influence: 'it is a process of dialectical change rather than the influence of one … culture upon others' (Millett 1990).

The passage above indicates that the term is often used in a different sense in order to indicate changes – mostly in the material culture – in non-Roman societies generated by the interaction between these societies and the Roman world. Such phenomena can sometimes be considered to be culture adaptations as a result of a Romanisation process, but may also be due to other factors. This more 'materialistic' definition ignores the fact that Romanisation is basically a dialogue between two or more cultures, and not the (material) results of it in the originally non-Roman party. There are, however, more problems with this narrower definition. It should, for instance, be realized that not every change that can be observed in a non-Roman society coming into contact with the Roman world should necessarily be considered as the result of a Romanisation process. Societies tend to be subject to endogenous change. When a 'native' culture comes into contact with the Roman state, endogenous changes may well be mistaken for products of Romanisation. Finally, it should be realized that there is yet another complication. Culture contact with the Roman state and its dependencies sometimes acted as a catalytic agent in basically endogenous processes of change in originally non-Roman societies. Such processual accelerations do not look like Romanisation in the 'materialistic' definition of the term, but are certainly part of the process of dialectical change between Roman and non-Roman culture.

Romanisation is a highly complicated matter in southern Italy. Here, there was no culture dialogue involving two parties only. In the period preceding the Roman incorporation (4th century B.C.) this area was inhabited by several different groups: relative latecomers were the Greek-speaking people who had emigrated from present-day Greece and the west coast of Asia Minor to Italy in the 8th, 7th and 6th centuries; they lived mainly in the coastal strip on the Gulf of Taranto. Other ('native') groups had lived in southern Italy since the Bronze Age. Some groups in present-day Calabria and Campania displayed initially close links with the urnfield cultures of Central Italy. Comparable groups, living mainly in present-day Apulia and Basilicata and having closely similar material cultures, buried the corpses of their dead. They are sometimes indicated as the *Fossakulturen* (*e.g.*, Müller-Karpe 1959). While the Basilicata tribes spoke Osco-Sabellic tongues in protohistoric times, the language of the Apulian tribes was Messapic which has affinities with Illyrian (De Simone 1971).

As late as 300 B.C. the several native populations differed vastly in character. The extremes are represented by some Campanian groups and the north-Apulian tribes. The people of Capua and Pompeii were town dwellers, many of whom had their roots in the Campanian urnfield cultures. North-Apulian settlements such as Arpi and Canusium (now Canosa) still had a highly dispersed character; their inhabitants derived mostly from the Daunians, dominated by fairly primitive tribal élites until well into the 4th century B.C. The loose tribal confederacies of the Lucani (mainly in present-day Basilicata) and the Brettii (in Calabria), the Peucetii of the Bari area and the Calabri and Sallentini of southern Apulia represented various organisational levels between these two extremes. By the late 4th century B.C., the Greeks of South Italy lived in a series of politically more or less independent city states. Each of them was linked to a native hinterland with which close ties had existed since the very birth of these Greek settlements in the Iron Age. The Greek *poleis* of Italy were important elements in mainly native, Italic networks (Yntema 1993C). However, they were no less a part of the Greek trade diaspora that spanned

large stretches of the Mediterranean coast and that was sometimes closely linked to other Mediterranean systems, such as the Phoenician, the Etruscan, and the Cartaginian networks. From about 300 B.C. the Greek towns of South Italy began to be a part of the increasingly multicultural Hellenistic world. As a result of these developments, native territories of South Italy became peripherical districts of the Hellenistic world, not only geographically, but also in political, social, economic and cultural respects. South Italy, therefore, was already a very rich cultural blend before much of this area came into contact with the Roman world.

This paper deals with the Romanisation in the Brindisi area. Here, the term is applied to the integration process which followed the political incorporation of a formerly non-Roman society into the Roman state (see also Guzzo 1991). An ample series of such regional – usually interrelated – social, economic and cultural transformations resulted in the synthesis which we consider to be the Roman culture of the Imperial period: cultures, already cultural compounds of considerable complexity before they came into close contact with the Roman world, reacted, as it were, with a Roman culture (which was also an amalgam) and produced a vastly different culture, also labelled 'Roman'. The Romanisation of the Brindisi area (Italian: *il Brindisino*) was one of the processes that contributed to the formation of the Roman culture of the Imperial period: the cosmopolitan society that brought the Persian god Mithras to the Hadrian's Wall and soldiers from the originally Germanic *civitas Batavorum* to the brim of the Sahara desert. When the Romanisation of the Brindisi district started in c. 270/260 B.C., Roman culture, therefore, differed very considerably from what it would become in the course of the following three centuries, during which Rome conquered the Mediterranean area and north-western Europe: in the early 3rd century B.C. Rome still was a central-Italic state with central-Italic cultural traditions.

The Brindisi district was an originally native area that became incorporated into the Roman world rather suddenly. No close contacts between the Brindisino and the Roman state can be shown to have existed before the Roman conquest of the area. Moreover, cultural elements stemming from areas which by the early 3rd century B.C. were under direct or indirect Roman political control are conspicuous by their absence in the district under discussion.

This observation comes as no surprise. The Brindisino is the northern part of the Salento peninsula. This originally non-Greek and non-Roman district is some 600-700 km from Rome if one travels overland; the distance of a voyage by sea is much longer: it is roughly 1100-1200 km, because, coming from Rome, one has to pass the Strait of Messina, Cape Lacinia (near Croton) and Cape Leuca (the southern tip of Apulia) *(Figs. 1-2)*.
Salento was inhabited by one or more native tribes which the Greeks usually called *Messapioi* before the late 4th century B.C. and which were probably known as *Kalabroi* (Brindisi area) and *Sal(l)entinoi* (Lecce district) in the early Hellenistic period. Before the first Roman armies arrived in Salento, the district was too far from Rome and its spheres of political and economic influence and interest to maintain regular and intensive contacts with the town.
Salento controls the relatively narrow entrance to the Adriatic Sea, known now as the Strait of Otranto. It is relatively close to northwestern Greece and the island of Corfu. Therefore, it constituted a more or less obligatory point of call for seafaring between the southern Balkan and Magna Graecia. The district, moreover, bordered on the *chora* of the Greek *polis* of Taranto. It was, therefore, on the periphery of the Greek world. Because of the favourable geographical position of the area, its native inhabitants were in frequent and regular contact with Greeks from the 8th century B.C. onward (Yntema 1982). Consequently, the natives of Salento had sometimes focused on the Greek world, which was attractive because of the latter's considerable know-how of Mediterranean exchange networks. This happened especially after the colonial-Greek states had come into being in its vicinity: Taranto, founded towards the end of the 8th century according to the ancient sources (Bérard 1957), emerged as a recognizable, prosperous state in the last third of 7th century B.C.; the same applies to Corcyra. Greek settlements on the Epirote and south-Illyrian coast, such as, for instance, Apollonia and Epidamnus are likely to have gradually changed from trading posts into city states at a somewhat later date. In or even before the 6th century B.C. they became ports of trade between the tribal native networks and the large Mediterranean exchange networks so closely linked to the Greek and Phoenician trade diasporas. These regular contacts between individuals and groups belonging to at least two different cultures resulted in intricate acculturation and integration processes. Greeks, especially those living in the relatively new states close to native areas, were confronted with a native presence nearby on an

almost daily basis and must have adapted their original patterns in some way. Although these adaptations are not easy to trace for the archaeologist, because they hardly appear in *material* culture, they must have been very substantial indeed. Living near, and in close cooperation with, native tribes must have entailed forms of political and military organisation and economic patterns that differed substantially from those found in contemporary Greek city states surrounded by other Greek city states. The extremely rapid growth of the Greek colonies of southern Italy, such as Sybaris (later Thourioi/Copia), Siris/Heraclea, Metapontum and Taranto, suggests that people with native origins contributed very considerably to the formation of these Greek states by being among their first inhabitants. Unfortunately, systematic archaeological research aimed at uncovering the fundamental differences between colonial-Greek states and non-colonial *poleis* has not been initiated, undoubtedly because it will appear to be very laborious and time-consuming.

The regular and intensive contacts between Salento and the Greek world also resulted in native cultures that adapted in a number of ways to the Greek presence nearby. Some of the changes in their patterns are easier to detect, because the Salento tribes 'processed' an increasing quantity of originally Greek features, traces of which can be found in material culture. Periods characterised by massive 'processing' of Greek features and Greek cultural models alternated with periods in which innovations caused by Greek-native culture contact are difficult to detect. Sometimes even deliberate rejection of all things patently Greek can be surmised to have taken place in the native societies of Salento (Yntema 1982, 129). By the late 4th century B.C., however, the material culture of native Salento was hardly different from that found in neighbouring Greek territories. The fact that, to the casual observer, the material world of Messapians, Calabrians and Sallentinians looked fairly Greek, certainly does not imply that these people spoke Greek, thought Greek and acted as Greeks were supposed to do. Inscriptions, for instance, suggest that Messapic was spoken in Salento into the 1st century B.C. (Pagliara 1990).

The Romans made their appearance rather suddenly in south-eastern Italy. Conflicts with Samnites and other mountain tribes kept them busy in central Italy during the second half of the 4th and the first two decades of the 3rd century B.C. The first hint of Roman involvement in Salento affairs, however, concerns the year 307 B.C. According to Livy (IX.42.4-5) the consul L. Volumnius Flamma Violens fought some battles against the *Sallentini* and took an unspecified number of their towns by force. The reasons for these hostilities, however, remain obscure. In 302 B.C. Romans are said to have operated in Salento again. They are reported to have expelled a Greek adventurer named Cleonymus who had succeeded in capturing the otherwise unknown Salento town of *Thuriae* (Livy X.2.1). These sudden, completely unexpected and unprecedented Roman activities in the backyard of the powerful Greek state of Taranto as aired by Livy sound rather suspect and can probably be considered as figments of the imagination of Roman annalists (*e.g.* Wuilleumier [1987], 94-96). In the last decade of the 4th century B.C. Rome was probably mainly, if not exclusively, concerned with central-Italic affairs. Here the Samnite wars took up much of Rome's energy and entailed, for instance, the foundation of the Roman colonies of *Luceria* (314 B.C.) and *Venusia* (291 B.C.). Both settlements are on the fringes of the territory of the tribal Daunians in northern Apulia. One may, therefore, assume that many Salento tribesmen were hardly aware of the existence of Romans before they went to fight them in the Pyrrhic war.

The first intensive contacts between the population of Salento and the Romans, it appears, dated to 281 B.C. and were of unfriendly nature. In that year a dangerous conflict broke out between Rome, the dominant state of central Italy, and Taranto, which posed as the head of an Italiote league of southern Italy. The latter town was, in any case, the most important and most affluent centre in that part of Italy and is likely to have played a very crucial role in the trade activities between Sicily, southern Italy and Greece (Marasco 1988, 13 ff.). In the so-called Pyrrhic war, the Salento tribes of the *Calabri* and *Sallentini* sided with the Tarantines and the *condottiere* Pyrrhus of Epirus. This Greek warleader gained a series of disastrous victories, but when Pyrrhus failed to rout the Romans at the battle of Beneventum (275 B.C.), he left Italy, taking with him the vast majority of his forces. Without him the Tarantines and their allies were unable to withstand the Roman armies. The struggle, therefore, ended badly for the 'southern' confederacy.

When the Romans had conquered Taranto in 272 B.C., they started subduing their Salento allies (Zonaras VII.7). Both Livy (*Perioche* book XV) and Florus (I.15) indicate that Salento was conquered in 267/266. According to the *fasti triumphales* the consuls N. Fabius Pictor and D. Iunius Pera were conceded a triumph *de Sallentineis Messapieisque* in 266 B.C.

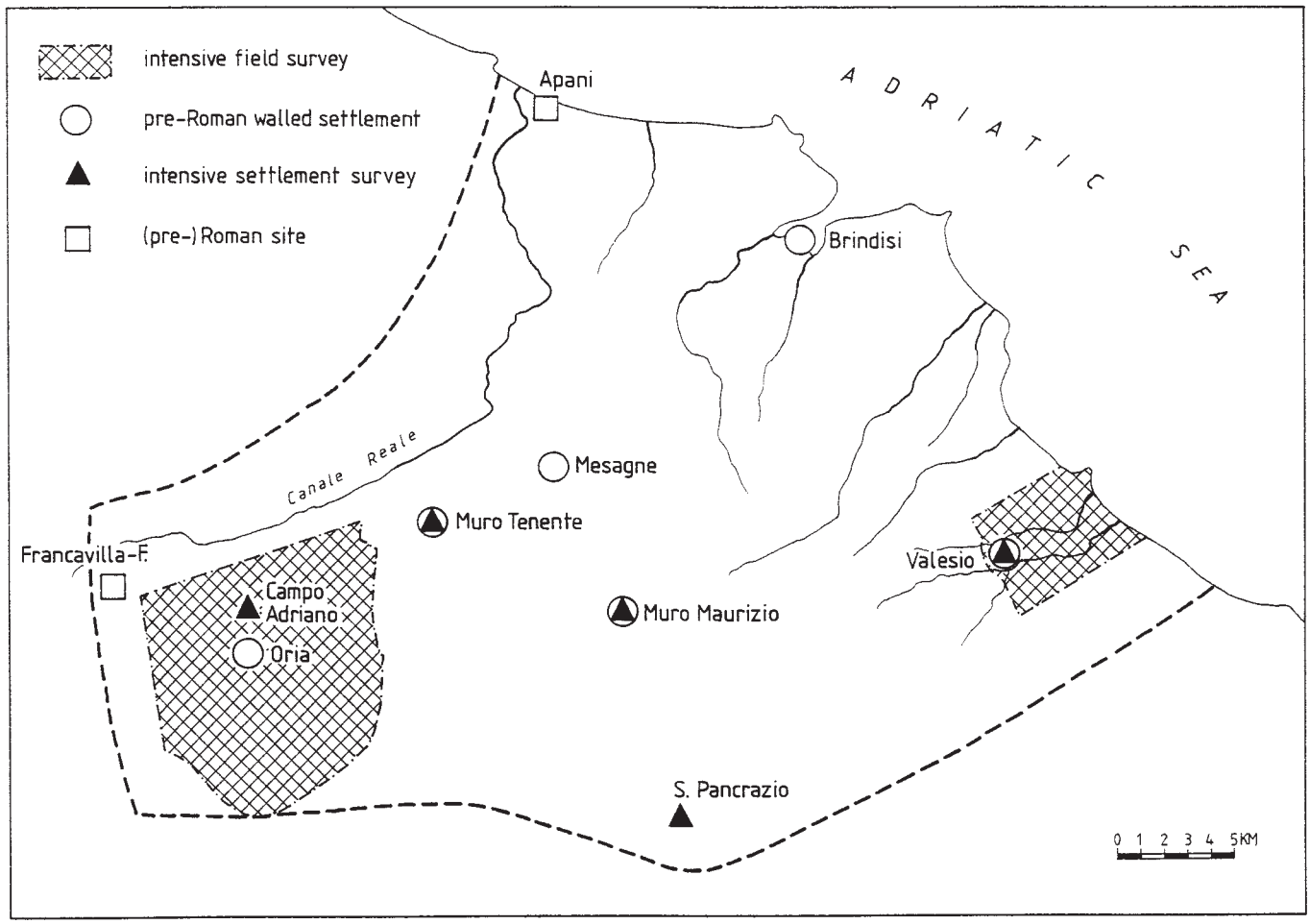


Fig. 1. The Brindisino, South-Italy: research area with sites, field surveys and settlement surveys.

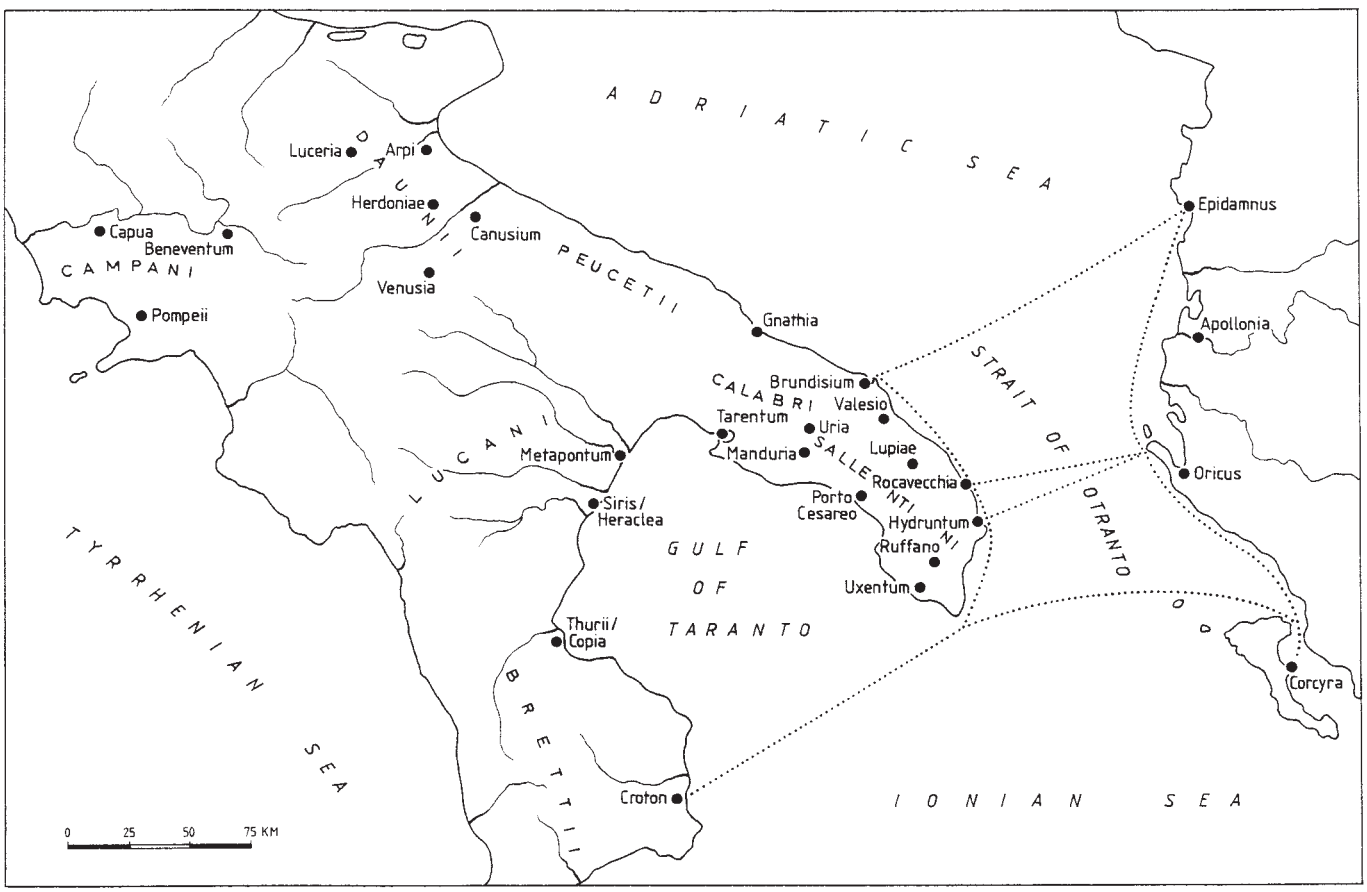


Fig. 2. The Brindisino in its geographical context: sites mentioned in the text. Crossings to Greece based on Pagliara 1990.

The Roman actions of these years probably resulted in the *de facto* incorporation of Salento into the Roman state. After some trouble, perhaps a kind of rebellion (see Livy, *Perioche* book XIX), the Romans founded the *colonia iuris Latini* of Brundisium (present-day Brindisi), probably on 5th August in 244 B.C. Before that very day, the town must have been a native (probably Calabrian) settlement with a harbour of some standing (Marasco 1988, 27-28). By founding this new colony Rome, of course, strengthened its grip on the surrounding district. Brindisi's Latin inhabitants were Rome's ears and eyes in Salento. Moreover, the *colonia* was founded during the first Punic war: the town had (and still has) an excellent, sheltered habour which controlled the entrance to the Adriatic Sea and prevented Punic fleets from attacking Italy's eastern shores.

The Roman senators that assisted at the birth of the *colonia* of Brundisium, probably did not intend to reduce the prosperity and power of its former opponent Taranto by creating a fierce competitor. Nevertheless, their upgrading of the settlement of Brindisi unexpectedly proved to be a masterstroke in this field. Taranto went into decline, especially after it had defected to Hannibal in 213 and had been reconquered and severely punished by the Romans in 209 B.C. In the second century B.C. Brindisi, bristling with economic activity, became the main port of south-eastern Italy. Taranto gradually dwindled into insignificance: in the 1st century B.C. the formerly bustling town had been reduced to a seaside resort where people came to seek peace and quiet (*e.g.* Horace, *Epistulae* I.7.45). This function of Taranto in the Imperial Age is exemplified by the *villa marittima* at nearby Torre Saturo *(Fig. 3)*.

Historical sources also indicate that Brindisi's geographical position was of major importance in its successful evolution: the town controlled the entrance to the Adriatic Sea, was an important port of call and a starting point for ships sailing for Greece and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean. Whilst the Brindisi area had been a native district on the periphery of the Greek world until into the 3rd century B.C., it evolved into a key area of the Roman state for the conquest and control of, and economic activities in, the eastern Mediterranean during middle- and late-Republican times.

The general lines of development as sketched above can be derived from various historical sources (Marasco 1988; Lombardo 1992). These, however, do not tell us what actually happened to the people of the Brindisino and what changed in the material and immaterial world that surrounded them in those evidently stirring times. In order to have a closer look at the matter, the archaeological data concerning the region under discussion have to be consulted for the period in question. To this end the Brindisino project was started in 1981 by the Institute of Archaeology of the Amsterdam Free University.[1] The area investigated in this project is *not* identical to the present-day province of Brindisi; it consists mainly of the fertile, light arable soils of the district *(Fig. 1)*. For this area a maximum of published and unpublished archival information was collected. These data were supplemented by field work. Two field surveys with overall coverage were carried out with the aim of tracing rural settlements: the Oria field survey (1981-1983) covered some 67 km^2 (Yntema 1993A), the Valesio field survey (1987-1990) c. 20 km^2 (Boersma et al. 1990). Furthermore, a series of complex ancient settlement were investigated by means of much more precise and labour-intensive 'city' surveys. The first results for Valesio (1984-1986), Muro Maurizio and San Pancrazio (both in 1991) have been published (Burgers 1992; Yntema 1993B). Yet another element of the Brindisino project were the excavations in the complex settlement of Valesio (1984-1990). Here an area of 40 x 40 m was selected which contained substantial layers dating between the late 4th and the early 1st century B.C. *(Fig. 4)*. The trenches made here produced a wealth of new information concerning the period discussed in this paper. The stratigraphies of the site, moreover, provided us with a firm chronological framework for the mainly ceramic finds collected during the field surveys.

The ample quantities of information collected from publications, archival sources and field work provide an attractive diachronic data set. It contains many indications about what the native societies of the Brindisino looked like on the eve of the Roman conquest and which changes can be observed in the

[1] This paper owes much to the Italian colleagues with whom I have cooperated since 1978. Foremost among them are my friends from Lecce University *(progetto strategico 251100 CNR/MISM)*, the *Soprintendenza alle Antichità* at Taranto, and the *Museo Provinciale* of Brindisi. I am especially grateful to Francesco D'Andria, Cosimo Pagliara, Liliana Giardino, Mario Lombardo (Lecce), Giuseppe Andreassi, Assunta Cocchiaro, Enzo Lippolis (Taranto), Angela Marinazzo (Brindisi), and Cesare Marangio (Mesagne). Photographs: Istitute of Archaeology, Free University, Amsterdam (except *fig. 10*: courtesy Museo Provinciale Brindisi). Correction English text: Free University Language Centre, Amsterdam; drawings: Harry Burgers.
For a more explicit description of the Brindisini research programme and its different projects, its aims and its first results, see Yntema 1993A, 7-10.

centuries following this event. By signalling these differences and from tracing the possible connections between them some notion may be derived about what actually happened.
The Romanisation of the Brindisi district was, of course, a highly complex integration process in which the more or less Hellenized native elements of Salento fused with the rich mixture of cultural features that was found in the ever expanding Roman state of the Hellenistic period. At present, it is not possible to present an in-depth analysis of each aspect of the process, produce a coherent picture based on this mosaic and comment upon it. Therefore, it is only for a few sectors of these ancient societies that the changes suggested by the archaeological data will be sketched.

II. THE CHANGES

II.1. *Settlement and settlement patterns*

II.1.1. Before the Roman conquest

In the late 4th century B.C. the Brindisi district had developed a variety of settlement types. The smallest settlements were the single, isolated farmsteads. They were probably two-storied and had three or four rooms at ground level *(Fig. 5)*, being some 12 to 16 m long and about 3 to 4 m wide. Many of them can be shown to have had their own small graveyard. The isolated farmstead must have been a rather common phenomenon in the research area. The two field surveys around the native settlements of Oria (Roman *Uria*) and Valesio (Roman *Mutatio Valentia*) both produced some dozens of them (Boersma/Yntema 1987; Burgers 1992). The number of farms that have been found in this way only represents a minimum, because the scatters of these small settlements are limited (commonly between 900 and 1500 m^2) and are, therefore, easily ploughed away. The reports on small (rural) burial plots in other parts of the Brindisino suggest that the two intensively surveyed areas were no exception to the general rule: isolated farmsteads existed all over the Brindisino in substantial numbers.
In some cases the farmsteads clustered into hamlets. The information on them is still scant and further investigation is needed. In the present state of research it seems that they consisted of three to five farms which probably did not differ in size from the isolated farmsteads. The total extension of the settlements was between 1 and 3 hectares. Nearby were one or more small cemeteries. In at least one case a small rural sanctuary appears to have been in or close to the hamlet (Yntema 1993A, 95: Campo Adriano).
Recently the existence of quite a substantial, pre-Roman village in the Brindisi district has been demonstrated. A field survey indicated that the area known as Castelli di San Pancrazio once harboured a complex settlement with a habitation area of c. 13 to 14 hectares (Burgers 1992). Another settlement of this type may have existed on the spot of present-day Francavilla Fontana.[2]
While the information on substantial villages is still scant, there is a fairly large amount of data concerning walled settlements. Generally speaking, these walled settlements of the Brindisi district were considerably larger than the village near San Pancrazio. It is, however, very difficult to estimate their true size. As a rule, the perimetre of their fortifications (and hence the extension of the enclosed area) is known (D'Andria 1990A; Lamboley 1990), but such data are not particularly enlightening, because they hold no information on the extension of the inhabited area of the settlement in question. Field survey of such complex settlements has shown that the early Hellenistic walls of the site of Muro Maurizio, for instance, enclose an area of c. 35 hectares, of which the major part (c. 20-25 ha) was inhabited in the late 4th century B.C. The contemporary fortifications of the site of Valesio enclosed an area of slightly over 70 hectares, of which only c. 25 to 30 hectares showed traces of habitation. Oria, which is likely to have been the main tribal centre of the district in the Archaic and Classical periods, had two or three wall circuits. The outer fortifications of the early Hellenistic period enclosed an area of c. 90-115 hectares; although many of the Hellenistic habitation areas are covered by the present-day town of Oria, a rough estimate based on casual finds in the town and on field survey in terrains not yet built over suggests that approximately 50 to 60 hectares may have been inhabited (in several places fairly densely) in the late 4th century B.C. (Yntema 1993A).
Around 300 B.C., therefore, the Brindisi district had at least one fairly substantial walled town (Oria). On the basis of the present evidence, only Brindisi could have been within the same class. More probably, it belonged to the group of the

[2] The southern and south-eastern parts of present-day Francavilla Fontana have produced numerous burials of the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C., but there is no single report or local rumour indicating the presence of fortifications. The site, moreover, is only 6 km from the major walled town of Oria, which was one of the major tribal centres of Salento from the Iron Age to well into the Classical period. Francavilla, therefore, might represent a relatively populous settlement that in some ways depended on nearby Oria.

smaller walled towns together with the sites of Valesio, Muro Tenente, Muro Maurizio and perhaps Mesagne. The site of Li Castelli di San Pancrazio (c. 15 ha) was probably a substantial, unwalled village; possibly Mesagne and Francavilla belonged to the same category. The smallest settlement types in the Brindisi district were the hamlets consisting of three to five farms and the probably hundreds of isolated farmsteads.

II.1.2. After the Roman conquest

The first signs of change must have been visible soon after the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The field survey of the town of Valesio offers some information in this respect (Yntema 1993-2). The finds have been throroughly analysed. They indicate that, whereas the diagnostic ceramics of the earlier 3rd century B.C. (i.e. around the time of the Roman conquest) suggest an extension of the inhabited area of some 25 to 30 hectares, artefacts dating from about the last quarter of the 3rd century have been found over an area of approximately only 15 to 20 hectares. After c. 200 B.C. the settlement depopulated very rapidly indeed. The regional grey gloss wares which were introduced around 150 B.C., for instance, are found in terrains covering only 2 to 3 hectares. From about 80 B.C. the settlement of Valesio is likely to have consisted only of two or three small buildings on the stretch of the *Via Calabra* that linked Brindisi to Lecce *(Lupiae)*. It must have been something of a ghost town, hardly different from the deserted town of *Soletum* (present-day Soleto, Lecce district) recorded by Pliny in *Nat.Hist*. III, 103 (Yntema 1993B).

Similar information is supplied by the investigations at other complex settlement sites of the research district. The first analysis of the field survey at Muro Maurizio (not built over), for instance, indicates an enormous reduction in the inhabited area between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Whereas some 25 to 30 hectares show traces of human activity in the early 3rd century, only a fraction of this area has supplied diagnostic artefacts dating to the later 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Although the shrinkage of the habitation area of the large village of San Pancrazio appears to be somewhat less dramatic (Burgers 1992, 114), field survey at the outskirts of Oria suggests that peripherical areas of the settlement with dispersed dwellings and grave groups of the late 4th and 3rd centuries had been completely abandoned by about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. (Yntema 1988, 150-151: *contrada* Paretone; Yntema 1993A, 57-65 and 68-70: *contrada* Paretone and Monte Paolotti).

From these data it can be concluded that in the Brindisi district larger complex settlements of early Hellenistic times lost a very high percentage of their population in the first 100 years after the Roman conquest. The tendency is already quite marked in the later 3rd century, but the settlements probably sustained the heaviest losses in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. Several of them turned from quite flourishing, agrarian centres with several thousand inhabitants into ghost towns in which only one or two dozen people tried to make a living. The situation in Roman times is summarized by Strabo (*Geography* 6.5.3): the Salento peninsula 'was once extremely populous; it had thirteen towns. But now, with the exception of Taranto and Brindisi, all of them are so worn out by war that they are merely small townships.'[3]

Whereas many major complex settlements of the Brindisi district dwindled into insignificance and became a kind of *vici* in the 2nd century B.C., Brindisi greatly prospered. Although the archaeological data are extremely scanty since the still existing town covers the ancient remains, the literary evidence suggests that it is likely to have changed from possibly one of the minor walled settlements of the Calabri into the highly flourishing centre on which the entire district focused. Very direct evidence of the bustling economic activity of middle- to late-Republican Brindisi are the numerous kiln sites discovered both north and south of Brindisi (Désy 1989; Manacorda 1988 and 1990). This brings us to the smaller rural sites. As has been explained above, there must have been some hamlets and hundreds of isolated farmsteads in the Brindisino in the early 3rd century B.C. Whereas the field surveys have demonstrated that the human occupation continued in the hamlets in the period after the Roman conquest but do not tell us exactly how, they give quite a clear picture of the changes that affected the isolated farmsteads (Yntema 1993A, 202). In the Oria field survey the number of farmsteads dropped from c. 30 around 300/275 to 18 at about 150/125 B.C. The diagnostic finds suggest that the vast majority of them survived into the early 2nd century B.C. The farms that vanished

[3] Some elements in this passage are difficult to understand. Strabo mentions, for instance, that the peninsula once had 13 towns, but the number of Salento walled settlements of the early Hellenistic period is considerably larger. As for the words 'worn out by war', one may well ask which war is meant: the Pyrrhic war (which for the people of Salento lasted from 280 to 266 B.C.), the war against Hannibal (which raged in south-eastern Italy between 216 and 207) or the wars against the Hellenistic states of Greece and the eastern Mediterranean (in which Salento played an important role in the earlier 2nd century B.C.).

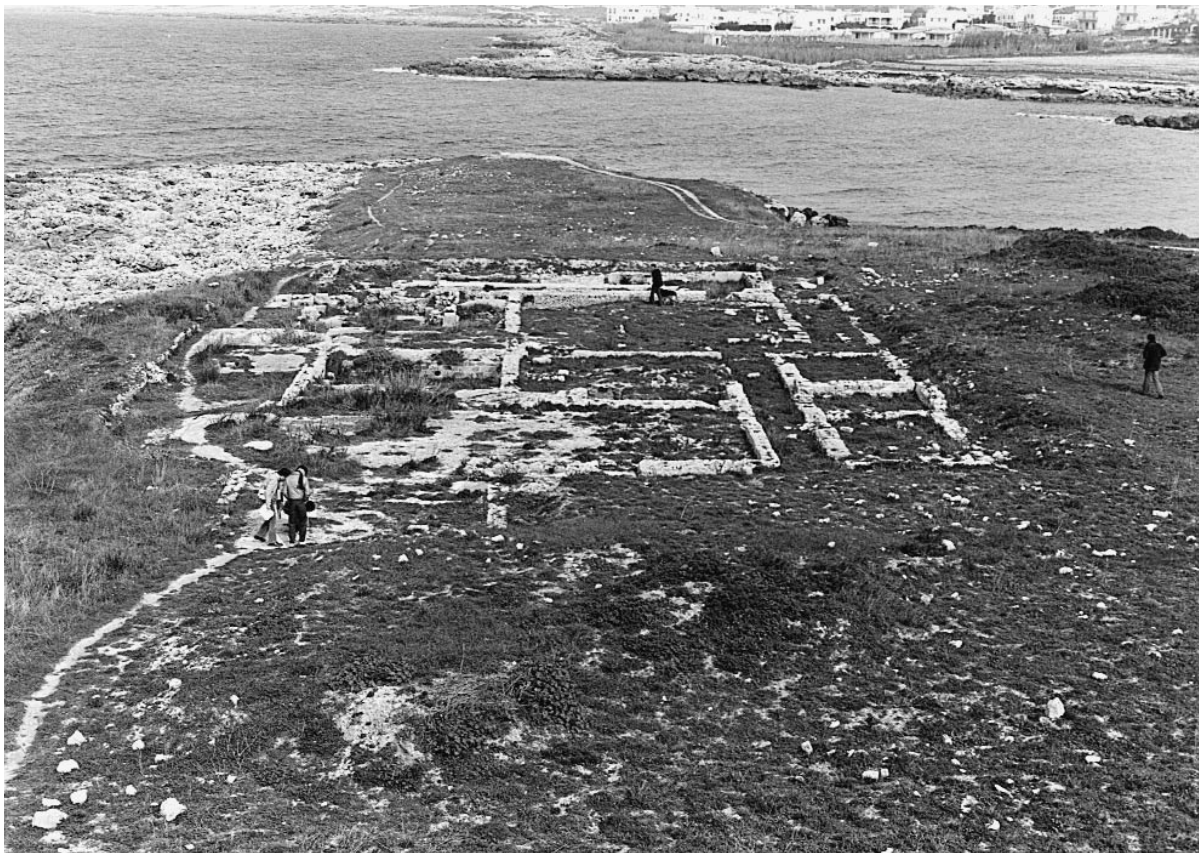


Fig. 3. Torre Saturo (Taranto): remains of the villa marittima *(Roman-Imperial Age).*

were abandoned between c. 175 and 125 B.C. Those that survived, however, greatly increased in size. They may have been comparable to other late-Republican farmsteads of southern Italy such as excavated at Sant'Angelo Nuovo near Metapontum *(Fig. 6)*, at Posta Crusta near north-Apulian Herdoniae (De Boe 1975), and at San Rocco near Campanian Francolise (Cotton/Metraux 1985). These may represent the type of farm discussed by the more or less contemporary agrarian writers like Cato and the two Saserna's.

II.2 *Social and political structures*

II.2.1. Before the Roman conquest

The ancient authors present very little information on the social and political structures of the native populations of Salento. The Greek author Thucydides indicates that the natives of the Salento peninsula (which he called *Messapioi*) had *dunastai* in the late 5th century B.C. Perhaps they were a kind of tribal chiefs (Yntema 1982). Although the peninsula was fairly urbanised by about 300 B.C, authors speaking about the wars of early Hellenistic times never state that the Salento town X or Y did so and so, but invariably use the tribal names of *Kalabrioi* or *Calabri* for the population of northern Salento and *Sallentinoi* or *Sa(l)lentini* for the people of southern Salento. If this (admittedly thin) evidence can be taken at face value, it suggests that the individual towns of the peninsula did not function as independant political entities like, for instance, the Greek *poleis*, but that the natives acted and reacted *en bloc*. In other words, the few passages in the works of Greek and Roman writers concerning the Salento peninsula may indicate that in a political respect, elements of the original tribal organisation survived into Hellenistic times[4].

The archaeological evidence concerning social and political systems of the native populations of

[4] It should be remembered that the *polis*-dwelling Greeks tended to see *barbaroi* invariably as tribal beings.

Fig. 4. Remains of the pre-Roman town of Valesio (1989-excavations Free University of Amsterdam).

the Brindisi district is often difficult to interpret. It is plausible to assume that the settlement of Oria had a special status in the Brindisi district in Archaic and Classical times: in these periods it was the only fortified and somewhat contracted centre amidst a series of still more or less dispersed settlements. Rising some 40 m above the surrounding countryside *(Fig. 7)* it was probably a hill fort for the tribal society of the Brindisi district of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (Yntema 1991 and 1993A). Herodotus (VII, 170) underlines its special status in the native district by saying that Oria was the town from which the remaining 'Messapian' settlements of Salento were founded.

Oria was also the largest settlement of that same district during the Hellenistic period. In outward appearance it probably differed little from a medium-sized Greek *polis*. It had a sanctuary containing a sacred building (D'Andria 1990B) and probably other public buildings, a princely dwelling (*basileion*; Strabo 6.3.6) and at least two, perhaps three wall circuits (Yntema 1993A). Around 300 B.C., however, three to five[5] of the formerly dispersed settlements in the plain of northern Salento had evolved into relatively densely inhabited, fortified towns (D'Andria 1990A; Lamboley 1990): they are likely to have had one or two public buildings and their private dwellings, some of them fairly luxurious, sometimes stood side by side, flanking paved roads. Each of these settlements was demonstrably the agrarian centre of the small rural settlements in the surrounding area. One may, therefore, well ask whether the formation of four or five new towns in the Brindisi district can be read as a change in the settlement hierarchy and whether this phenomenon was caused by, or at least closely connected to, changes in the socio-political structure of the formerly tribal society.

If this change in the regional settlement pattern is indicative of socio-political change, the late 4th-century construction of town walls at Muro Tenente, Muro Maurizio and Valesio (possibly also at Mesagne and Brindisi) could mean that the political ties that are likely to have linked them to the tribal centre of Oria in Archaic and Classical times became weaker in the early Hellenistic period. In principle these new, fortified towns could have acted as more or less independent units. This being the case, there are basically two options for reconstructing the political structure of the native society of the Brindisi district around 300 B.C.: either the native organisation came to closely resemble the organisation of neighbouring Greek states, or tribal subgroups continued to exist, but manifested themselves more clearly in expressing their status and, perhaps, a higher level of organisation by building fortifications.

The first option simply means that the walled, native towns were kinds of small city states, each with its own *chora*, like the colonial-Greek towns in neighboring areas: west of the area of the Calabri were the *chorai* of Greek *poleis* of Taranto, Metaponto, Heraclea (formerly Siris) and Thourioi (formerly Sybaris); across the Adriatic were, for instance, the city states of Corcyra, Apollonia and Epidamnus. Because both the material culture and the economy of the native populations of Salento display very numerous traces of integration into the Greek world (Hellenisation) during the 4th century B.C., a profound change in their political organisation cannot be excluded. In this first option the political structure of the tribe had been given up: the Brindisi district harboured five or six basically independent (native) city states which, possibly together with other native towns of Salento, made up a (loose?) confederacy. Oria, because of its former status as tribal centre, could have continued to play a leading role. Such a native confederacy could have been moulded on, for instance, the so-called Italiote league, the loose confederacy of south-Italian city states dominated by Taranto. Not unlike many Greek city states of the same period, the native city states could have been ruled by local aristocracies, consisting of formerly tribal elite families. That the native towns of Salento functioned more or less like the modest city states of the Greek world has been argued before (*e.g.*, Yntema 1982). A bronze *kerukeion* said to stem from the area of Brindisi with the inscription *damosion thourinon damosion brendesinon (Inscr.Graecae* XIV.672) seems to support this view, but the interpretation of the text is highly complicated[6].

At present, however, I prefer the second option that several elements of the tribal socio-political structure of the *Messapioi/Kalabroi* still survived in early Hellenistic times. Superficially, there may seem to be hardly any difference. In reality, however, both systems differ radically. Firstly, the second option presupposes a less profound Hellenisation of the native societies than the *polis* model and recognizes that whereas material culture

[5] The exact status of Brindisi and Mesagne in early Hellenistic times is uncertain.

[6] The text on the *kerukeion*, however, only demonstrates that the south-Italian Greeks did not consider the people of Brentesion to form an *ethnos*. If they indicated the town-dwelling subtribal groups of the Calabri as *dèmoi*, the inscription could also support the second option.

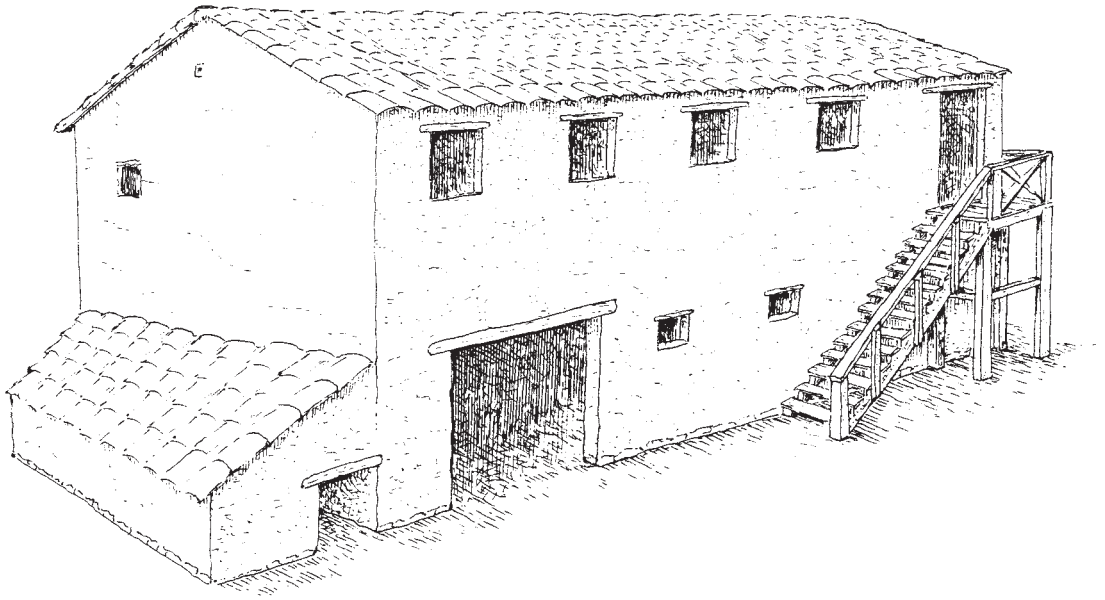


Fig. 5. Impression of native, late 4th-century farmstead. Reconstruction based on information from the Oria field survey and the excavation of the Vaste-Lucernara farm (Pagliara 1981).

is highly adaptable, socio-political patterns do not change so rapidly. Secondly, whereas in terms of settlement hierarchy the first option implies that the fortified settlements of the district were basically on equal footing, the second option presupposes a continuing dominance of the town of Oria and its elite families. Thirdly, the underlying socio-political systems are very different: in the second option factors such as kinship and tribal allegiances continued to play an important role in the early Hellenistic societies of native Salento.

The second option implies that the *oppidum* of Oria (now Roman *Uria*) was and remained the most important tribal centre in the Brindisi district[7]. The remaining towns, albeit similar to modest Greek city states in both physical appearance and territorial aspects, were in fact the minor centres of tribal subgroups; the Romans would have called such groups *pagi*. As a result of the integration process of the native societies into the Greek world, urbanisation increased very considerably in Salento, resulting in an increased level of organisation of the subtribal units. Each of these underlined its identity and expressed its status by building walls around its main settlement. There is, however, no evidence that this process truly undermined the tribal loyalties and the ties of kinship in the region. As in former times they still seem to have gone to war together. Around 300 B.C. the political structures of the native societies of the Brindisi district were probably more closely comparable to those of Hellenistic Greek *ethnè* such as, for instance, the Aetolian league than to those of the Greek city states of Magna Graecia.

Whilst socio-political organisation is, for instance, reflected in settlement patterns, social stratification can be detected in graves. Tomb archaeology has a long history in Italy. The very same observation holds good for the Brindisi district. Therefore, hundreds of burials from the district can be studied, though only few of them have been adequately published[8]. Early Hellenistic tombs can be found both within and outside the inhabited area of complex native settlements. They often occur in dispersed family groups of three to ten burials. In addition to these relatively small grave groups, substantial cities of the dead, i.e. truly necropoleis, begin to appear at the periphery of the native settlements of Salento at the end of the 4th and the

[7] Oria is called an *oppidum* by Pliny (*N.H.* III. 100).

[8] No complete necropolis of the Brindisi district has been excavated hitherto. Published tombs (mostly photographs only of casual finds) can be found in a variety of publications. The only exception in this respect is the complete publication of an incomplete necropolis of Brindisi (Andreassi e Cocchiaro 1988).

early years of the 3rd century B.C. *(Fig. 8)*. The urbanisation of the *polis* of the living went hand in hand with a stricter spatial organisation of the *polis* of the dead: in these large necropoleis, family groups are difficult to recognize. Hamlets and isolated farmsteads appear to have had their own graveyards (Yntema 1993A).

The vast majority of the early Hellenistic tombs was made to contain one body only (inhumation). They were between 1.60 and 1.80 m long, some 0.60 to 0.80 m wide, and varied considerably in depth. In sandy areas they consist of six limestone slabs *(tomba a lastroni)*; where the rock comes close to the surface, they are rock-cut. In addition to the bones of the deceased, they usually contain decorated pottery and small bronze objects[9]. Native graves of this type do not display great and significant differences of wealth.

The native towns also had their élite families. They can be supposed to have owned the isolated farmsteads, the hamlets and the considerable plots of land surrounding these small settlements (Yntema 1993A). As late as the 2nd century A.D., a Roman family of Salento with recognizably native origins (still?) owned a group of villas in the area south of Valesio (Pagliara 1980, 211-216). From early Hellenistic times onward these local elites were buried in *hypogaea*: these are the often rock-cut subterranean family chamber tombs with painted decoration (Lamboley 1982), found only in the larger, often walled settlements. Each of these native towns may have had a few of these tombs. None of the *hypogaea* of pre-Roman Salento has been found intact, but both Tarantine chamber tombs and native graves of the same type in other parts of Apulia suggest that they were extremely rich *(Ori di Taranto)*.

Really 'poor' graves of the period under discussion have not been reported. Of course, such tombs may have been neglected in the past. But even well-organized and recent excavations failed to reveal their presence. Even when many of the possible bias factors concerning the 'poor' are taken into account, the impression remains that the native societies of Salento consisted mainly of a limited élite and a very substantial group of people that was moderately to fairly prosperous. A large portion of the latter category is likely to have consisted of tribal farmers.

II.2.2. After the Roman conquest

The foundation of the *colonia latina* of Brundisium in 244 B.C. caused the Brindisi district to have two different political systems. Whereas the old, native systems continued to exist, perhaps even in the native settlement of Brindisi, the new 'Latin' settlers of the colony of Brundisium lived according to their own rules and institutions. The rapid depopulation of the majority of the walled, native settlements and the equally rapid growth of Brindisi, however, entailed that the native political systems lost much of their importance. From the ancient sources three town territories are mentioned for the Salento isthmus: the *ager Tarantinus*, *the ager Uritanus, and the ager Brundisinus* (Marangio 1975; Pani 1988). This suggests that the remaining walled towns of the area, which were prosperous in Hellenistic times, had become rather unimportant in Roman times. The archaeological data also indicate that the walled native towns of Muro Tenente, Muro Maurizio, perhaps Mesagne, and Valesio had become very insignificant indeed. These dying towns of the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C. are unlikely to have played a substantial role in the local and regional politics of post-Hannibalic times.

Hence it follows that, in principle, both Oria and Brindisi could have been centres of political activity in the Brindisi district as delineated above. According to the results of the Oria field survey, however, the settlement of Oria is likely to have been fairly modest after the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. there still were one or more élite families at Oria. Two of their tombs with, among other objects, Greek trade amphoras with *grand cru* wines from Cnidos and Rhodos have been excavated (Lo Porto 1974, pl. LVI). Elite families of the same town also issued coins with the legend OR(RA) and their initials in about the same period (Travaglini 1990). These pieces of information, however, are more indicative of Oria's fruitless clinging to its former status than of an important role in the early Roman phase of the district. They cannot conceal the fact that Oria was of very secondary importance in the 2nd century B.C. Literary sources indicate that Brindisi, partly as a consequence of the conquest of Greece, rapidly expanded and became the regional centre of the whole Brindisino in the same century (Yntema 1993A). Although the original, native organisation may have continued to play some role in the decades immediately following the conquest of Salento, the rapid depopulation of the native towns must have first unbalanced and finally upset the old, local systems and must have made the *colonia*

[9] The tombs usually contain four to eight vases (one or two Apulian Red Figure, made at Taranto; some Gnathia, mostly from Taranto, sometimes local versions; two or three banded pots, local production) and one or two fibulas.

latina of Brindisi the regional centre of power. If the native élite of the *Calabri* wished to retain some of their former political influence, they had to conform to Roman rules and to participate in the Roman political systems. Since Brindisi became the political centre of the region, they had to establish some link with this Latin colony and its Latin (and possibly partly Calabrian) magistrates.

Furthermore, the depopulation of the native towns must also have led to changes in the social systems of the Brindisi district. Towns such as Valesio, Muro Maurizio and Muro Tenente had been the agrarian centres of the surrounding countryside and, perhaps, the centres of subtribal units. Their almost complete abandonment simply meant that these units lost their focal point and that, moreover, the close ties between countryside dwellers and town dwellers were severed. After c. 150 B.C. most of the people living on the farmsteads (and later in the Roman villas) no longer had friends and relatives in nearby complex settlements, because the latter had simple ceased to exist.

The rapid depopulation of the towns of the Brindisi district, moreover, has further implications. The population of Valesio, for instance, was in about 150 B.C. perhaps only 10% of what it had been around 300 B.C. These figures indicate that the inhabitants of these dying towns migrated in substantial numbers. Verzar Bass (1983) has demonstrated that many of them went to Rome, Aquileia and the *coloniae* in the Po valley. Rapidly expanding Brindisi was perhaps no less attractive to the people who found it necessary to abandon their homes in the towns of Oria, Muro Tenente, Muro Maurizio, Mesagne, Valesio and in the substantial villages of Francavilla Fontana and San Pancrazio. An aged resident of the dying town of Valesio around 170 B.C. may have had grown-up sons in, for instance, Brindisi, Rome, Aquileia or Corinth. Therefore, the migration of a very substantial proportion of the original native population is likely to have had devastating effects on the traditional native social systems.

Further information on social change can be derived from the tombs of the Brindisi district. Hundreds of tombs have been found dating to the early Hellenistic period (c. 325/300-250/225). Burials dating to the middle Hellenistic period (c. 250/225-150/125), however, are decidedly rare. The enormous decrease is, of course, partly caused by the migrations discussed above. Furthermore, the figure is influenced by two bias factors, one of which has a distinct bearing on the subject under discussion here[10]: several middle Hellenistic tombs are not made of limestone tomb slabs but of terracotta tiles and contain only a few, fairly unspectacular objects[11]. In addition to these tombs, which are poor when compared to early Hellenistic burials, there is a small group of very rich graves invariably containing amphoras with expensive Greek wines (Lo Porto 1974, pl. LVI; Cocchiaro 1989)[12].

These data suggest that the social landscape in large parts of the Brindisi district changed drastically between c. 300 and c. 150 B.C. Whilst there was a small élite group and a very large group of moderately prosperous people before the Roman conquest, the middle Hellenistic period seems to be characterized by increasing social differences: until 150/125 B.C., the élite continued to live in the native walled settlements[13], and the formerly moderately prosperous people who did not migrate became increasingly poor. This process is illustrated, for instance, by a rural graveyard at the site of San Lorenzo, c. 2 km east of Francavilla Fontana (Marinazzo 1980).

This observation holds good for all the settlements of the Brindisi district except for Brindisi itself. Here, the substantial necropolis in the *via dei Cappuccini* appeared to contain a group of moderately prosperous graves of the second half of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. (Andreassi/Cocchiaro 1988). These burials suggest that the composition of the population of the new, expanding centre of the region may well have been completely different from that in other parts of the Brindisino. Written sources indicate that Brindisi had its elite, some of whom belonged to the former ruling class of the Calabri, whereas others may have risen from the ranks of the Latins colonists of Brundisium to become *negotiatores* of considerable importance[14].

[10] The second bias factor is that tombs containing Gnathia ware and other classes of overpainted pottery have commonly been dated to before 270 B.C., because it was assumed that the production of such wares ceased when Taranto was conquered by the Romans. This assumption appears to be based on insufficient grounds: overpainted wares continued to be produced in southern Apulia till into the 2nd century B.C.

[11] Around 150/125 B.C. the burial customs changed in the Brindisi district. Whereas inhumation had been practiced in the pre-Roman period, cremation became more and more common. The latter custom was probably introduced by the new settlers of central-Italic origin of the *colonia iuris latini* of Brundusium.

[12] The same custom is found in the native graves of northern Apulia (Volpe 1987).

[13] For the period after c. 150/125 B.C., no élite graves have been reported from the heavily shrunk and depopulated towns of the Brindisi district. One may assume that the probably landowning élite families of the dying towns were more or less obliged to live in regional centres such as Brindisi and Taranto if they wished to maintain their influence on regional politics.

[14] See for, instance, Livy XLII, 17ff. about a certain Rammius of Brindisi, and the possibly Messapian Gaius Pulfennius, son of Dazos, who was honoured with the status of proxenos by the koinon of the Epirotes (see P. Cabanes, *L'Epire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine*, Paris 1976, 554-557).

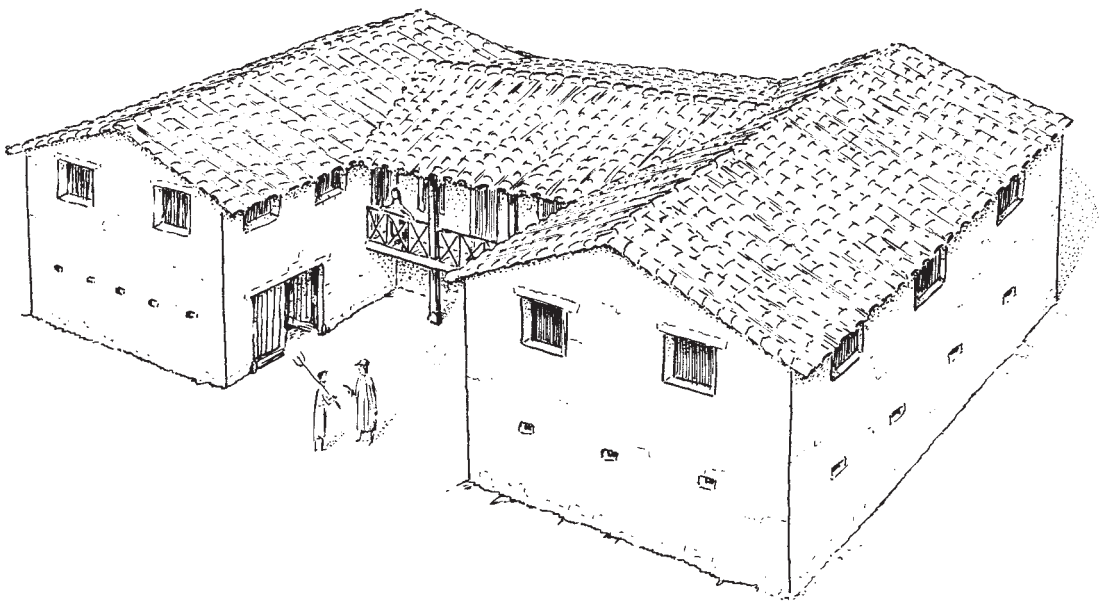


Fig. 6. Farmstead of the late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.: Metaponto-S.Angelo Nuovo (impression based on Carter 1987).

In addition to them, Brindisi must have had its poor, but the town also had a group of moderately prosperous inhabitants.

II.3. *Economy*

II.3.1. Before the Roman conquest

The Salento peninsula is notoriously poor in mineral resources and other scarce and highly valued commodities. Its geographical position, however, is favourable: it is an almost obligatory point of call for seafaring from the western to the eastern Mediterranean and vice versa. The calcareous soils of the peninsula, moreover, were considered to be very fertile in antiquity (Strabo VI.3.5-6). Although the area has no substantial watercourses, the ample presence of water in the subsoil caused the fields to produce very good yields.

It is, of course, common knowledge that agriculture played an important role in the economies of the past: in pre-industrial societies land was often the sole base of prosperity. The Brindisi district is unlikely to have been an exception to this rule. Therefore, a large portion of the population of both its rural and more or less urban settlements is likely to have been involved in agrarian activities in the periods under discussion.

Our field surveys have demonstrated that prior to c. 340/330 B.C. small, rural settlements were absent in the Brindisi district (Boersma et al. 1990; Yntema 1993A). It is, therefore, obvious that initially the tribal farmers of the Brindisi area lived in larger, complex settlements. The sudden appearance of a substantial number of countryside farms in the last third of the 4th century B.C. certainly entailed an increased and more effective production of agrarian commodities (Chisholm 1970). The rural farmsteads, moreover, probably did not replace the town-based farms (their number also increased), but rather supplemented them. By building rural farmsteads, the natives – or more probably the local landowning élites of the Calabri and Salentini – adopted features that were well established and relatively common in the agricultural systems of the neighbouring Greeks[15]. There are reasons to suppose that this new phenomenon testifies to a more market-minded, agrarian production in the Brindisi district (Yntema 1993A and 1993B).

These new farmsteads are likely to have been economically oriented on the nearest town. Firstly, the élite that probably owned them lived in the walled centre. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that in both the town and the farmsteads of the surrounding countryside the same local ceramic forms and fabrics are found. Some of them differ

[15] The modestly prosperous farmers may have continued to live in the towns during the late 4th and early 3rd centuries.

Fig. 7. The 'hillfort' of Oria, seen from the south.

markedly from those found in other native towns of the same area.
During the field surveys, fragments of oil presses and mill stones have been found at the sites of the isolated farmsteads and hamlets of the late 4th and 3rd centuries. They suggest that both corn and olives were cultivated. In addition to these cash crops which could be exported to far-away markets, wine could have been yet another article produced on these farms. The wines of Brindisi, Oria and especially Taranto were highly prized in the Republican period (Tchernia 1986). Pollen samples, which could have given better evidence on this subject, are not available: each sample taken hitherto in Salento demonstrates that the acidity of the calcareous soils have destroyed the pollen.
Bone samples may supply evidence concerning the animal husbandry in the native districts of Salento. Hitherto no solid information on this subject is available. Therefore, it is still unknown whether there are significant differences between bone samples dating to before and after the Roman conquest of Salento. In the near future the analysis of the thousands of animal bones from the Valesio digs will supply some information in this respect.
From what has been said above it is clear that during the early Hellenistic period the economy of the native Brindisi area was not purely a subsistence economy. Surpluses were needed in order to acquire metals and luxury goods. The latter were not exclusively confined to elite families. Small luxuries such as beautifully painted red-figured pots produced at the Greek town of Taranto are found in many native burials. The surplusses, therefore, must have been fairly considerable. The appearance of isolated farmsteads in the countryside surrounding the native towns, moreover, was a first modest, but significant step towards an agrarian production aiming at far-away markets, the know-how of which was certainly present at Taranto. Initially this Greek town may have been the main channel through which the native cash

crops were marketed. There are, however, reasons to suppose that native ports became increasingly important around 300 B.C[16].

II.3.2. After the Roman conquest

Field surveys of town sites and the countryside surrounding them have demonstrated that the rural economy underwent a profound change in the period subsequent to the Roman conquest. It has been said that a considerable proportion of the population of the early Hellenistic towns of Salento is likely to have consisted of moderately prosperous farmers. When these settlements lost a large number of their inhabitants in the middle Hellenistic period, it is plausible to assume that farmers with small or medium sized properties were among the migrants. They are likely to have produced mainly subsistence goods for themselves and for the small (and vanishing) local market.

From the above paragraph on settlements it emerges that, while the towns became depopulated, the isolated farmsteads decreased in quantity, but increased in size. The rural population does not seem to have sustained substantial losses; the data from the Oria field survey suggest that its volume remained more or less the same[17]. While the farms of the early Hellenistic period were oriented on the nearby complex settlement, the almost total abandonment of this agrarian centre of the area meant that not only the social, but also the economic ties between dying town and countryside were largely severed. A celebrated passage in Varro (*Re Rustica* II.6.5) suggests that in the Brindisi district wholesale buyers *(mercatores)* organized mule trains in order to fetch olive oil, wine, corn and other commodities and transport them to Brindisi. They came either to the farms, or to a collection centre (perhaps the ghost town) on one of the main roads of the area. These same *mercatores* or perhaps peddlers that accompanied the mule train may well have sold farming tools, pots and pans and small luxuries from Brindisi to the farm people or exchanged them for agricultural products. In this way the craftsmen of the declining native towns, some of whom were still active in the late 3rd century B.C., lost a still larger part of their clientèle: the substantially enlarged farmsteads of the Brindisino were economically oriented on the town of Brindisi in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. This town, therefore, had become not only the political, but also the economic focus of the Brindisi district in the 2nd century B.C.

In the agrarian production of these larger farms or proto-villas, subsistence played only a minor role. Of course, these farms produced the food for the people who worked the fields. Part of the production may have been destined to feed the growing population of Brindisi. But Varro's passage clearly indicates that cash crops such as corn, wine and olive oil had become of major importance. Further confirmation in this respect is given by the numerous kilns dating to between the last third of the 2nd and the last third of the 1st century B.C. discovered both directly north and south of Brindisi. They produced enormous quantities of transport amphoras of different types (Désy 1989). Recently the kiln site of Giancola has been excavated with baffling results (*e.g.*, Manacorda 1990; Palazzo 1989). The enormous quantities of amphoras produced at these kiln sites must have been filled with products from the Brindisi district. From the port of Brindisi they were shipped all over the Mediterranean (Cipriano/ Carre 1989).

It is clear that after the Roman conquest of Salento the economy of the area was subject to very substantial changes. New developments occurred in the important sector of agriculture. Large, villa-like farms focusing on Brindisi specialized in a limited series of products. This development, moreover, changed the landscape profoundly. By the second half of the 2nd century B.C., a considerable part of the arable soils of the Brindisi district had been given over to the production of cash crops produced for far-away markets. Brindisi's role as both packing station for exports and port of call for passing ships attracted other economic activities. In addition to the production of container vessels mentioned above, dockyards and other harbour facilities must have been present. In 2nd century B.C., therefore, the incipient political integration of the Brindisino into the Roman state entailed an economic integration of the area into the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean.

[16] The unpublished excavations at Torre San Giovanni (usually linked with the fortified inland settlement of Ugento, Roman *Uxentum*) suggest that it was a port of considerable importance in Hellenistic times (cf. Désy et De Paepe 1990 and D'Andria 1990).

[17] Between 300 and 225 B.C. the area surrounding Oria had at least 30, possibly 40 isolated farmsteads. On the basis of their small graveyards (having an average of c. 20 graves each covering a period of 75 to 100 years), each may have had between 6 and 10 inhabitants. It had, moreover three hamlets with three to five farms each. In early Hellenistic times, the rural population of Oria, therefore, may have been somewhere between c. 250 and 550 people. By about 150/125 B.C. the same area harboured the same three hamlets and 18 larger farms with an estimated population of about 20 persons each (estimate based on smilar excavated specimens and Cato's *Re Rustica*), i.e. about 400-450 countryside dwellers.

II.4. *Craft*

II.4.1.1. Before the Roman conquest

Recent excavations have supplied a reasonably good picture of native craft. It appears to have been fairly specialized: by about 300 B.C. each walled settlement must have had at least two or three dozens of craftsmen doing a variety of jobs[18]. The fortifications, for instance, display a good knowledge of contemporary poliorcetics: their construction, therefore, may well have been supervised by a specialist in this field. There were also people who constructed houses out of stones, mudbrick and wood. Specialists worked the local sandstone and limestone in order to produce the drums and capitals of columns used in larger houses and public buildings. Other artisans produced the numerous tiles that covered the dwellings. They may also have made the architectural terracottas that adorned them. The plastered walls of the rooms often had painted decoration. The same holds good for the hypogaea and tomb slabs (Tinè Bertocchi 1964; Steingräber 1991).

Specialized crafsmen working metals must also have been present in each of the larger, walled settlements. Smiths produced agricultural implements, tools for other groups of craftsmen, and small objects such as fibulae and rings for customers in both town and surrounding countryside. People working clay were also present. Potters can be shown to have been present in nearly each walled settlement. They produced fine black gloss wares, plain table ware and perhaps cooking pots. These ceramics were used by both the inhabitants of the town and the people who lived in the hamlets and isolated farmsteads of the surrounding countryside. Coroplasts, moreover, made terracotta statuettes and loomweights.

II.4.2. After the Roman conquest

Whilst each town of the Brindisi area is likely to have had a few dozen craftsmen in early Hellenistic times, the almost complete abandonment of these centres in the 2nd century B.C. indicates that this situation changed drastically in the middle Hellenistic period. Because their customers migrated from the dying towns, the artisans must also have migrated. Evidence from the Valesio excavations shows that one or more potters were active here as late as the final quarter of the 3rd century B.C., when the town had already lost some 30 to 40% of its inhabitants (Boersma/Yntema 1989 and Boersma et al.1990). The same excavations demonstrate that the pottery found in layers dating after 180/170 B.C. is much more standardized and differs significantly in a technical respect. This is certainly true for the Apulian grey gloss *(ceramica a pasta grigia)* wares that appeared around 150 B.C. (Giardino 1980). These 2nd-century pots are likely to have been made in or near regional centres such as Brindisi, Taranto and Lecce (Roman *Lupiae*).

The massive production of trade amphoras in the coastal strip near Brindisi is no less informative in this respect. The well-known 'Apulian' amphoras were produced in enormous quantities from about 140/130 B.C. *(Fig. 9)*, but there are reasons to suppose that a series of Graeco-Italic amphoras was made in the same area from about the late 3rd century onward. Whereas the latter have no stamps on their handles, the 'Apulian' amphoras are very regularly stamped and, therefore, supply precious data on the well-organised workshops in which they were produced (Désy 1989; Palazzo 1989). Although the information on other sectors of craft is sadly missing for the period under discussion, both fine table wares and coarser ceramics show that the production of such articles had become fairly large-scale and much more standardized in the 2nd century B.C. Whereas the Brindisino had had at least five or six local production centres of table wares in about 300 B.C., the production of this class of ceramics tended to concentrate in or near the regional centre of Brindisi in the 2nd century B.C.

II.5. *Religious change*

II.5.1. Religion before the Roman conquest

The pre-Roman population of the Brindisi district had no large temples or other types of impressive religious monuments. Remains suggesting the presence of constructions in the sanctuaries are rare[19]. A number of the holy places were caves and others may have been fenced off areas with springs. Whereas Iron Age religion seems to have left no clear traces in the archaeological record (perhaps such traces have not been recognized), votive offerings, some of them with dedication formulas, were deposited in these sanctuaries after the Greek fashion since about the middle of the

[18] The development of the craft sector in the native societies of Salento between the Iron Age and the early Hellenistic period has been discussed at length in Yntema 1990. The following passage on craft is a short summary of the passage concerning the Hellenistic period. For further information and literature on this subject, see the article in question.

[19] At Vaste the very small Archaic sanctuary of *fondo Melliche* had what is interpreted as an enclosure of more or less rectangular blocks (D'Andria 1990B, 58-64); the Monte Papalucio sanctuary of Oria had a more or less oblong building which is insufficiently well preserved to allow reconstruction (see D'Andria 1990B, sanctuary plan, folded map in back of cover).

Fig. 8. Manduria. Aerial photograph of a part of the northern necropolis (late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C.).

6th century B.C. The types of votive offerings, moreover, are often very similar to those encountered in the contemporary colonial-Greek sanctuaries. The best published site of this type is the Monte Papalucio sanctuary, probably just outside the pre-Roman walls of Oria. It functioned from about the middle of the 6th century to within the 2nd century B.C. and had both a cave and a spring. The votive pits appeared to contain mainly corn, beans, coins, pottery and terracotta statuettes (D'Andria 1990B, 239-306). These finds are reminiscent of those excavated in the rural sanctuaries of Demeter and Korè found in the territories of the Greek *poleis* of South Italy. The Oria sanctuary may have been dedicated to Damatira, a native spirit perhaps disguised as the chtonic Greek goddess Demeter.

Such 'rural' divinities might also have played a role in other sanctuaries of native Salento, but they were certainly not the only native gods of this district known to us. A frieze stemming from the small rural spring sanctuary of Campo Adriano, 3 km north of Oria, contains the term 'Aprodita', which is suspiciously close to the Greek goddess Aphrodite (Yntema 1993A). The native sanctuary of Scala del Furno at Porto Cesareo (Lecce province) seems to have belonged to Thana, who is perhaps to be equated with Greek goddess Artemis (D'Andria 1990B, 222). The Porcinara cave at Santa Maria di Leuca, Salento's southernmost cape, was dedicated to Batas (Latinised: Iuppiter Batius), a god who is likely to have protected mariners at sea (Pagliara 1978). The seaside Grotta Poesia (with spring) at Rocavecchia (Pagliara 1987) belonged to the native god Taotor Andirahas (Latinised: Tutor Antraius) and the goddess Dama (Demeter?). De Simone (1993) suggests that both divinities should be linked to the underworld. How precisely the sanctuary of Rocavecchia functioned may well be known when the hundreds of Messapic inscriptions and the relatively few Roman inscriptions on the walls of the cave have been deciphered[20].

The place of the native sanctuaries in relation to the settlements varies considerably. Because their

[20] The name of Thaotor/Tutor recurs in the *gens Tutoria*, a local élite family. It has been plausibly argued that they possessed a series of substantial Roman villas in the area between Brindisi and Lecce (Pagliara 1980, 211-216).

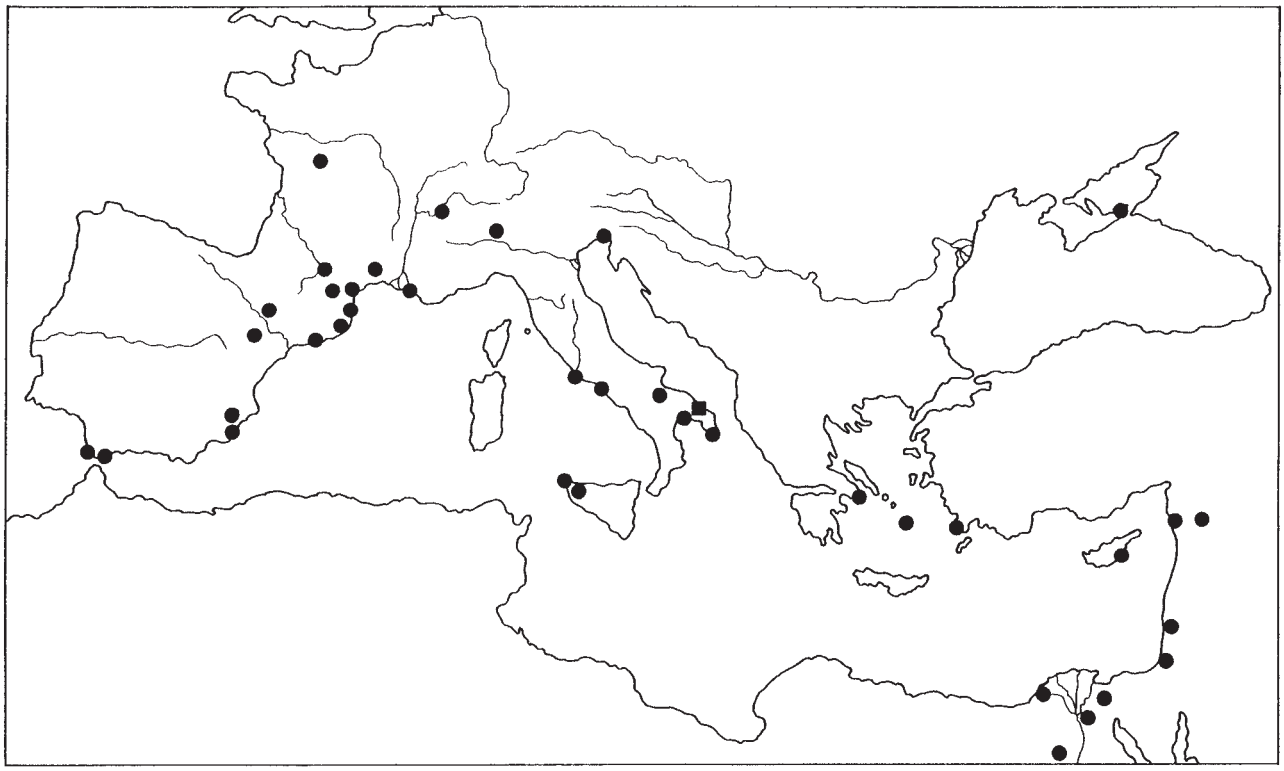


Fig. 9. Distribution of the Brindisi amphoras (after Cipriano et Carre 1989).

divinities are often unknown, it is difficult to guess the reasons behind this variation. Both at Oria and at Valesio the sanctuaries are slightly outside the walled settlement in Hellenistic times. In these cases it seems plausible to assume that the relationship between settlement and sanctuary was a fairly close one. The same may hold good for the Grotta Poesia, which was actually underneath the settlement of Rocavecchia.

Some of the coastal sanctuaries like the Grotta Porcinara at Leuca may have performed a function in relation to the sea; it was, in any case, some 6 km from the nearest complex settlement (Santa Maria di Vereto/*Veretum*). The Grotta della Trinità, a cave-sanctuary of an unknown deity near present-day Ruffano, however, is far from the sea and from any native settlement (D'Andria 1990B, 195-196) and must have performed a very different function in the native societies of Salento. A similar observation, however, could well have been made concerning the small rural spring sanctuary of Campo Adriano, some 3 km from the native settlement of Oria. It would have proved to be completely mistaken: field survey has demonstrated that this small, early-Hellenistic sanctuary should be linked with a small hamlet consisting of three to four farmsteads. Because there are reasons to assume that these farms were owned by an élite family of Oria (Yntema 1993A), the sanctuary in question may well have played a role in the way a local élite family expressed and promoted itself.

Because only a few sanctuaries in the area under discussion are more or less adequately published, the information on cult practices is scant. The meagre evidence available at present suggests that they differed considerably. Each of the sanctuaries had one or more votive deposits[21] containing almost invariably pottery, coins, terracottas, vegetal and/or animal remains. There are some indications that the non-artefactual votive offerings varied, possibly because of the requirements of the specific cults. While, for instance, (young) pigs abounded in the possibly chtonic sanctuary of Oria (of Demeter and

[21] The votive deposit of the Grotta Poesia is likely to have been carried away by the waves when the sea entered the cave in post-medieval times.

Persephone?)[22], the same animals are conspicuous by their absence in the sanctuary of Batas at Leuca (D'Andria 1978). In these two sanctuaries, moreover, non-artefactual offerings could be burnt: the votive deposit of Monte Papalucio is ashy and contains partly burnt corn and beans; at Leuca a rounded altar for such purposes (the *eschara*) has been found during the excavations (D'Andria 1978).

II.5.2. Religion after the Roman conquest

In the period that followed the Roman conquest of Salento, the native sanctuaries of the area lost much of their importance. Whilst the sailors' sanctuary at Leuca continued to be visited in Roman Imperial times and votive inscriptions were scratched on the walls at Rocavecchia into the second half of the 2nd century B.C., the extramural sanctuaries of Oria and Valesio and the rural sanctuary of Campo Adriano ceased to function before or around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The scanty evidence suggests that similar developments may well have occurred in the remaining sanctuaries of the area under discussion in about the same period, i.e. between the *de facto* political incorporation (267/266 B.C.) and the definitive political integration (89 B.C.) of the district into the Roman State.

Because the native cult places fell into neglect, religion must have been affected by rather drastic changes in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. This is hardly surprising, since it must be borne in mind that both the population and the social patterns in the Brindisi district underwent profound changes in the period under discussion. Hitherto only a few cult places of the Roman period have been reported for the *Brindisino*. Capitals possibly belonging to a Hellenistic temple dedicated to Dionysus have been found at Brindisi *(Fig. 10)*; they may date to the 2nd century B.C. (D'Andria 1979) and stem from the very centre of the Roman town. More physical remains of Roman period religion have been found at the town of Gnathia; the settlement, some 80 km north of Brindisi, is outside the Brindisino as delineated in this paper. Here both a temple (Roman period; deity unknown) and a sanctuary of 'eastern gods are present in the centre of the town area; a rocky promontory functioning as a kind of acropolis contains a second temple (Hellenistic; *Fig. 11*). Epigraphical evidence provides further information on this subject. Two inscriptions at Oria, which was only a small town in Roman times (Yntema 1993A), contain, for instance, dedications to Hercules and Luna. Both inscriptions are likely to have come to light within the walls of the town (Pagliara 1980, 205-210).

By virtue of the evidence available at present, one is inclined to suggest that, while many of the pre-Roman rural and extra-mural sanctuaries of the district disappeared in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., religious activities began to be performed in the very hearts of those towns that managed to survive (Brindisi and Oria; Gnathia, just outside the Brindisino as delineated in this paper). This hypothesis is confirmed by the evidence from the originally dispersed native settlement of *Bantia* (present-day Banzi) in northeastern Basilicata, where a new temple arose in the nucleated town area of early Roman times (Bottini 1980). In north-Apulian *Herdoniae* (present-day Ordona) too, the two temples at the Roman *forum* indicate that in Roman times religious buildings were to be found in the centres of formerly native settlements of present-day Apulia (Mertens 1988).

III. ROMANIZATION AND INTEGRATION

A rough outline has been given above of how settlements and settlement patterns, social and political structures, economy, craft and religion can be surmised to have been on the eve of the Roman conquest (267/266 B.C.) and the ways they are likely to have changed during the long integration period that followed. Often, that period is taken to end in 89 B.C. (for instance, Yntema 1993A): at the end of the Social War all the inhabitants of the Brindisi area officially became Roman citizens. The main reason, however, for choosing that particular year is that the archaeological evidence for the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. in the Brindisi area is extremely scanty. The date, of course, is entirely arbitrary. Whereas, for instance, Latin became the official language in 89 B.C., Messapic was probably still spoken in daily conversation during the 1st century B.C.

There can be no doubt that the integration process that can be observed in the the Brindisi area during the late 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. was partly a Romanization process. From what has been stated in the introductory part of this paper it is, however, clear that one has to perform the almost impossible task of dissecting the Roman culture of the district in order to separate traditionally Messapian or Calabrian, originally Greek and orginally Roman features in the cultural mix that is

[22] For the bones from the Grotta Porcinara sanctuary (Leuca), see D.G.Yntema, Leuca, Bones and Messapian Pottery, *BABesch* 55 (1980), 250-259. The information concerning the bones of the Monte Papalucio sanctuary of Oria was kindly supplied by Prof. D'Andria (Lecce University).

Fig. 10. Brindisi, Museo Provinciale: capital from Brindisi (2nd century B.C.).

found in Salento in the Roman period. This list of cultural 'ingredients', moreover, is not exhaustive, since both Greek and Roman culture were extremely varied in the Hellenistic period: in social, political and religious aspects Greek Taranto, for instance, differed from Greek Alexandria. Because of the very intensive contacts within the Mediterranean area, both Greek and Roman culture had already become a very rich cultural blend.

As for political structures, the Roman conquest of Salento doubtlessly entailed a substantial shift of power. The conquered Calabri may have been permitted to mind their own internal affairs. In this field, a confederacy of Calabrian towns or a tribal assembly probably continued to play some role in the internal affairs of the area, at least initially. Issues of major importance, however, are unlikely to have been settled any longer in Calabrian decision-making bodies.

The foundation of the *colonia latina* of Brindisi is one of the most saliently and patently Roman encroachments upon the early Hellenistic, native societies of the Brindisino. Certain areas must have

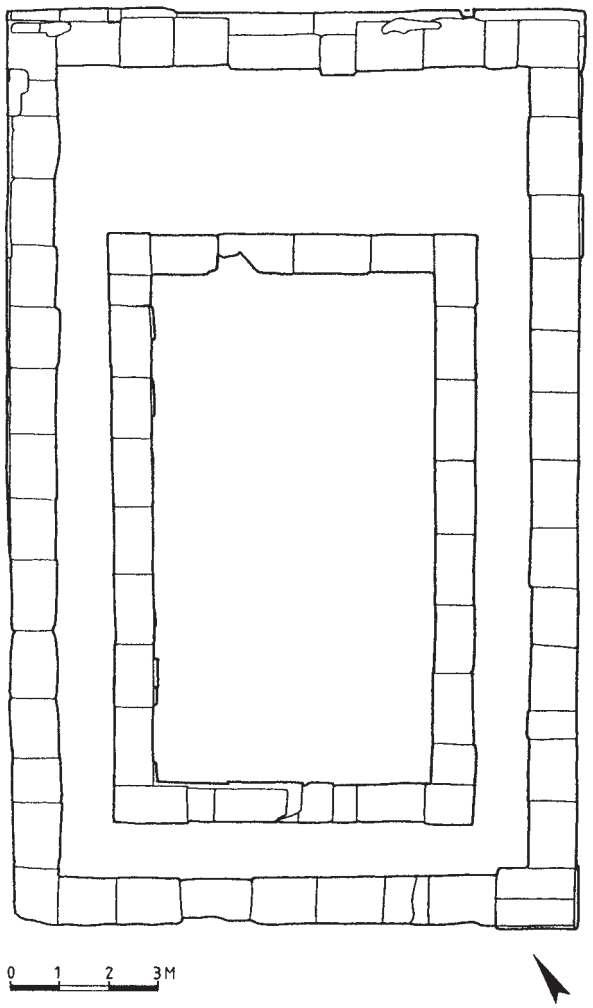


Fig. 11. Gnathia: grond plan of the 'acropolis' temple (after D'Andria 1990A); 2nd century B.C.?

been confiscated in order to provide land for the new Latin settlers. The town of Brindisi, moreover, was Rome's representative in the region and may well have advised the centre of power on all things 'Calabrian'. The presence of the *colonia*, therefore, must have changed decisively the balance of power in the region. In the field of politics, native features fused with Roman elements.

In the field of religion, the archaeological evidence also suggests a very decisive break with the past during the period discussed in this paper. Native religion, with its extra-urban and rural sanctuaries in caves and near springs, was a mix consisting mainly of native and colonial-Greek features (Yntema 1982). The majority of pre-Roman cult areas, however, were abandoned in the course of the 2nd century B.C. Archaeological evidence for religious activities during the Roman period are mainly found in substantial, complex settlements of the district (Brindisi, Oria). Religion, therefore, moved from the countryside to the very hearts of the few surviving towns.

A highly decisive factor in the making of Roman Salento is to be found in the important economic role Brindisi began to play in the 2nd century B.C. When Rome began its expansion in Greece and further east, the native settlement and *colonia latina* of Brindisi, having by far the best harbour of south-eastern Italy, became a starting point for the numerous crossings to Greece and a provisioning

base for armies fighting in Greece and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean. Livy's books XXX-XLV contain some 40 passages testfying to this role of Brindisi during the 2nd century B.C. These activities must have required substantial harbour facilities. They also attracted *negotiatores* keen on army contracts and a wide range of craftsmen producing articles which the army and expanding Brindisi needed. The army, moreover, had to be fed. Victuals and other articles, therefore, were shipped from Brindisi to Greece. Once the 'eastern' contacts had been established in this way, transactions with civilians of the 'pacified' areas may have followed.

Taranto's decline after the Hannibalic War, moreover, gave Brindisi the opportunity to take over this *polis'* role as a crucial link in the trade networks of both eastern and western Mediterranean. This actually must have happened (Marasco 1988). Both the ample distribution of the Brindisi amphoras *(fig. 9)* and their relative commonness on the shores of future *Mare Nostrum*, for instance, support this hypothesis. The contents of these amphoras, moreover, provide the link between the *colonia latina* of Brindisi and the Brindisino as delineated in this paper.

If Brindisi was an important provisioning base for the Roman armies in Greece during the first half of the 2nd century B.C. (and that is fairly certain), areas close to the town, perhaps Salento in general, may well have specialized in producing army food. Olive oil, wine and corn were certainly among the products required. They were already cultivated on a substantial scale in the district under discussion since the late 4th century B.C.: in the area surrounding each town of the Calabri there were probably dozens of small, possibly élite-owned farms which display close links with the native town (Yntema 1993). Their owners, however, were probably only very moderately marked-minded. Although these late 4th-early 3rd century farms certainly had vineyards, olive groves and cornfields, they are likely to have also produced vegetables, cheese, wool and other commodities. Only a part of these articles ended up in far-away markets; much of their production was consumed in the native town, in the territory of which the farms were situated.

It has been stated above that drastic changes began to affect the settlement pattern in the Brindisi district in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. These changes coincide with Brindisi's new role as army food supplier and Mediterranean trade centre of considerable importance. Above it has been explained that there are reasons to assume that the farmsteads of the early 2nd century were no longer closely linked to the native town on which they had focused in pre-Roman times. However, once the rural economy of the Brindisi district had embraced the increasingly specialized production of cash crops such as wine, olive oil and corn, the ties that linked the decreasing number of expanding farmsteads to declining native centres were almost completely severed. The farms were now linked to Brindisi, not to the originally agrarian centre nearby. This phenomenon caused changes in settlement patterns, ruptures in traditional native social systems, migration and concentration of the production of artefacts in Brindisi, the only remaining economic centre of the district.

When the totality of changes that affected the Brindisi area between the Roman conquest of c. 267/266 B.C. and the political integration of the area in 89 B.C. is studied at close quarters, one must admit that Romanisation -however it is defined- is not the correct term to cover the processes that took place in the Brindisi area. Indeed, political and, perhaps, religious changes may have been brought about by the dialogue between Roman and native-Calabrian elements only. Many of the changes, however, were certainly *not* due to regular and frequent contacts between these two cultures. In most cases the Roman presence merely served as a only a catalytic agent in evolutionary processes set in motion before the Roman conquest by completely different causes. The crucial factor -probably *the* basic cause of many changes- was not the incorporation of the Brindisi district in the Roman state, but the integration of the same area in a Mediterranean network of strongly intensifying, interregional contacts of later Hellenistic times. Whereas the area under discussion had been a peripherical element in the Greek trade diaspora from the 9th century B.C. onward, it became an integral part of its Hellenistic successor, which was not merely limited to the Hellenistic-Greek kingdoms, Greek confederacies and Greek *poleis* of the Mediterranean, but encompassed many areas with non-Greek antecedents. The Brindisi district, a relatively small, mainly self-supporting political, social and economic unit until well into the 4th century B.C., became a fairly vital element of the much larger system covering the whole Mediterranean area, in which goods and ideas circulated freely. Changes in site hierarchy and mentality, changes in the fields of craft, trade, commerce and agriculture as well as social changes owe much to the dialogue between the native culture of the Brindisi area and the emerging Mediterranean *koinè* culture, with its numerous local variants (among them also a central-Italic/

Roman variant) of the Middle Hellenistic period. The former actually became a part of the latter from the 2nd century B.C. onwards. Similar processes took place in many other parts of the Mediterranean, in the Near East and in north-western Europe. Together they resulted in the regionally highly varied, multi-cultural society that is characteristic of the Roman Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcock, S. 1993, *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.

Andreassi, G. et A. Cocchiaro 1988, *La necropoli di Via Cappuccini a Brindisi*, Fasano.

Boe, G. de 1975, Villa romana in località <<Posta Crusta>>. Rapporto provvisorio sulle campagne di scavo 1972 e 1973, *NSc* 1975, 516-530.

Boersma, J.S. and D.G. Yntema 1987, The Oria Project: second interim report, *BABesch* 62 (1987), 1-19.

Boersma, J.S. and D.G. Yntema 1989, The Valesio Project: fourth interim report (campaigns of 1987 and 1988), *BABesch* 64 (1989), 134-159.

Boersma, J.S., H. van Wijngaarden, D.G. Yntema, L. Zomer 1990: The Valesio Project; Fifth Interim Report (excavations and survey of 1989), *BABesch* 65 (1990), 81-96.

Bottini, A. 1980, Osservazioni sulla topografia di Banzi preromana, *AnnStorAnt* 2, 69-82.

Brauer, G.C. 1986, *Taras, its History and Coinage*, New Rochelle/New York.

Burgers, G.-J. 1992, The Salento Isthmus Project: First Interim Report, *BABesch* 67 (1992), 111-116.

Calderone, S. 1975, La conquista della Magna Grecia, in *La Magna Grecia nell'età romana, Atti del XV Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1975*, Napels 1976, 33-81.

Carter J.C. 1987, Agricoltura e pastorizia in Magna Grecia (tra Bradano e Basento), in *Magna Grecia. Lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico* (ed. G. Pugliese Caratelli), Milano, 173-212.

Chisholm, M. 1970, *Rural Settlement and Land Use*, London.

Cipriano, M.T. et M.-B. Carre 1989, Production et typologie des amphores sur la côte adriatique de l'Italie, in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique, dix ans de recherche*, Rome, 67-104.

Cocchiaro, A. 1989, *Nuovi documenti dalla necropoli meridionale di Mesagne*, Fasano.

Cotton, M. Aylwin and G.P.R. Métraux 1985, *The San Rocco Villa at Francolise*, London.

D'Andria, F. 1978, *Leuca* (ed. F. D'Andria), Galatina.

D'Andria, F. 1979, Puglia in età romana, in *Puglia dal Paleolitico al Tardoromano*, Milano.

D'Andria 1990A = D'Andria, F. 1990, Insediamenti e territorio: l'età storica, in *I Messapi, Atti del XXX Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990*, Taranto 1993, 393-478.

D'Andria 1990B = D'Andria, F. 1990, *Archeologia dei Messapi* (ed. F. D'Andria), Exhibition catalogue Museo Provinciale Lecce 1990/91, Bari.

Désy, Ph. 1989, Les timbres amphoriques de l'Apulie républicaine. Documents pour une histoire économique et sociale, *BAR Int.Series* no. 554, Oxford.

Désy, Ph. et P. De Paepe 1990, Torre San Giovanni (Ugento): Les amphores commerciales hellénistiques et republicaines, *StAnt* 6, 187-234.

Dyson, S.L. 1992, *Community and Society in Roman Italy*, Baltimore/London.

Giardino, L. 1980, Sulla ceramica a pasta grigia di Metaponto e sulla presenza in essa di alcuni bolli iscritti: studio preliminare, *StAnt* 1, 247-287.

Guzzo, P.G. 1991, Documentazione ed ipotesi archeologiche per la più antica romanizzazione di Bari, Brindisi, Taranto, in *Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell'Italia centro-meridionale (IV-III se. av.C). Colloque international Academia Belgica, Rome* (eds. J. Mertens e R. Lambrechts), Bruxelles/Rome, 77-88.

Lamboley, J.-L. 1982, Les hypogées apuliens, *MEFRA* 94, 91-148.

Lamboley, J.-L. 1990, Les fortifications messapiennes des IVe-IIIe siècles av.J.-C., in *I Messapi, Atti del XXX Convegno Int. Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990*, 479-501.

Lombardo, M. 1992, *I Messapi e la Messapia nelle fonti letterarie greche e latine*, Galatina.

Lo Porto, F.G. 1974, L'attività archeologica in Puglia, in *Orfismo in Magna Grecia, Atti del XIV Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1974*, Napoli 1975, 337-350.

Manacorda, D. 1988, Per uno studio dei centri produttori delle anfore brindisine, in *Puglia in età repubblicana. Atti del I. Convegno di Studi sulla Puglia romana, Mesagne 1986* (ed. C.Marangio), Mesagne 1988, 91-108.

Manacorda, D. 1990, La fornace di Visellio a Brindisi. Primi risultati dello scavo, *VeteraChr* 27, 375-415.

Marangio, C. 1975, La romanizzazione dell'Ager Brundisinus, *RicStBrindisi* 8, 105-133.

Marasco, G. 1988, *Economia, commerci e politica nel Mediterraneo fra il III e il II secolo a.C*, Firenze.

Marinazzo, A. 1980, *La necropoli messapica di S.Lorenzo (Francavilla Fontana)*, Fasano di Puglia.

Mertens, J. 1988, Ordona 1978-1987. Rapport sommaire sur neuf années de fouilles archéologiques, in *Ordona VIII, Rapports et Études*, (ed. J. Mertens), Bruxelles/Rome.

Millett, M. 1990, *The Romanisation of Britain*, Cambridge.

Müller-Karpe, H. 1959, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderzeit nördlich und südlich der Alpen*, Berlin.

Ori di Taranto = Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica, exhibition catalogue Brera Milan, Milano 1984.

Pagliara, C. 1978, Le iscrizioni, in *Leuca* (ed. F. D'Andria), Galatina, 177-221.

Pagliara, C. 1980, Note di epigrafia salentina, IV, *StAnt* 1, 205-235.

Pagliara, C. 1981, Vaste, Fondo Lucernara: nota preliminare, *StAnt* 2, 169-171.

Pagliara, C. 1987, La grotta della Poesia di Roca (Melendugno, Lecce), *AnnPisa* s.III, XVII.2, 267-328.

Pagliara, C. 1990, Santuari costieri, in *I Messapi, Atti del XXX Convegno Int. Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990*, Taranto 1993, 503-526.
Palazzo, P. 1989, Le anfore di Apani (Brindisi), in *Atti Convegno <<Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherches>>, Siena 1986*, Roma, 548-553.
Pani, M. 1988, I *municipia* romani, in *La Puglia in età repubblicana. Atti del I. Convegno di Studi sulla Puglia romana, Mesagne 1986* (ed. C. Marangio), Mesagne 1988, 21-45.
Patterson, J.R. 1987, Crisis: What Crisis? Rural Change and Urban Development in Imperial Apennine Italy, *BSR* 55, 115-146.
Sartori, F. 1975, Le città italiote dopo la conquista romana, in *La Magna Grecia nell'età romana, Atti del XV Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1975*, Napels 1976.
Simone, C. de 1971, La lingua messapica: tentativo di una sintesi, in *Le genti non greche della Magna Grecia, Atti del XI Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1971*, Napoli 1972, 125-201.
Simone, C. de 1993: La lingua messapica oggi; un bilancio critico, in *I Messapi, Atti del XXX Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990*, Taranto 1993, 297-322.
Steingräber, S. 1991, Zu Entstehung, Verbreitung und architektonischem Kontext der unteritalischen Grabmalerei, *JdI* 106, 1-36.
Tchernia, A. 1986, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine*, Rome.
Tinè Bertocchi, F. 1964, *La pittura funeraria apula*, Napoli.
Travaglini, A. 1990, La monetazione di ORRA, *StAnt* 6, 235-255.
Volpe, G. 1987, Le anfore della tomba 6 di Ascoli Satriano, *RicStBrindisi* 13, 105-120.
Volpe, G. 1990, *La Daunia nell'età della Romanizzazione*, Bari.
Wuilleumier, P. 1987, *Taranto dalle origini alla conquista romana*, Taranto. (Italian translation of French edition, Paris 1939)
Yntema, D.G. 1982, Notes on Greek Influence on Iron-Age Salento, *StAnt* 3, 83-131.
Yntema, D.G. 1990, Le ceramiche e l'artigianato del Salento tra l'età del ferro e la romanizzazione, in *I Messapi, Atti del XXX Convegno Int. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1990*, Taranto 1993, 139-184.
Yntema, D.G. 1991: The Birth of a Town. The Settlement of Oria in Southern Italy from the Iron Age into the Hellenistic Period,?????
Yntema 1993A = Yntema, D.G. 1993, *In Search of an Ancient Countryside. The Amsterdam Free University Field Survey at Oria, Province of Brindisi, South Italy (1981-1983)*, Amsterdam.
Yntema 1993B = Yntema, D.G. 1993, The Settlement of Valesio, Southern Italy, *BABesch* 68 (1993), 49-70.
Yntema 1993C = Yntema, D.G., Greeks, Natives and Farmsteads in South-Eastern Italy, in *De Agricultura, In Memoriam P.W. De Neeve* (ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al.), Amsterdam 1993, 78-97.

May 1994

Archeologisch Instituut Vrije Universiteit
De Boelelaan 1105
1081 HV Amsterdam

BaBesch 70 (1995)

The entrance channel of the castellum divisorium at Nîmes

Paul Kessener

ABSTRACT

Roman aqueduct channels often ended in a castellum divisorium, a relatively small tank located at the edge of the city that served as the start of the urban water distribution system. The castellum divisorium at Nîmes and the one at Pompei are some of the best-known examples. The entrance channel of the aqueduct of Nîmes into its castellum divisorium shows several artifacts which suggest that it was equiped with a kind of (double) sluicegate. Several interpretations exist, but "the reason for this complicated arrangement remains obscure" (RA, 287). In this article an explanation is proposed taking into account the shape of the incrustations inside the entrance channel.

The castellum divisorium at Nîmes *(Figs. 1 and 2)* was originally excavated by Auguste Pelet in 1844 (Pelet). A general description and bibliography of the Nîmes aqueduct and its castellum is given by Hodge (RA, 379). At present the castellum is situated on a hilly street in the northern part of Nîmes not far from the centre, separated from the public by a low metal balustrade. The site of the castellum was visited by the author in december 1993.

The circular basin is 141 cm deep, measured at the entrance channel of the aqueduct, including the thickness of the covering stone which is part of the surrounding paving. The covering stone has a thickness of 14 cm, leaving 127 cm for the inner heigth of the opening. The width of the entrance channel is 120 cm, so the (original) dimensions were 127 cm high and 120 cm wide. Original, because of incrustations on the side walls and on the underside of the covering stone, which can be clearly seen in *Fig. 1*. These incrustations have a thickness of about 15-17 cm, leaving at present an effective opening of some 110 cm high and 90 cm wide. The dimensions mentioned by Hodge (RA, 285), 1.20 m wide and 1.10 m high, are in itself correct, but the first one includes the incrustations on the sidewalls, the second one however accounts for the incrustation on the underside of the covering stone.

The calcareous incrustations in the entrance channel are quite peculiar. One doesn't need to wonder about calcareous incrustations in general, easily observed *e.g.* at the Pont du Gard and visible parts of the Nîmes aqueduct and just about all other known Roman aqueducts. One is just bound to expect them in the entrance channel of the castellum, being the very end of the Nîmes aqueduct. *Fig. 3*, a close-up of the entrance channel, shows the heavily incrusted right hand sidewall (looking upstream) and underside of the covering stone. The left hand side wall looks quite the same, the difference being that on the right hand wall the last part of the incrustation has been broken away and removed, as can be seen by the lightly coloured area on the sidewall-stone in *Fig. 3*. The entrance channel extends some 2 m 'upstream' up to a blind wall which prevents further inspection, and the incrustations on both sidewalls extend up to (and beyond) this blind wall. Incrustations on the sidewalls are to be expected, but the incrustations on the underside of the covering stone require some further explanation.

Incrustations on all sides of aqueduct channels, including the underside of top coverings, are known to exist, *e.g.* in the course of the Aqua Claudia, and of the Anio Novus at Osteriola (RA, 413 n.8; Liberati e de Rosa), a sure sign that at some instance in the operation of the aqueduct the channel ran completely full due to insufficient capacity, thus causing incrustation all around in a continuous layer. Did the entrance channel of the castellum of Nîmes run completely full of water? Was the capacity of the entrance channel insufficient? It would not have been a very adequate design, being so close to the point of destination of the aqueduct, the *castellum divisorium*.

Now in the entrance channel of the Nîmes castellum the incrustations on sidewalls and the underside of the covering stone *do not* form a continuous mass as one would expect for a channel running completely full. The incrustations are separated at the edges, the distance being in the order of mm. One could perhaps insert a piece of paper in

Fig. 1. Nîmes: the castellum divisorium. *Water entered the circular basin (5.5 m in diameter) through the rectangular opening in the back (the entrance channel) and presumably left by ten large lead pipes through the circular holes in the sidewall.*

Fig. 2. Nîmes: the castellum divisorium, *as seen from above the entrance channel. The floor of the castellum shows 3 orifices that could be closed off by (stone?) lids, corresponding to one discharge channel (covered by stone slabs, upper left hand corner), probably serving a* naumachia *(RA, 289).*

Fig. 3. Entrance channel of the Nîmes aqueduct into its castellum divisorium. The heavy incrustations on right hand side wall and underside of covering stone are easily observed. Part of the incrustation on the right hand wall has been broken away in the past (lightly coloured area on sidewall).

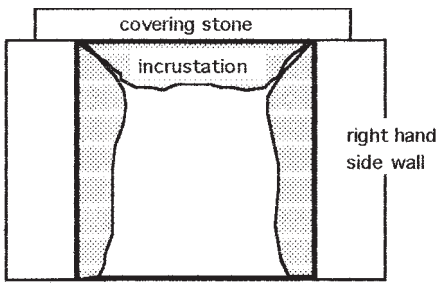


Fig. 4. Vertical cross-section of entrance channel of Nîmes castellum perpendicular to longitudinal axis of channel, at some 35 cm inside the channel. Incrustations on right hand side wall at this point (broken away) to be of symmetrical shape as on left hand side wall.

between the incrustation on the side wall and that on the underside of the covering stone. The incrustations are formed as three cushions side by side, one on the lefthand side wall, one on the right hand side wall, and one hanging from the underside of the covering stone, touching each other at the corners at an angle of some 45 degrees from vertical *(Fig. 4)*. Did the incrustations grow separately in this way, or were they deliberately kept apart during the time of their formation? This last possibility could have been realized by lifting the covering stone at regular intervals, disturbing and breaking incrustation at the corners having been formed in a continuous layer on sidewalls and covering stone in the channel running completely full. Or by having a person ordered to carve out a borderline between incrustations on sidewall and covering stone with some flat sharp instrument at regular intervals, keeping a permanent separation between the growing incrustations. Both possibilities seem highly improbable: what should have been the purpose of such procedures?

The thicknesses of the incrustations on the sidewalls and on underside of the covering stone are quite comparable, not to say equal. They were obviously formed in equal timespans, supposing it being improbable that in a cleaning operation in Roman times incrustations on the sidewalls were chipped away leaving the incrustations on the underside of the covering stone undisturbed. This means that the underside of the covering stone did

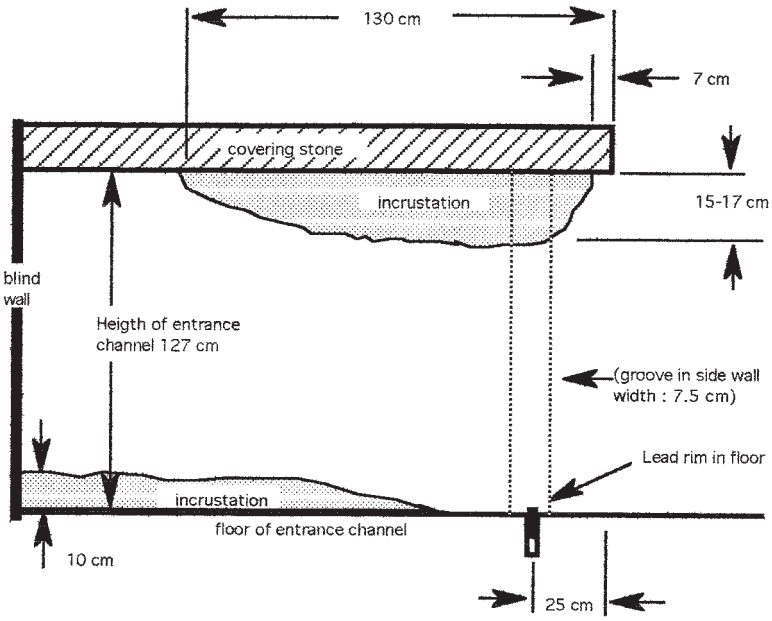


Fig. 5. Vertical cross-section of entrance channel parallel to longitudinal channel, in middle region of channel. Incrustation on underside of covering stone extending from 7 cm up to 130 cm from the outer edge of the covering stone. Maximum thickness (in drawing exaggerated): 15-17 cm.

make continuous contact with the water in the (running) aqueduct, as the sidewalls evidently must have done. Inspecting the extension of the incrustation on the underside of the covering stone inside the entrance channel, one may observe that contrary to the incrustations on the sidewalls, the incrustation on the underside of the covering stone does not extend up to (and beyond) the blind wall mentioned above. Nor does it appear to have been broken away, but it gradually becomes thinner to disappear at a distance of about 130 cm from its beginning at the entrance of the aqueduct channel *(Fig. 5)*. Apparently only the last 130 cm of the underside of the covering stone made contact with water flowing in the aqueduct.

The covering stone is equiped with 9 holes, as can be seen in *Fig. 6*. Some measures (in cm) are given in the accompanying drawing *(Fig. 7)*.
There are two more or less round holes some 8 cm in diameter, 6 rectangular holes in a row (5x5-6x6 cm), and one orifice presumably used for lifting the covering stone in place. The imaginary line connecting the two round holes and the line along which the 6 square holes are positioned run parallel, their distance being about 10 cm. The six rectangular holes are some 14 cm deep, thereby also perforating the covering stone, but their bottom is formed by the incrustation on the underside of the covering stone. Something has been sticking *in* the rectangular holes, but not *through* these holes.

The two round holes, perforating the covering stone, correspond with two vertical grooves (7.5 cm wide and 3 cm deep) in the side walls of the entrance channel located at about 22 cm from the beginning of the entrance channel. See *Fig. 8*, a horizontal cross-section of the entrance channel (see also *Fig. 3*).

The grooves extend from the underside of the covering stone down to the floor of the entrance channel, and are connected to each other by a third groove of about 2.5 cm wide in the floor of the entrance channel. This third groove corresponds to the centre of the vertical grooves. *Fig. 9* shows the junction of the vertical groove in the right hand side wall and the groove in the floor. The groove in the floor contains a lead rim, about 1-1.5 cm thick, over its entire length, as can be easily verified by scraping it with a pocketknife: the remains of the lead seal attested for by Pelet (RA, 457, n.26) are still to be seen...

The vertical grooves in the side walls have been interpreted as a guide for a movable contraption, that is, a sluicegate, operated by a windlass mounted on the covering stone, the connecting cables passing through the two round holes

Fig. 6. Detail of covering stone of entrance channel, seen from above. The covering stone is provided with a total of 9 holes.

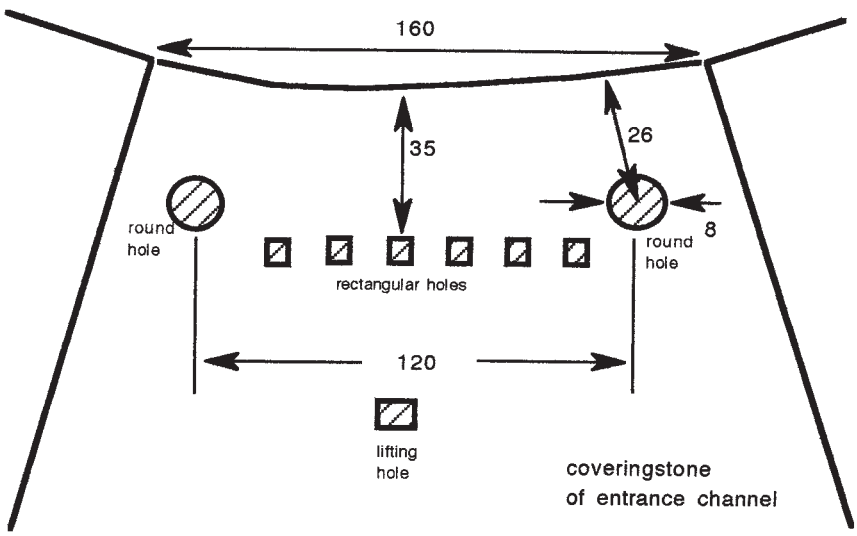


Fig. 7. Some measures of details of covering stone of entrance channel (in cm).

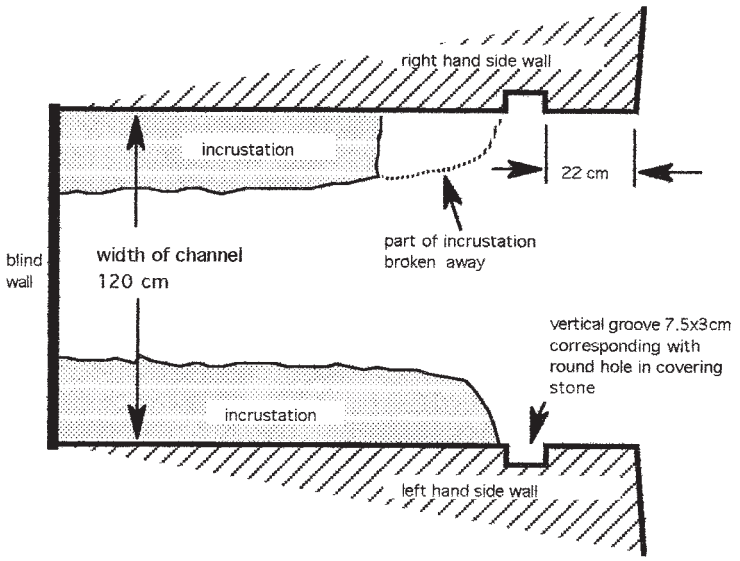


Fig. 8. Horizontal cross-section of entrance channel, at medium heigth (± 60 cm). Incrustation on side walls, some 17 cm thick (in drawing exaggerated), extend from vertical groove up to (and beyond) the blind wall.

Fig. 9. Junction of vertical groove in right hand side-wall (3x7.5 cm) and groove in the floor of the entrance channel, still equiped with a lead rim of 1-1.5 cm thick-ness. The narrower groove in the floor corresponds with the middle of the verti-cal groove.

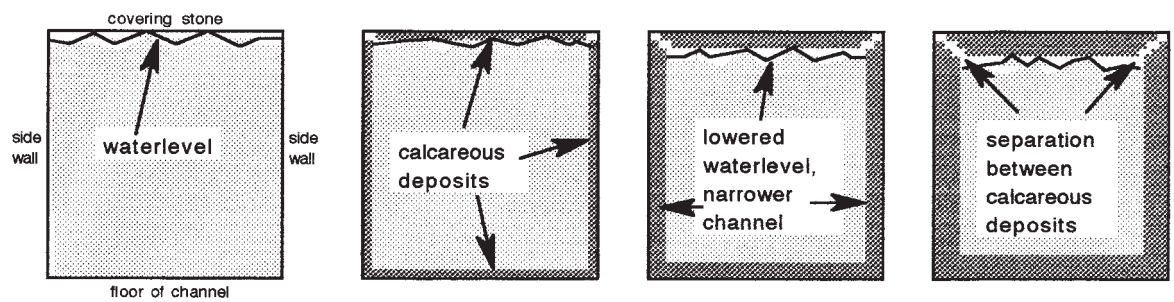


Fig. 10. Successive stadia of incrustation on sidewalls and underside of covering stone of the entrance channel of the aqueduct of Nîmes into its castellum divisorium in case the waterlevel in the entrance channel is kept at a level just reaching the underside of the covering stone by means of operating a movable sluicegate (not shown). Assuming equal growth rates for incrustation on sidewalls and underside of covering stone, a separation line at some 45 degrees from vertical is expected.

(RA, 285ff and fig. 200; HFQ, 215; Nîm 84). In the interpretation of Pelet (RA, 457, n.26), this sluicegate is thought to have consisted of two parts or gates : one part was fixed to the floor of the castellum, the other part could be moved up and down behind it. Hauck also discusses other possibilities (WF, 397ff.: one single fixed gate; two movable gates; one single movable gate), concluding two movable gates being the best option. The function of this sluicegate has originally been associated with a device for controlling the inflow of water into the castellum (Pelet: to close of the aqueduct entirely[1]). Recent interpretations vary from a device for the creation of a hydraulic jump upstream of the sluicegate inside the channel as a means for cleaning the channel from debris (HFQ, 216) to Hauck's device for measuring the aqueduct discharge by means of a submerged orifice (WF, 400ff; Nîm, 83).

On inspection of the incrustations on the sidewalls and the underside of the coveringstone, there is, apart from the peculiar separation in between as discussed above, another detail that raises some questions. The incrustations on the sidewalls extend up to the vertical groove in the sidewall, as can be seen in *Fig. 8* (part of the incrustation on the right hand sidewall has been broken away in the past). The incrustation on the left hand sidewall is still intact and extends not beyond the vertical groove some 30 cm away from the very end of the entrance channel (22 + 7.5 cm), and clearly incrustation could not possibly extend further assuming a sluicegate has been moving up and down in the vertical grooves. However, the incrustation on the underside of the coveringstone does extend further beyond the imaginary line connecting the two vertical grooves, to be exact for some 23 cm, taking its end at about 7 cm from the outer edge of the covering stone *(Fig. 5)*. From this we must conclude that the (hypothetical) sluicegate was never raised all the way up to the coveringstone to close off the entrance channel entirely, where it would have prevented the formation of calcareous deposits; the incrustation at the underside of the covering stone is irregularly shaped and at present about 15-17 cm thick at the position of a completely raised sluicegate.

Summarizing what we have seen above:

1. The entrance channel of the aqueduct of Nîmes into its *castellum divisorium* was equiped with a contraption, at least a part of which could be made to slide up and down from above in a vertical groove in each of both sidewalls of the entrance channel, thus preventing incrustations being formed in these vertical grooves.

2. The presence of a lead rim in the floor of the entrance channel in between the vertical grooves strongly suggests that there existed a permanent seal in association with a part of the contraption, which part consequently was not movable (Hauck suggests that the lead seal in the bottom groove could have served a movable gate as well (WF, 397); to the opinion of the author the lead rim in the floor would in that case rather more likely interfere with its purpose (sealing) than enhance it).

3. The movable part of the contraption was moved up and down, but never completely up to the covering stone as to prevent formation of incrustations on the underside of the covering stone at the imaginary line in between the vertical grooves.

4. Sidewalls and underside of the covering stone were simultaneously and for equal time spans in contact with the water flowing in the aqueduct through the entrance channel into the castellum; and,

5. The incrustations on the sidewalls of the entrance channel and the underside of the covering stone were formed separately, i.e. there is a discontinuity in between the incrustations on the sidewalls and the underside of the coveringstone.

From points 1 and 2 we may safely conclude that the entrance channel of the aqueduct of Nîmes was equiped with a movable sluicegate, consisting of two parts or plates. One part was fixed and sealed to the floor of the channel, the other part was movable, sliding up and down in the vertical grooves partly behind the fixed part, and operated from above. It is in fact the arrangement described by Pelet. We now have to see how this sluicegate should have been operated as to bring its effects into agreement with points 3, 4 and 5. From this we maybe are able to deduct why it was operated in such way, and what function it was meant to have.

Let us consider the (newly built) aqueduct of Nîmes just put into operating condition, its

[1] Pelet states in 'Description des Monuments Grecs et Romains' (Pelet 1876): "...on voit même par le sediment, que cette demi-vanne fixe devait avoir 60 centimêtres de hauteur: l'autre partie mobile, d'un hauteur égal, s'élevait ou s'abaissait derrière la partie fixe, selon qu'on voulait arrêter ou couler l'eau de l'aqueduc." (as quoted by Hodge (HFQ, 215)), and: "Cette diposition indique évidemment l'existence d'une vanne destinée à fermer l'aqueduc." (WF, 397, n. 9).

entrance channel into the *castellum divisorium* equiped with the sluicegate described above. Let us assume that the two plates of the sluicegate are equal in height, the height being half the heigth (H) of the entrance channel (127/2 = 63.5 cm, Pelet states a heigth of 60 cm). In fact a variable weir, variable in heigth such that the entrance channel could be closed off completely. Let's also assume that the sluicegate is fully opened (the movable plate resting behind the fixed one), that the water-level in the castellum is low (*e.g.* being drained through the three holes in the floor of the castellum) and that the water from the aqueduct is flowing into the castellum pouring over the top of the sluicegate acting as a weir. The depth (D) of flow passing over the top evidently is a measure of the discharge of water into the castellum[2].

If the movable plate of the sluicegate were to be pulled up to some new heigth (Hs), the water behind the sluicegate would pond up until it again poured over the gate. Discharge remaining equal, the depth of flow would, after equilibrium was reached, again be D. Pulling the movable plate further upwards, the free surface of the water flowing in the channel would at some instance just reach/touch the underside of the covering stone. In this case (neglecting surface contraction) the heigth of the sluicegate is equal to heigth of the entrance channel minus depth of flow passing over the top of the sluicegate: Hs=H-D. Still further pulling up the movable plate, the remaining opening left for the water to pour into the castellum would be too small for the discharge and the aqueduct would start to overflow at some location upstream.

We have seen above (point 4) that the underside of the covering stone has been continuously in contact with the water flowing in the aqueduct. Thus the sluicegate must always have been pulled up such that the water *at least touched* the underside of the covering stone. In case the sluicegate was permanently pulled up higher, the entrance channel would be completely filled with water and the aqueduct would start to overflow upstream. One would in that case expect incrustations being formed in a continuous layer on sidewalls and underside of the covering stone. If however the sluicegate were to be pulled up and lowered according to the discharge of the aqueduct such that the watersurface in the entrance channel just reached the underside of the covering stone (and hence all the water of the aqueduct would flow into the castellum, which is of course desirable), following consequences for the formation of incrustations would apply.

In a running aqueduct the velocity of the water at its free surface is largest in the middle of the aqueduct, decreasing towards the side walls to zero at the very surface of these walls (Urquhart, 283). Consequently turbulence and disturbances occurring have their largest amplitudes in the middle section of the flow. If the sluicegate of the entrance channel is raised such that the free surface of the water flowing in the entrance channel and pouring over the top of the sluicegate just reaches the underside of the coveringstone, turbulences will cause the underside of the covering stone to get wet preferably in its middle section.

After sufficient time a (thin) layer of calcareous deposits will have formed on both sidewalls and the middle region of the underside of the coveringstone of the entrance channel, reducing the effective area through which the water is able to pour into the castellum. The sluicegate has subsequently to be lowered in order to avoid impairment of discharge and overflow of the aqueduct upstream to the extent that the free surface of the water again just touches the underside of the covering stone (which now is covered with a thin calcareous layer). As a consequence the upper ends of both sidewalls no longer are in contact with water for a distance more or less equal to the thickness of the incrustation on the underside of the covering stone, and incrustation will stop to be formed in this area. Vice versa, because of the incrustations on both sidewalls, the channel has become a bit narrower. The area on the underside of the covering stone that is liable to get wet (and incrustated) thus also has become narrower: at both outer ends at the edge between sidewalls and covering stone no more calcareous deposits will be formed on the underside of the covering stone for a distance corresponding the thickness of the incrustations on the sidewalls.

After sufficient time again a new layer of calcareous deposits will have formed on both sidewalls and underside of the coveringstone, forcing the operator of the sluicegate to lower it again, and so on. The incrustations grow thicker both on side-

[2] The general relation between head H (heigth of watersurface above weircrest upstream from weir) and discharge Q for a weir of length L is $Q=K\times L\times H^{3/2}$, K being the 'weir-factor', an empirical factor depending on the dimensions of the weir (Urquhart 1940, 305). Hauck (WF, 406) uses the theoretical discharge formula $Q=(2/3)\times(2g)^{1/2}\times L\times H^{3/2}$ (g being the gravitational acceleration), which is essentially the same but does not take into account effects of weir dimension. The depth of flow D over the crest of the weir is somewhat smaller than the head H due to surface contraction, but it can also be regarded as a measure of the discharge.

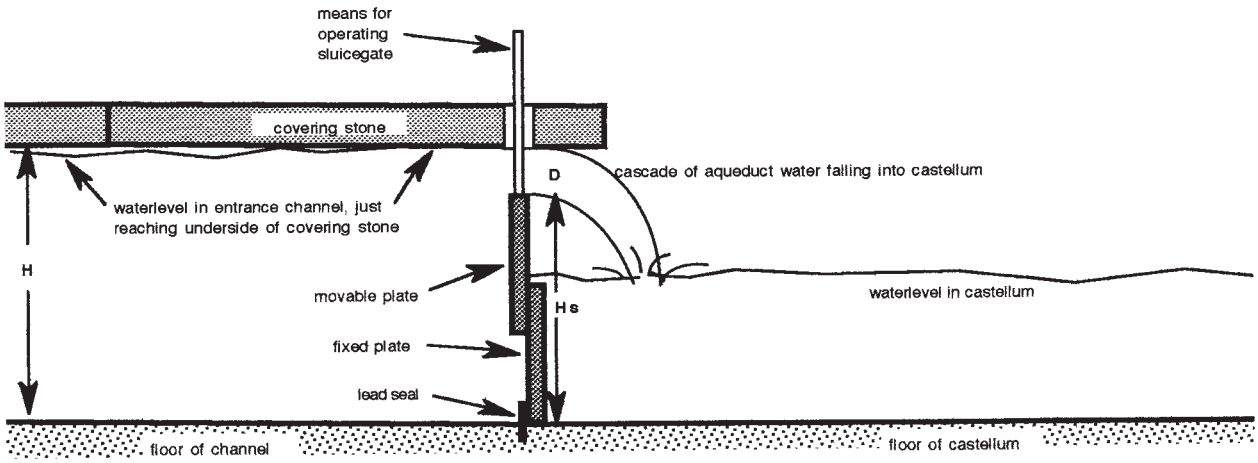


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of operation of the double sluicegate at the Nîmes castellum. The movable part was lowered and raised according to daily discharge as to guarantee contact between underside of covering stone and the water inside the entrance channel pouring over the top of the sluicegate. Heigth of sluicegate (Hs), depth of flow (D, a measure for the discharge) and heigth of entrance channel (H) are related: D=H-Hs.

walls and underside of the covering stone, but on the sidewalls the thickness increases towards the floor of the channel, and at the underside of the coveringstone the thickness increases towards the middle of the coveringstone *(Fig. 10)*. As a consequence formation of calcareous deposits at the very edge in between sidewalls and coveringstone does not occur, and the incrustation on sidewalls and underside of the covering stone appear to have been formed separately. The angle in between is expected to be 45 degrees from vertical, assuming equal growth rates for calcareous deposits on the sidewalls and on the underside of the covering stone.

The procedure of operating the sluicegate as described above would explain the typical form of the incrustations observed in the entrance channel. It would also account for the fact that the incrustations at the underside of the coveringstone extend only for a short distance upstream in the entrance channel: as soon as the waterlevel has to be lowered by lowering the sluicegate to ensure sufficient discharge into the castellum and to avoid overflowing of the aqueduct, the upstream border line of the area of the underside of the coveringstone in contact with water (assuming the channel has a slight gradient as might be expected for the aqueduct) will be moving downstream for a short distance. Also, the water pouring over the top of the sluicegate (together with ponding of water behind the raised sluicegate) would ensure contact of water with the underside of the coveringstone beyond (downstream of) the imaginary line in between the vertical grooves in the sidewalls. That is, incrustations are to be expected at the underside of the coveringstone beyond this line, and this can be readily observed on location. Furthermore, due to ponding debris would tend to accumulate behind the sluicegate where it could settle on the floor of the channel. This material would prevent incrustation to be formed on the floor proper. A mixture of debris and calcareous deposit would occur, its consistency being softer and not comparable to the stone-like substance of the incrustations on the sidewalls. It was to be removed at regular intervals, and the floor of the channel behind the sluicegate would stay clean of incrustations.

So now we may conclude: the entrance channel of the aqueduct of Nîmes into its *castellum divisorium* was equiped with a sluicegate of variable heigth acting as a variable weir. The sluicegate consisted of two parts or gates, one part fixed to the bottom of the entrance channel and sealed off by means of a lead seal extending from the floor of the entrance channel, the other part movable up and down partly behind the fixed part as to control the heigth of the weir formed by the two parts. The sluicegate was lowered and raised from above according to the (daily) discharge of the aqueduct in such a way that the free surface of the water flowing inside the

channel and pouring over the top of the sluicegate just reached the underside of the coveringstone of the entrance channel *(Fig. 11)*.
The function of such an arrangement may have been multiple. For one thing this arrangement ensured discharge of water into the castellum in a cascade-like manner, assuming that the heigth of the water in the castellum was generally not above the top of the offtake pipes in the castellum (these tops are positioned at least some 35 cm below the underside of the covering stone). Hauck states that when the flow of water into the castellum was at its maximum, the offtake pipes (assuming all were used simultaneously) ran only half full (Nîm, 82). The discharge of the springs near Ucetia feeding the Nîmes aqueduct are estimated to range approximately from 210 to 450 liters per second (Nîm, 80, WF, 396). This discharge would correspond to a depth of flow over the top of the sluicegate of 20 to 35 cm (neglecting surface contraction, using empirical weir formula (preceding note (#)), corresponding with the position of the tops of the offtake pipes. At all times and under all conditions of varying discharge one could actually see the water pouring into the castellum. This was pleasant to the eye, and the castellum is said to have been a kind of ornate pavilion, visited by the public admiring such object of civic pride (RA, 285). But also it could serve as a elegant device for monitoring the discharge of the aqueduct: depth of flow D (a measure for the discharge) and heigth Hs of the sluice gate are related: Hs+D=heigth of the entrance channel. The higher the sluicegate is raised, the lower the discharge of the aqueduct. Any changes in discharge were easily noted and quickly reacted upon. Easy to be observed and understood by the onlooker: he could actually see for himself how much water was delivered by the aqueduct into the castellum and subsequently to the city where he lived.

The sluicegate thus was not intended just to close off the channel entirely, as was suggested by Pelet (which would not serve any obvious purpose, except maybe causing the aqueduct to overflow upstream, but why? Hauck suggests a temporary interruption (some 20 minutes) of inflow of water into the circular basin in a repair or cleaning operation, the water in the basin being drained through the 3 large orifices in the floor of the castellum (WF, 404)). Nor is it likely that it was meant to be used for cleaning the entrance channel from debris for some distance upstream by creating a hydraulic jump sweeping up and down along the channel by lowering and raising the sluicegate (HFQ): due to direction of flow and ponding behind the sluicegate, debris in the channel would already tend to accumulate behind it, where it could be collected; moreover, the turbulence at the hydraulic jump is a phenomenon occurring mainly at the free surface of the water maybe comparable to breaking of waves at the beach: floating debris might be influenced by it, leaving detritus settled on the bottom of the channel undisturbed (the channel is always at least halfway filled, due to the fixed part of the sluice- gate). And, as Hauck remarks, the velocities in the channel (some 0.3 m/sec) are too low for a hydraulic jump to occur at all (WF, 399). Hauck's proposition that the sluicegate consisted of two movable parts and was used as a device for measuring the aqueduct discharge by means of an underwater orifice (WF, 400ff) also has to be discarded: the sluicegate simply did not consist of two movable parts, while the method proposed for measuring the aqueduct discharge, in itself being a correct one, requires rather complicated and time consuming procedures.

The movable plate of the sluicegate proper is thought to have been operated by means of a windlass (RA, 285, fig. 200; HFQ, 215), the connecting cables passing through the two round holes in the covering stone. A windlass would surely enable lifting of the movable plate. However, lowering it would be another matter: the water inside the entrance channel would press onto the movable plate, thereby interfering with a downward movement by gravity by means of friction between the two plates and/or between the movable plate and the vertical grooves. It depended on the weight of the movable plate wether it would go down by itself (by gravity) or had to be pushed down in order to lower it. This last option could not have been realised by means of a windlass: when trying to lower the sluicegate, the connecting cables would just loosen up while the movable plate would stay in its raised position.

The total force exerted on the movable plate by waterpressure on the upstream side of the sluicegate assuming waterlevel in the castellum being low[3], varies from some 300 kgf to 470 kgf, corresponding to a depth of flow over the top of the sluicegate of 20 cm to 35 cm. For the material of the plates two options may be considered: lead and wood. The vertical grooves in the sidewalls are

[3] Assuming the plate being 60 cm high and 120 cm wide, this force (in kgf) equals to

$$0{,}12 \int_{D}^{D+60} H\,dH$$

D being the depth of flow (in cm) over the sluicegate (neglecting surface contraction).

7.5 cm in width, so a thickness of 3 cm for the plates of the sluicegate seems realistic. The weight of a wooden plate of 60x120x3 cm amounts to some 15 kg; for a lead plate the weight is about 240 kg. The friction coefficient for wood on wood (in wet condition) being 0.2 (Weast), the total force of friction between wooden plates would vary from 60 to 94 kgf. When moving a wooden plate downward one would have to push it down with a force of 45 to some 80 kgf. The coefficient of friction between lead and lead (wet condition) is about 1.0 (own observation). Lowering a lead plate of the same dimensions would necessitate a downward force of 60 to 230 kgf. Lifting the same plate would require even 540 to 810 kgf, a considerable load.

For a movable plate made out of either material, lead or wood, an extra downward force is needed to lower it, which cannot be achieved by means of a windlass. The material of choice for the plates of the sluicegate is likely to be wood, not only because in this case forces needed are smallest, but also for reasons of stiffness: the lead plates, especially the fixed one when the waterlevel in the castellum is low, would tend to bending as a result of the considerable forces exerted on them by the waterpressure, thereby interfering with proper operation of the sluicegate.

Assuming the plates of the sluicegate were made of wood, the forces needed for lifting the movable plate would amount to 75 to 110 kgf upward, and for lowering it to 45 to 80 kgf downward. How was this done? The two round holes in the coveringstone would allow for two (wooden) poles extending upward, thereby enabling operation of the movable plate (these poles would possibly experience friction with the material of the covering stone, thereby increasing the forces needed to operate the sluicegate, the coefficient of friction between wood and stone being larger than between wood and wood (Weast), but this will be discarded for the moment). The movable plate could be lowered by pushing or hammering the poles downward. As tilting sideways of the plate should be avoided in order to prevent it from getting stuck in the vertical grooves, one can imagine that the poles were connected to each other again above the covering stone, *e.g.* by means of a wooden pole or plate. Pushing or hammering the movable plate downward would however not guarantee fine adjustments of its position needed for proper operation, and the same applies for just pulling the plate upward. Constructions with *e.g.* cog-wheel and rack exerting the larger forces needed were not known at the time, contrary however to the use of levers.

The method of moving heavy loads by means of a lever mechanism presupposes a (fixed) rotation point for the lever-beam *(Figs. 12 and 13)*.

A force of 5 to 10 kgf to be exerted by the operator of the sluicegate (*castellarius*) is convenient enough to allow for fine adjustments of the movable plate. Using a lever mechanism, the ratio L1/L2 of the leverbeam should be about 10/1, the forces required ranging from 45 to 110 kgf. If the sluicegate was operated by means of such a lever, then the covering stone should have been provided with some sort of a fixed rotation point, about which the levering was to be carried out. Lifting the movable plate would be simple enough: any stone slab or wooden bar of suitable heigth resting on the covering stone would do. Pushing down the movable plate however is another matter. The rotation point should now be able to withstand a *lifting* force of some 50 to 88 kgf (11/10 times the force required to push down the plate). This force may at occasions be considerably larger *e.g.* in case the movable plate gets stuck by debris accumulating in the vertical grooves. Thus the rotation point should have been fixed to the covering stone, which connection should be able to withstand a pulling force of at least 88 kgf. A perforated stone slab of suitable heigth would serve as rotation point for the leverbeam. Connections between stone blocks were known and widely used at the time, *e.g.* in the form of an iron bar both ends extending in a hole cut in each block and fixed by molten lead poured and hammered around it. Requirements in reliability of the connection between covering stone and the stone slab being high in view of daily use of the lever mechanism, the designers of the sluicegate would surely not limit themselves to one connection only. The six rectangular holes in the covering stone would serve such purpose: they would enable 6 separate connections in a row, while the distance between rotation point and movable gate would be about 10 cm, limiting the total length of the leverbeam to a convenient 100 to 120 cm. The proposed operation of the movable gate by means of a lever mechanism is reconstructed in *Fig. 14*.

Any other mechanism for lifting and lowering the sluicegate (cog-wheel and rack, crank) would just as well comprise parts that need be connected onto the covering stone and that would be submitted to lifting forces of comparable magnitude as in the lever mechanism proposed above.

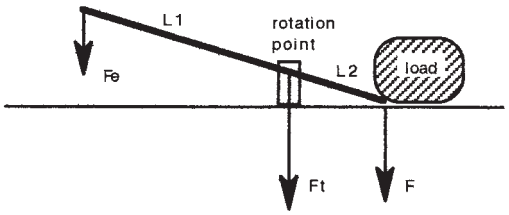


Fig. 12. Lifting a load F exerting a force Fe by means of a lever: Fe=(L2/L1)×F. In case L1>>L2, Fe will be small compared to the load. The total force Ft exerted on the rotation point amounts to: Ft=F+Fe=(1+L2/L1)×F. The rotation point should at least be able to withstand (the weigth of) the load.

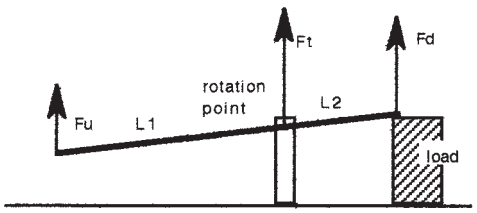


Fig. 13. Pushing down a load Fd exerting an upward force Fu by means of a lever requires a rotation point that is able to withstand a lifting force Ft=Fd+Fu=(1+L2/L1)×Fd.

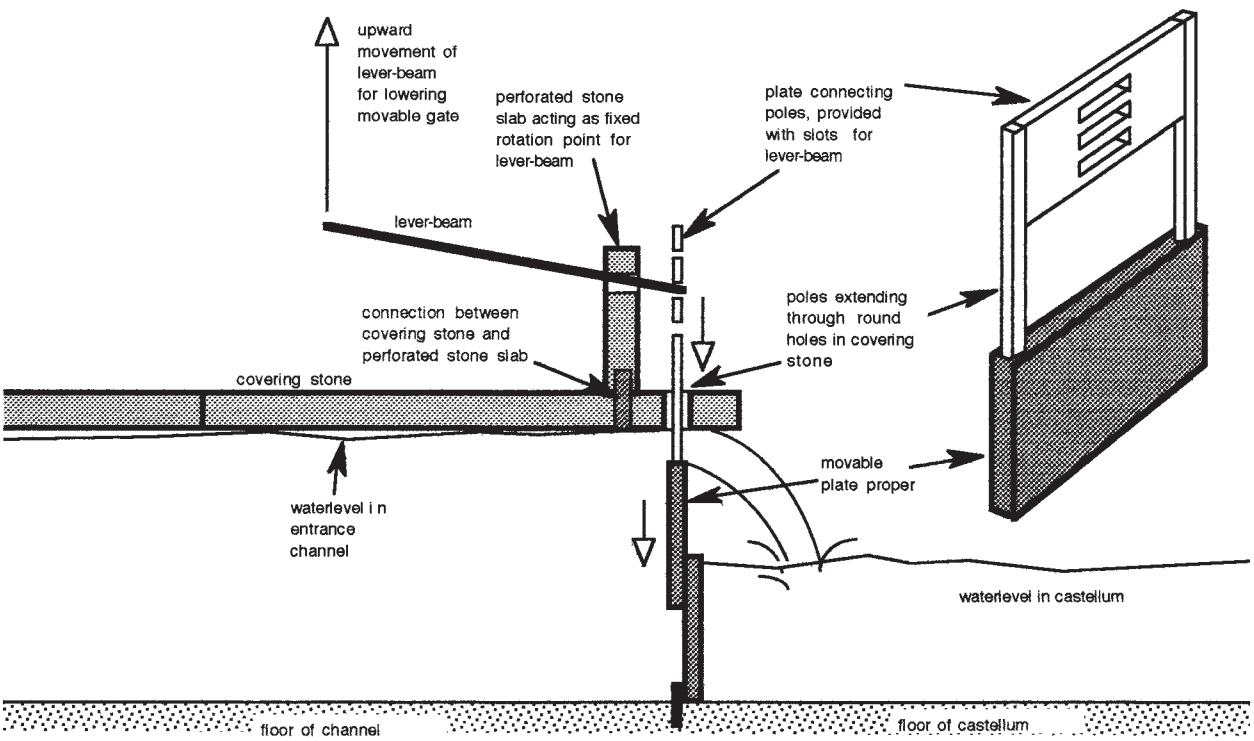


Fig. 14. Reconstruction of operation of movable plate by means of lever mechanism. Fine adjustments in position of the movable plate could thus be realized. When lowering the movable plate, a considerable downward force is necessary due to waterpressure at the channel side of the plate (friction between movable plate and fixed plate and/or vertical grooves). A fixed rotation point (e.g. a perforated stone slab) needed for the lever mechanism should have been connected to the covering stone as to withstand a comparable upward force. Such connection could have been realized by means of the 6 rectangular holes in the covering stone.

Lead used in Roman building practices has long since been removed from its original location and used for other purposes. Direct proof that the 6 rectangular holes indeed did contain lead cannot be submitted. The same applies for the presumably 10 large lead pipes inserted in the holes in the sidewall of the castellum. Trace analysis of material from the inside wall of these holes might lead to indications of the nature of the material they contained (compare the analysis of soil at the Pergamum sifon which prooved that its pipes were made out of lead (Kalweit). We may consider ourselves lucky however that the constructors of the "ancien citadelle", heavily damaging the arriving aqueduct and its castellum in 1685, have left us with remains still inviting investigation.

REFERENCES

1. HFQ = A. Trevor Hodge, How did Frontinus measure the Quinaria?, *AJA* 88 (1984), 205-216.
2. Kalweit, Heino 1979, Spurenelementanalyse als Hilfsmittel archäologischer Forschung, *Mitt. des Leichtweiss-Instituts* 64.
3. Liberati, A.M. e R. de Rosa 1987, *Gli Acquedotti di Roma*, Rome.
4. Nîm = George F.W. Hauck, *The Roman Aqueduct of Nîmes*, Sc. Am. March 1989, 78-84.
5. Pelet, A. 1876, *Description des Monuments Grecs et Romains*, Nîmes.
6. RA = A. Trevor Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Watersupply*, London, 1992.
7. Urquhart, L.C. 1940, *Civil Engineering Handbook*, New York.
8. Weast, R.C. 1972, *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, CRC, Cleveland, Ohio.
9. WF = George F.W. Hauck and R.A. Novak, Water Flow in the Castellum at Nîmes, *AJA* 92 (1988), 393-407.

FEBRUARY 1994

C/O L&L
VAN SLICHTENHORSTSTRAAT 13
6524 JH NIJMEGEN
THE NETHERLANDS

BaBesch 70 (1995)

The Mosaics in the Great Mosque at Damascus: a Vision of Beauty

Mab van Lohuizen-Mulder

'We reproduced of what we have found of images of the trees and castles of Paradise [in the Koran]'

Ibn Zabāla, *Ta'rīkh Madīnah*, 814[1]

INTRODUCTION

Glass mosaics with trees in an architectural setting of houses and palaces, elaborately decorated and with a golden background, were created on the walls of both the *bayt salat* (prayer hall) and the *sahn* (courtyard) of the Great Mosque at Damascus between 707 and 715 *(Figs. 1-3)*. They were commissioned by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd I. Unfortunately only a portion of the original mosaics has survived[2]. There is no doubt that the quality of the mosaic work is extremely high[3].
No other wall mosaics are to be found from before the eighth century with exactly the same representation as this, i.e. palace-like buildings in a landscape with huge, realistically rendered trees with a river, and no living beings: no human figures, no birds, no other animals. The wall mosaics in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, dating from the end of the seventh century, show a different kind of mosaic decoration in the sense that no buildings and no river are to be seen.
Frequently a comparison is made between the mosaics in the Mosque at Damascus and wall decorations executed in another medium: frescoes from the Villa at Boscoreale belonging to the second Pompeian style. The resemblance to the architecture represented on the mosaics is evident in some respects: the same kind of buildings, one on top of the other.
The similarity between these architectural representations intrigued me highly. How could frescoes from a bedroom, out of all places, dating from the first century A.D. be compared with mosaics in a mosque from the eighth century A.D.? Why is this convincing just the same?

My former research led me to Egypt as the land of origin of some finely undercut architectural sculpture: a certain capital type existing in Early Christian churches and Early Islamic mosques in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean.
Continuing my research along the same lines I found that the common denominator of the mosaics in Damascus and the Pompeian frescoes must be

I am grateful to the Faculty of the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, to the Professors Glen Bowersock, Giles Constable, Oleg Grabar and Irving Lavin in particular, for having invited me twice as a Summer Visitor at the Institute. I feel greatly indebted especially to Professor Oleg Grabar who advised, encouraged and inspired me and supported my research. I am very thankful to him for having read the first draft of this article, which I wrote during my six-weeks stay at the Institute in 1994. It must be clear, however, that I alone take the responsibility for the omissions and errors which might occur in this publication.
Acknowledgements photographs:
Fig.1a: photo author; Fig.1b: photo M. Al Roumi, postcard; Fig.2: G. Degeorge, Geo Project postcard; Fig.3: Bahnassi 1990, 86; Fig.4: A. Grabar 1953, 75; Fig.5: A. Grabar 1953, 74; Fig.6: Kitzinger 1977, pl. II; Fig.7: Casa Editrice Bonechi, postcard; Fig.8: Exh. catalogue 1993, London, 48, no. 10.2; Fig.9: Donceel-Voûte 1988, II, cover; Fig.10: Archive of the Mount Nebo Francescan Archaeological Institute; Fig.11: Exh. catalogue London 1993, 35, no.2; Fig.12: A. Grabar 1966, 333, no. 390; Fig.13: Webster 1967, pl.36; Fig.14: Anderson 1987, 23; Fig.15: Brown 1957, Pl. XXIII,1; Fig.16: Daszewski 1985, I, pl. A.

[1] Exh.cataloque 1993: *Die Gärten des Islam*, 51; Brisch 1988, 18 and note 20. With 'we' is meant the mosaicists. Why are these quoted lines written in a 'defensive fashion', like Klaus Brisch says? The only thing I can conclude from these lines is, that the mosaicists who said this were probably Muslims, who could very well have been converted Christians from Egypt. Mosaicists from Constantinople would not have said that they have found something in the Koran! In the same *History of Medina* is mentioned: When an artisan had skilfully created a large tree in mosaic, Umar gave him a bonus of thirty dirhams. See also Sauvaget 1947, 26, 81.
[2] Gautier-van Berchem in Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA* I:I, 323-72; Brisch 1988, 13. The mosaics described here, the so-called 'Barada' mosaics belong to the original mosaics of the mosque of al-Walīd. Brisch 1988, 19 note 1.
[3] See also Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA* I:I, 225.

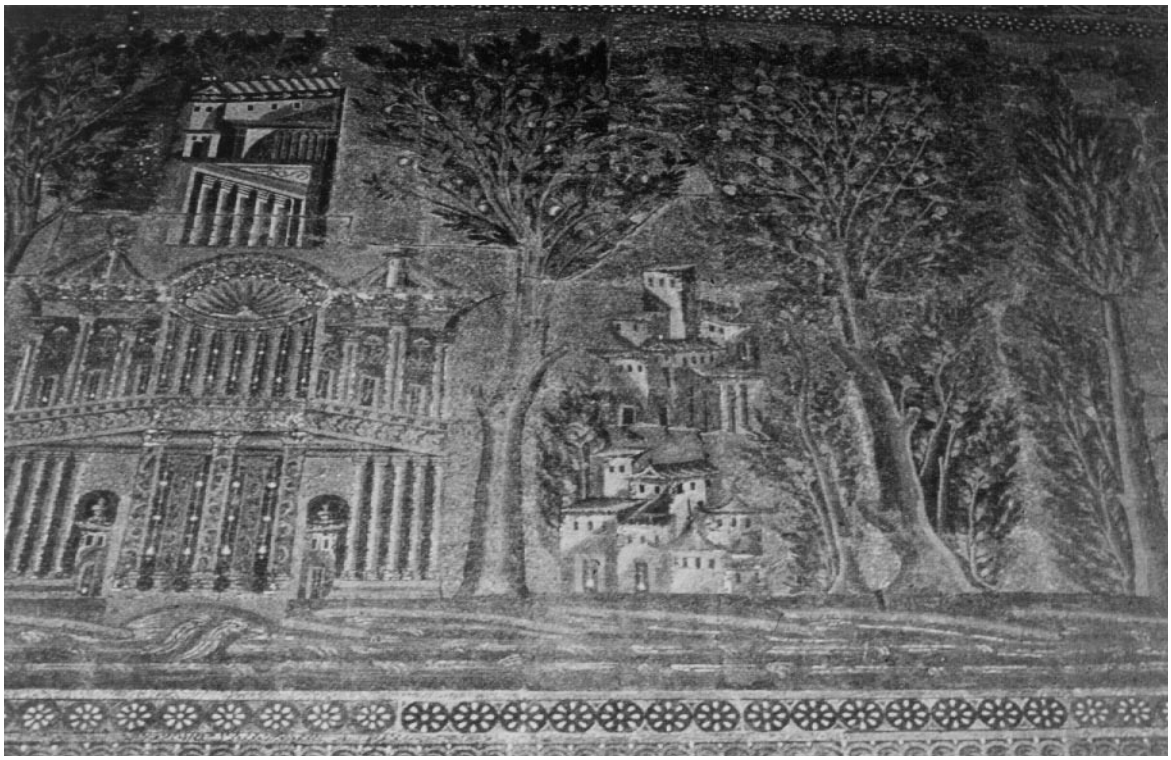


Fig. 1a. Mosaic. Architectural landscape. West wall of the Portico, Great Mosque, Damascus.

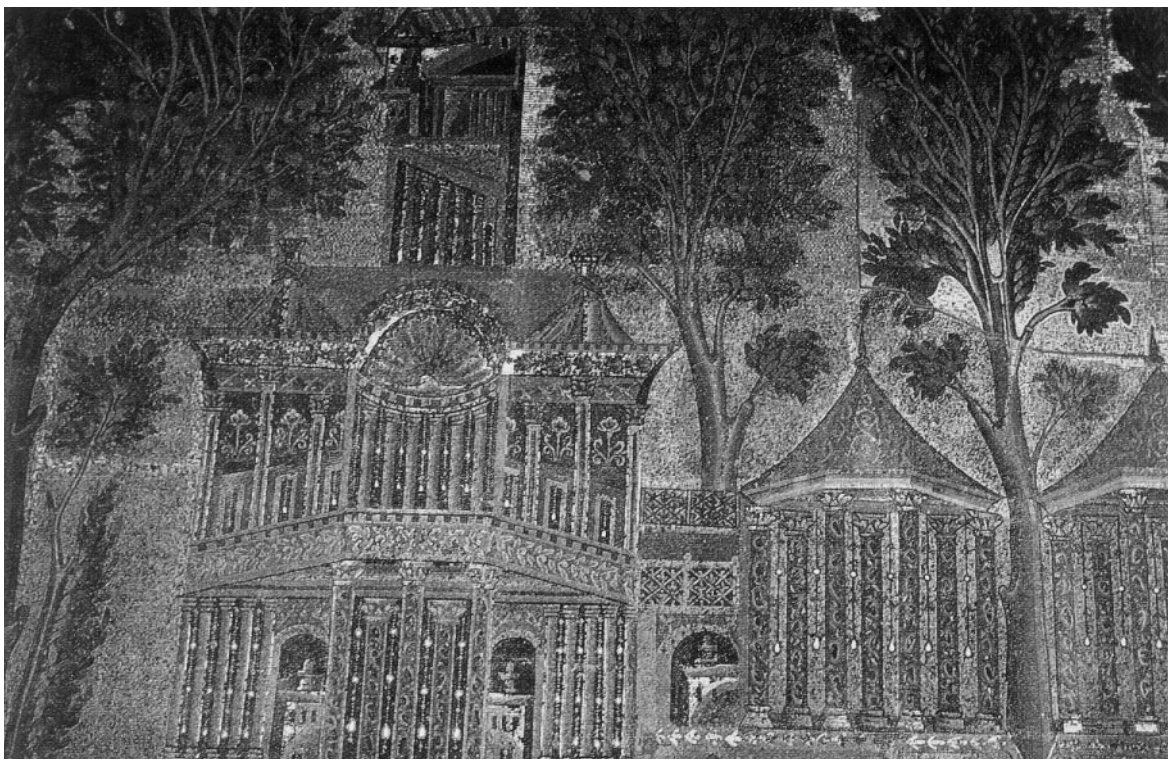


Fig. 1b. Mosaic. Architectural landscape. West wall of the Portico, Great Mosque, Damascus.

Fig. 2. Mosaic. River landscape. Detail with village. West wall of the Portico, Great Mosque, Damascus.

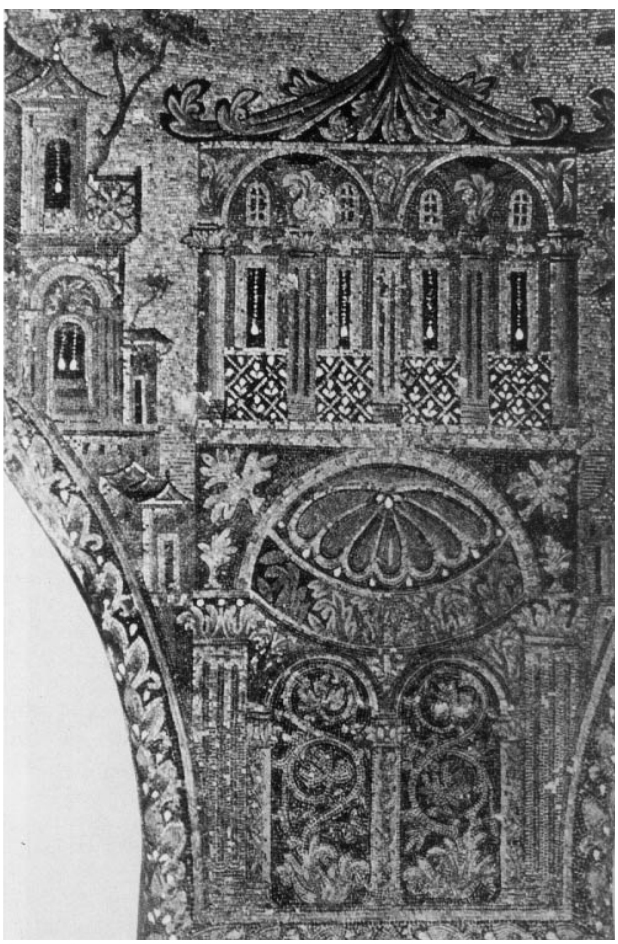


Fig. 3. Mosaic. A Palace Pavillion (center) and a Private Dwelling (left). Detail. Spandrel decoration on the inside of the West Portico of the Courtyard, Great Mosque, Damascus.

sought in Egyptian, specifically in Alexandrian art. Alexandrian mosaicists in my view are the ones who actually made these mosaics, probably with the help of local Syrian workmen.
In this article I will explain my hypothesis. I hope in the near future to be able to find still more textual and archaeological evidence which will support my thesis.

In papyri from the beginning of the eighth century Egyptians are mentioned as skilled workmen engaged in the construction of the Great Mosque at Damascus.
And from the ninth century onwards much has been written about these mosaics in Arabic texts by historians and geographers, explaining their meaning and origin[4]. A lot of contradictory stories were told and the controversy about these mosaics still goes on.
Current scholarship tends to give most credit to documents telling that they were made by Byzantine artists or artisans, who were sent by the Byzantine Emperor from Constantinople on the request, some say even on the order, of the caliph[5]. Other scholars speak of local, Syrian artisans[6]. And as far as the representation is concerned some say, on the base of several historical documents, that these houses and palaces are the representations of many places in the world where Islam is powerful or will become powerful. The whole scenery and its beauty was to propagate Islam, showing that Islam, not only Christendom, had to offer something very beautiful and of high value to the world[7]. Some, however, have reasons to say that the meaning of these mosaics is to illustrate certain *sūrahs* of the Koran for the instruction and upliftment of the Believers, rather than to make propaganda. Yet some sort of a missionary act: *propaganda fidei,* may not be excluded[8].

I intend to approach these still open questions from two sides: what do the historical documents say about the mosaic cubes and the mosaicists and what do the style and the representation tell us about the latter. The combination of the textual, literary evidence with the visual and archaeological evidence might give us still more insight into the problem.

THE THEORY ABOUT THE BYZANTINE MOSAICISTS

Is it really true that these stupendous, unusual glass mosaics with golden *tesserae* and *tesserae* in all kind of colors and shades (for the green alone thirteen different shades were used[9]) are made by Byzantine mosaicists from Constantinople?

There still prevails a general feeling that everything that has high quality must be of Constantinopolitan origin[10]. Thus the highest degree in validity is given to those documents which – apart from being written by seemingly reliable authors – speak about Byzantine mosaicists imported from Constantinople, without really taking into account other documents which tell another story.

The stories concerning the Great Mosque at Damascus about the origin of the glass mosaic cubes and the country where the makers of the mosaics are supposed to have come from, are very often linked with what is written about the mosques and the mosaics at Medina and Jerusalem, because al-Walīd was the commissioner of the building or the reconstruction of all three of them. This implies that what is mentioned on Medina's Mosque and its mosaics, for instance, may count more or less automatically for the other mosques, although it might not be mentioned explicitly in the texts[11].

[4] Creswell and Gautier-van Berchem wrote *in extenso* about the texts of these historians and geographers: *EMA* I:1.
[5] Gibb 1958, 145-146; Lavin 1962, 11 note 81; Papadopoulo, 1976, 60; Hellenkemper Salies 1988, 313. Oleg Grabar, the very subtle interpreter he always is, commented upon the phenomenon of the use of Byzantine workers for the erection of Islamic monuments. He calls it very curious, because technically it was not, according to him, necessary for mosaicists to come from Byzantium. And moreover, he also says, the iconographic program of the Mosque of Damascus refers to specifically Islamic ideas. Finally he suggests that 'al-Walīd's call for workers from Byzantium was meant to be a sign of the Muslim's prince's accession to universal power…' (Grabar 1964, 82-83).
[6] Gautier van Berchem in Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 241; Lammens 1915,??; de Lorey 1931, 16-17, 20-21.
[7] Grabar 1964, 83; Hillenbrand 1994, 72: The extravagance of the mosaics was: 'a visible statement of Muslim supremacy and permanence'. D. Kuban says in The Central Arab Lands in *The Mosque* 1994 ed. by M. Frishman, 92: 'the decorative splendour was the expression of a politically defined religious zeal, but it was not inherent in the religious culture of Islam'.
[8] Brisch 1988, 18.
[9] Sourdel, Spuler 1985, 146; De Lorey 1931, 24 mentions a scale of about forty shades. Ettinghausen 1977, 26 mentions twenty-nine different colors.
[10] Ettinghausen, Grabar 1989, 42.
[11] See the quotation of Ibn Zabāla at the beginning of this article about the meaning of the mosaics in the mosque in Medina. See note 1. The mosaics in the Mosque of Medina were made between 707-709 (Brisch 1988, 13). Thus the execution of the mosaic work in Medina started at about the same time as the execution of the mosaics in Damascus and under the same caliph. No wonder that the meaning of these representations of trees and 'castles' in both places seems to be alike.

The authors Yaqūbi and Dinawārī in the end of the ninth century mention the assistance by the Byzantine Emperor for the Mosque at Medina. In the beginning of the tenth century Ibn Rusta and al-Tabarī relate the same and at the end of the tenth century al-Muqaddasī tells more or less the same story in connection with the building of the Great Mosque of Damascus, saying that the emperor sent mosaic cubes as a gift[12]. Around the middle of the twelfth century – that is more than four hundred years after the Mosque was built! – Ibn Asākir is the first author to mention craftsmen being sent from Constantinople to Damascus after the caliph, it was said, had really threatened the emperor. And this last story was copied by Ibn Asākir's great admirer Ibn Jubayr, the geographer from Valencia, who was copied by Ibn Battūta etc., etc.[13].

Are these texts as reliable as they seem to be? Could it really be possible that the Byzantine Emperor got himself involved in helping to decorate mosques in such a way that they could compete with the still existing churches in the Muslim countries, even after the Caliph al-Walīd demolished the main Church in Damascus to build the Great Mosque instead?[14] On the contrary, we know that the emperor was infuriated by this act and that it was he who wrote a letter to the caliph complaining about the destruction of the Church in Damascus[15]. Is not that story completely different from the one about this caliph threatening the emperor forcing him to help, which he slavishly did according to Ibn Asākir!
As a matter of fact a cold war was going on between the Umayyad Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire[16]. Commercial exchanges and activities may have continued between the two countries, maybe even diplomatic exchanges[17], but that is all of another level than asking or even forcing the Christian enemy to spread Islam by helping to embellish this important mosque.

Moreover, Greek chroniclers have in no way confirmed the accounts in which it is said that al-Walīd asked the Byzantine Emperor for workmen to assist in the building process of mosques at Medina, Damascus and Jerusalem. One of them is Theophanes (ca.760-817), who seems to be the most reliable of all. This Theophanes of whom it is said that he tried to present his account not as a personal opinion, but as objective truth, does not mention anything in this direction[18].

A thirteenth century text by Yāqūt is telling a story which is partly still more improbable, even ridiculous. It tells that the 'king of the Rūmi', i.e. the Byzantine Emperor, sent al-Walīd in Medina forty Rūmi, specified as forty Greeks (Syrians) and Copts (the text says the plural of Qibt)[19]. This after the caliph had written to him that he wished to restore the Mosque of the Prophet and that he wanted his help for that (sic!)[20]. Well, the Byzantine Emperor had already for some time lost control over Syria and Egypt. These countries were now under Umayyad rule and thus it was the caliph himself who was the only one to send these Syrian and Egyptian artisans to the places where he wanted to have them. He did not need the help of the Byzantine Emperor for that. Yāqūt probably just confused different texts.

In itself the sending of Coptic, Egyptian artisans to Medina and other places in order to help in the building and decorating process is quite possible. In fact other Arabic documents, especially the earlier ones, document this[21].

Until quite late the help of the Byzantine Emperor continues to be mentioned in connection with mosaics and mosaicists. Ibn ʿIdhārī, who lived around 1400, reports that the Byzantine Emperor sent to Caliph al-Hakam II in Cordova mosaic cubes and a specialized mosaicist[22]. We know, however, that this emperor, Nikephoros Phokas, burnt the remains of the Mosque at Aleppo – which the Abassides partly destroyed – when he took Aleppo in 962. The mosque was built by the brother of al-Walīd and decorated also with mosaics[23]. This shows that the relationship of this emperor with the Muslims was very strained to say it mildly[24]. Is it really probable that the same

12 Hillenbrand 1994, 73.
13 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 152.
14 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 181.
15 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 152, 241.
16 Meyendorf 1964, 127.
17 Canard 1964, 39.
18 *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* under Theophanes the Confessor: historian.
19 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 144, 235. Creswell writes (229, note 4) on this issue the following: 'In Arabic the word Byzantines is translated by the word Rūmi, which designated all the Byzantine Greeks and Melkites of Syria and Egypt who lived in the time of the Umayyads'. This means that in that period Rūmi are not meant to designate inhabitants of Constantinople!
20 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 235.
21 Creswell 1989, 43, 46.
22 Canard 1964, 36, note 5; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1965, 956; Borrás Gualis 1990, 44, 46; Crespi 1992, 104, 130, 154; Exhibition catalogue 1992 *Al-Andalus*, 22; Bloom 1993, 26.
23 Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:II, 483.
24 One cannot assume, I think, that this mosaic decoration is made by a mosaicist from Constantinople and that the mosaic cubes were a gift from the emperor by saying that political or

emperor gave aid to embellish a mosque in Spain?[25] What is known is that this Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam II wanted to stress the relationship with the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus. That is why he probably ordered a mosaic decoration, which was quite exceptional[26]. And because of the fact that the origin of these mosaics was said by earlier authors to be Byzantine with the Byzantine Emperor involved, it was thought that the Cordova mosaics must have the same origin.

Apparently at a certain moment a story arose about the aid given by the Byzantine Emperor to the Umayyad Caliph. This story was progressively elaborated with every imaginative detail. Thus the story got a fixed frame, which was then applied at random, one author taking it over from another one, checking neither the truth nor its probability. And what is most telling is that the name of the emperor is generally not mentioned by any of these Muslim authors. This may also hint at the tradition being of merely legendary character.
Something else can be said in this respect. It can also show that the story about the help of the Byzantine Emperor and the sending of mosaicists from Constantinople is a legend. The support of the emperor by the despatch of materials and artisans from Constantinople to ʿAbd al-Malik, the father of al-Walid, who commissioned the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, is nowhere mentioned. No texts exist saying anything about help of the Byzantine Emperor in decorating the Dome of the Rock with wall mosaics by sending artisans[27]. These mosaics, however, have the same high quality as the mosaics in the Mosque at Damascus. And although the representation is not the same as in Damascus, as we said already, because the prominent architectural setting is missing, the representation of the large trees, for example of the date palms and the elaborate acanthus scrolls look very much alike in both mosaics, in Jerusalem as well as in Damascus. This means that the Umayyad Caliph had no need at all to ask for mosaic specialists from the Byzantine Emperor. The mosaics in the Dome of the Rock show that the specialists al-Walid needed for his ambitious programme in Damascus were already available in Jerusalem[28].
It remains, however, to be discussed where that idea of the voluntary or involuntary aid by the Byzantine Emperor originally comes from. Is there some connection with the story about the assistance of the Byzantine Emperor in Sanʿā as told by al-Tabarī in the first decade of the tenth century, the same author who wrote about aid of the Byzantine Emperor for the Mosque at Medina? He says that the emperor assisted the founder of the Cathedral in Sanʿā, al-Qalis, built in the mid-sixth century, with artisans and mosaic cubes[29]. The founder of the church was, according to the Islamic tradition, the Christian king Abraha[30], an Ethiopian general who reigned in the name of the Negus of Ethiopia, as Yemen was conquered by Ethiopia. Later it came under the rule of the Umayyads and a mosque was built in Sanʿā by the same sponsor of the first great mosques: al-Walīd[31].
In itself there is nothing improbable about this asking for aid of the Christian Emperor by a Christian ruler in order to be able to build a beautiful cathedral, as a kind of missionary act[32].
That King Abraha had contact with the Byzantine court is shown by an inscription dated 542, where

religious barriers are not important. (see: J.M. Pita Andrade 1967, *Spanien und seine Kunstschätze: von Altamira bis zu den katholischen Königen,* Genève, 70). They are important, in this context at least, and this means that it is very unlikely that this decoration in Cordova has been made with the help of the Byzantine Emperor.

[25] Moreover the mosaic of the dome in the Mosque of Cordova is not made in the Byzantine tradition. It is aniconic and it shows a kind of geometrical decoration, which looks like decorations at Khirbat al-Mafjar: a pattern diminishing proportionately in size, as one moves from the center to the periphery. Grabar mentions the complexity of this kind of geometric design unusual for mosaics, as a matter of fact a novelty. (See Grabar 1992, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 139-140). One sees the same kind of complicated geometrical pattern somewhat later than at Khirbat al-Mafjar in the Church of St. Stephen at Umm al-Rassas. (See Bienkowski, 1991, 128). Especially the resemblance of the centre of the dome mosaic in Cordova with a geometric pattern that creates a *trompe l'oeil* effect to the extent that it looks like a half ball, to the floor mosaic near the altar of this Church is striking. It is the same kind of geometric pattern, only the *trompe l'oeil* effect is working in a reverse way. Also the pattern of the ribs of the dome belongs to the same kind of design.

[26] Sourdel, Spuler 1985, 197; Hillenbrand 1994: 'there was a deliberate attempt to evoke the vanished glories of Umayyad Syria'.

[27] Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 240.

[28] Some decorative mosaic patterns with leaves and fruits in the Dome of the Rock show some resemblance with a mosaic border with fruits of the ancient mosaic floor in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. See E.T. Richmond, Basilica of the Nativity. Discovery of the Remains of an Earlier Church. *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol.V 1936, 75-82 Pl. XXXVIIII. And this pattern in its turn has a great similarity with some Coptic textile patterns. There is a lot to say about this and other similarities with mosaic patterns in the mosaic floor at Khirbat al-Mafjar. However, this will lead me too far for the moment. My exposé will need the length of another article.

[29] Serjeant and Lewcock 1983, 47. This, however, does not necessarily imply that he sent Constantinopolitan artists and mosaic cubes from Constantinople to Sanʿā. He could have sent artists from Alexandria for example as at that time Egypt was under Byzantine rule.

[30] Serjeant and Lewcock 1983, 45.

[31] Grabar 1992, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 155.

[32] Serjeant and Lewcock 1983, 45.

he boasts of having received ambassadors from, among others, Byzantium[33].

Now this passage in al-Tabarī's writings may have originated the story, setting an example for other Muslim writers. Indeed, mentioning the aid by the emperor to the caliph in order to build beautiful mosques would show the power of the caliph, a power so great as to enable him to demand a favor from the emperor which was really granted to him, or even to threaten him, saying that otherwise he, the caliph, would invade his country. This is a better explanation to my mind of how these legendary stories came about rather than supposing these Muslim authors made up these stories, around two centuries or more later, because supposedly they were so impressed by Byzantine art and its artists that they considered them to be the only ones who could produce such a quality and scenery as the mosaics show and that the only way these mosaics could have been made was by the help of the emperor.

So we may conclude that these Arabic documents do not appear to be very trustworthy[34].
Let us now turn to the city of Constantinople of that time to further corroborate that Byzantine mosaicists from Constantinople are not the ones who made the Damascus mosaics.

The first question is whether any mosaic in Constantinople of the same period resembles the Damascene mosaics. The history of Byzantine art from about 650 until about 850 is pretty much of a blank, as Cyril Mango puts it[35]. We do not know exactly what existed in Constantinople for the impact of Iconoclasm, the eighth-century iconoclast movement, was such that the greater part of the earlier works of art have been destructed: some mosaics, for example, were scraped off. This was the case with art works in churches bearing religious representations. Representations with only an architectural landscape would not have been affected, because in the eyes of the Iconoclasts this would have been a decoration with neutral motifs, completely 'harmless'[36]. They could also have been newly made during the iconoclast period. As we cannot find any mosaics in Constantinople with houses and palaces without living beings we can be fairly sure that they never existed there. Of course we cannot exclude completely the fact that they might have been there and that they were destructed by something else. But then we would have found some traces, or some textual evidence. What we do have is mosaics in the secular sphere: the pavement mosaics of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople, which are said to be somewhat later than the time of Justinian *(Figs. 4-5)*[37]. But these are no wall mosaics, no glass mosaics and the representation is completely different. Human beings are rendered in a rural setting, animals are represented in all kind of ways: monkeys climbing a tree for instance, and animal hunts. But no houses and palaces are represented as in Damascus and there is no resemblance in style, nor in technique. Thus it seems unlikely that Byzantine artists from Constantinople at that time, the very beginning of the eighth century, have created in Damascus such mosaics 'breathing' a completely different atmosphere.

One dome mosaic made of glass cubes and also with golden *tesserae* is to be found, which in some way resembles the wall mosaics at Damascus *(Fig. 6)*. However, not in Constantinople, but in Greece, and not dating from the eighth century. It is the mosaic of the Rotunda of St.George in Thessaloniki. Here we find 'dream buildings' together with some saints on a golden background of great quality: Ernst Kitzinger calls their depiction even a stroke of genius[38]. He and other scholars say that this mosaic is not of Byzantine origin[39].

If it may be concluded that no artisans and artists from Constantinople have made the mosaics and that the mosaic cubes were not sent from Constantinople, who else are the makers then and from where else could have come the glass *tesserae*?

THE THEORY ABOUT LOCAL ARTISANS, I.E. SYRIANS

We mentioned earlier that the author Yāqūt speaks of Syrians and Copts, who were sent to Medina. And he was not the only one who wrote about artisans from Syria and Egypt. Some early Arabic texts speak about artisans sent from those countries. For example the historian al-Balādhurī says

[33] Fowden 1993, 115.
[34] Hillenbrand 1994, 26: 'information which is apparently comprehensive turns out on closer inspection to be full of lacunae, or, worse still, demonstrably inaccurate… Later writers quite shamelessly embroider the terse descriptions of their earliest predecessors, so that a chain of mutually dependent but increasingly inflated and unreliable accounts is fashioned'.
[35] Mango 1980, 265.
[36] Mango 1980, 266.
[37] Mango 1980, 264.
[38] Kitzinger 1977, 56-57.
[39] Kitzinger 1977, 58, 141, note 41; Morey 1942, 143.

Fig. 4. Mosaic floor. Youth and donkey. Imperial Palace of the Emperors of Constantinople, Istanbul.

Fig. 5. Mosaic floor. Woman carrying a pitcher. Imperial Palace of the Emperors of Constantinople, Istanbul.

in the middle of the ninth century that inhabitants of Syria and Egypt were sent to Medina[40].
This made some scholars, like K.A.C. Creswell and Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem, think that it was the invention and workmanship of local artisans, i.e. Syrian artisans, by which the mosaics in Damascus were made[41].
This does not seem very possible in my view. It will be argued in the following.

Indeed, many mosaics have been found and excavated which belonged to churches in Syria and Palestine, in the regions now called Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel. These, however, are floor mosaics, not made of glass *tesserae*, but of stone *tesserae*. Only a few glass *tesserae* are found in excavations which testify to the once existence of wall mosaics decorating the walls and apses of churches such as the Moses Memorial on Mount Nebo, the Cathedral at Madaba, a Mortuary Church in Jerash/Gerasa dating from the so-called Byzantine period (from the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the seventh century) and the Church of St. Stephen at Umm al-Rassas from the Umayyad period[42]. Some scholars have said that the mosaic production stopped altogether in Syria in the middle of the sixth century[43]. This made them conclude that the Umayyad caliphs could not have used Syrian local mosaicists, because the mosaic workshops ceased to exist there. Others say that in Palestine the production of mosaics went on, so that the Umayyads could have got the artisans they needed from there[44]. But this idea about the end of the mosaic production is not valid anymore. New excavations have shown that there never was a break in the production. Moreover the mosaics in former Palestine are mostly from a primitive local folk art like character

[40] Balāduhurī's account about Coptic artisans sent to Medina is the earliest we have; he does not mention anything about the help from Byzantium and the emperor: Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 143.
[41] See note 6.
[42] Crowfoot 1931, 33: many glass *tesserae* were found in the Mortuary Church in Jerash; Exhibition catalogue 1993: *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Piccirillo), 21; Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA* I:I, 229: 'for mural mosaic, glass mosaic in Syria we have only inscriptions and pieces of glass found.' Gold mosaic from the sixth century is mentioned in the Church of St. Stephanus in Gaza by Choricius.
[43] Hellenkemper Salies 1988, 312; Balty 1977, 154.
[44] Hellenkemper Salies 1988, 312.

Fig. 6. Dome mosaic. Detail with Sts. Onesiphorus and Porphyrius. Church of St. George, Thessaloniki.

Fig. 7. Mosaic floor. Detail. Nilotic landscape. Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves, Tabgha.

Fig. 8. Mosaic floor. Roundel with two partridges. The Chapel of Elijah, Mary and Soreg, Jerash.

Fig. 9. Mosaic floor. Church of St. George in Deir el-ʿAdas, Syria.

and design unlike the decoration of the Damascus' mosaics, except for some mosaics at Tabgha in the Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves *(Fig. 7)* and at Sepphoris, which seem not to be made by local craftsmen[45].

Two mosaics of the Umayyad era were excavated at Umm al-Rassas/Kastron Mefaa in Jordan in the Church of Saint Stephen in 1986, mosaics which were made in the same tradition as earlier floor mosaics were made for example in the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Jerash/Gerasa from the sixth century[46].

Although there came no end to the manufacturing of mosaics in that region in the sixth century, there are reasons which will lead to the conclusion that the mosaicists of the Great Mosque at Damascus are not the ones who came from these local workshops. Why not? It is not primarily because no glass and wall mosaics from that time are actually found in these regions. They could have existed, as the findings of glass *tesserae* indicate. And it is also not, because we cannot make a real comparison for there is a difference in time between the floor mosaics and the Damascene mosaics, the Christian floor mosaics being earlier or later than the Damascus ones. A not too great difference in time can make some mosaics look different, a difference in technique – which certainly exists between floor and wall mosaics – can have a different effect, but the style, the kind of representation and the quality remain the same, if the artists come from the same school. And it is just because of that, because of the difference concerning these three items that we think the mosaicists of the floor mosaics and the Damascene wall mosaics cannot be the same or come from the same workshop, the same tradition *(Figs. 8-9)*.

The floor mosaics in Umm al-Rassas in the Church of Saint Stephen are dated precisely. There are two inscriptions, one dates to 756 and the other to 785.The first mentioned inscription identifies the mosaicist, telling that he is of the region: Staurachios of Hesban. It is said that the later date must be from a later restoration[47]. Anyway, the leading motifs of the decorated scheme in the two mosaics in the same church are representations of towns. This kind of representation and its style go back to an earlier tradition.

On these floor mosaics are represented different cities in vignettes. They are what is called 'topographic' mosaics. Cities like Jerusalem *(Fig. 10)*, Neapolis (Nablus) are depicted, Jordanian cities are shown and a series of cities in the Nile Delta is represented: Alexandria, Thenesos, Kynopolis[48]. There are other floor mosaics with the same kind of topographic pictures, for example the representations of Alexandria in the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Jerash *(Fig. 11)* and in the Church of Saint Peter and Paul in the same city, both from the sixth century[49].

Superficially looked at, it might seem that there is a resemblance with the architectural scenes on the mosaics in Damascus. But if one looks at close quarters a world of difference is discerned. The depictions of the different cities in Umm al-Rassas and Jerash are made in a very simple way. Some architecture is recognizable, for example the Pharos lighthouse as in the case of Alexandria represented in the Church of Saint Peter and Paul in Jerash. Otherwise they can only be identified as individual cities, not showing obvious monumental characteristics (see for example the representation of Alexandria in the Church of Saint Stephen in Umm al-Rassas) by the name given in the mosaic. All is done in a clumsy, provincial way, whereas the Damascus mosaics are done in a sophisticated way: beautiful houses and palaces without defensive walls in an exquisite landscape showing peacefulness, fantasy and a grandeur, which is totally lacking in the plain town representations of walled cities like Alexandria in the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Jerash, mentioned above. Of course the air of refinement and delicacy is heightened in the Damascus wall mosaics by the material used. The glass *tesserae* and especially the golden *tesserae* contribute to that effect[50], but it is not only because of the glass cubes all these different shades in color, like all the shades in green we mentioned, could be produced. This has to do with the very fine craftmanship which is far beyond the workmanship of the local artisans. But apart from that it is quite obvious that the main difference lies in the different styles of the mosaics.

If this leads us to the conclusion that local, Syrian and Palestinian artisans could not have been the mosaicists of the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, at least not the designers and master mosaicists – the Syrians mentioned by Yāqūt for example, could have been very well involved as a local workforce in part of the process of making the mosaics, – the question arises, who else could

[45] See for Tabgha: van den Broek 1988, 179, 181; for Sepphoris: Weiss, Netzer 1991 and Bowersock 1990, 48-49.
[46] Exhibition catalogue 1993: *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 28, 35.
[47] Piccirillo 1988, 212.
[48] Piccirillo 1988, 212-213, 227.
[49] Exhibition catalogue 1993: *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 35.
[50] De Lorey 1931, 24, mentions also a special technique: 'the Damascene mosaist has, in some places, inclined the rows of tesserae forward at an angle of 35°, so as to animate the background with a glint of sparkling gold'.

have been the designers and master mosaicists? In the following section we intend to give an answer to that.

ALEXANDRIAN MOSAICISTS: THE POSSIBLE DESIGNERS OF THE MOSAICS IN DAMASCUS

Returning to the text of Yāqūt, we have seen that he mentions Copts being sent to Medina.
In the original text is written *Qibt* (or its plural). This is translated as Copts, which is correct. At the same time this causes a problem. *Qibt* is the Arabic corruption of the Greek word *Aigyptos* and means Egyptian. And Copt comes from *Qibt* and is used to indicate a Christian Egyptian. So a Coptic artisan would mean a Christian Egyptian artisan and Coptic art usually means Early Christian Egyptian art. This art is by many scholars considered as a backwater, a kind of folk art, which is not up to the standard[51]. But we must realize, according to what G.W. Bowersock wrote not long ago, that: 'there is rich art in Egypt that has been conventionally, if unwisely, labelled Coptic'[52]. It is also good to notice what Roger Bagnall said quite recently: 'Coptic' art is a product of commissions by a wealthy city elite, rather than a manifestation of popular village taste'[53]. When we look at two textiles from Egypt, one in the Musée Historique des Tissus in Lyons and one in the Louvre *(Fig. 12)* we see exquisite tapestries with fish designs in many different shades, which are the manifestation of a sophisticated taste rather than the result of a popular folk art taste. Products of the latter taste also exist, for Coptic art is pluralistic: it is open to sophisticated currents and also open to levels of even unprofessional folk art. We see the same phenomenon in Armenian art[54].
What probably has happened here is that some texts regarding the presence of Coptic artisans were simply overlooked and not taken notice of, because of the above mentioned reason: how could a not well equipped, folk artisan make glass mosaics of such beauty and high quality? But one did not realize that originally *Qibt* meant Egyptian and what was made by an Egyptian as an artist was Egyptian art. And Egyptian art could also mean Alexandrian art, art produced by Alexandrian artists.
This can lead to the hypothesis that it may very well be that Alexandrians were the designers and master mosaicists of the mosaics in Damascus. Of course there are questions. We know hardly anything about Alexandrian art, because not much is left of the old city. Layer upon layer is built over the ancient town, leaving us nowadays with a city which has not much to offer, at least when we compare it with Rome, or even Istanbul, which still shows us quite a few things of the old Constantinople[55]. So in general Alexandria got out of focus as a center of exquisite art which it certainly has been also in Christian times and we forgot about its richness and its beauty.
In support of this there is *e.g.* a seventh-century letter of the Muslim commander ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀs, the first conqueror of Egypt, written to the caliph, telling about all the palaces of the city of Alexandria, which he just had conquered, to remind us of the magnificence Alexandria once had and still had at the time of the Muslim conquest[56].

In the context of the Damascus mosaics this all may work as an eyeopener. It explains the resemblance with the above mentioned Boscoreale paintings for example, which was up to now unexplicable[57].

Both in the earliest Arabic accounts by Muslim authors about building or reconstruction programmes of mosques, and in papyri, Egyptian artisans are mentioned being sent or brought to an alien place, probably by coercion[58]. In the Greek *Aphrodito Papyri* – the official correspondence of Qurra ibn Sharīk, Governor of Egypt from 709 to 714, with Basilius, the Prefect of the district of Aphrodito in Upper Egypt – orders were found for the despatch of 40 skilled Egyptian workmen for the construction of the Mosque at Damascus. References are made to the maintenance of Egyptian craftsmen. We find in these papyri the following: a reference to the 'maintenance of (Egyptian) labourers and skilled workmen employed on the Mosque of Jerusalem…[59]. The same papyri report the wages and maintenance of the above mentioned competent Egyptians, the craftsmen engaged in the construction of the Great

[51] Among others: Walters 1974, 137; F. van der Meer 1949, *Christus Oudste Gewaad: over de oorspronkelijkheid der oud christelijke kunst*, Utrecht, Brussels, 36-37.
[52] Bowersock 1990, 64.
[53] Bagnall 1993, 323.
[54] Exhibition catalogue 1994, 53.
[55] Grabar 1966, 35 mentions this and adds that one thinks, that, without having a real and substantional proof for it, it is probably true that Alexandrian art spread its influence as far as Italy and Constantinople.
[56] Butler 1902/1978, 368. We find ʿAmr's letter in Ibn Abd al Hakam and also in Eutychius (a Melkite priest from Alexandria, who died in A.D. 940. See Grabar 1964, 69), Maqrīzī and in Makīn.
[57] Sourdel, Spuler 1985, 148; Balty 1977, 154.
[58] Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 151,152; Ettinghausen in Lewis (ed.) 1992, 60.
[59] Creswell 1939, 30-31.

Fig. 10. Mosaic floor. The Holy City of Jerusalem. Detail. Church of St. Stephen, Umm al-Rassas.

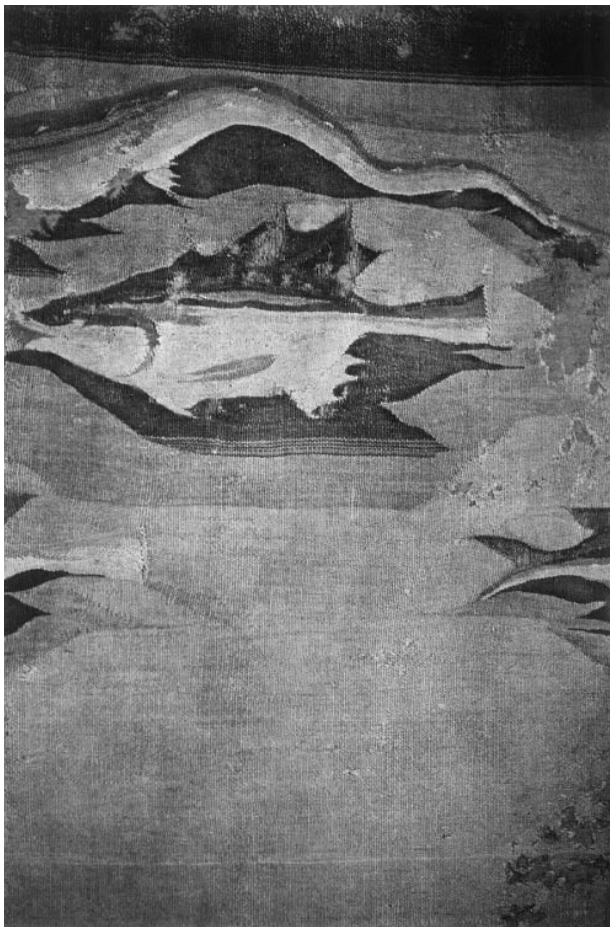


Fig. 12. Tapestry. Fish design. Fragment from Antinoë. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

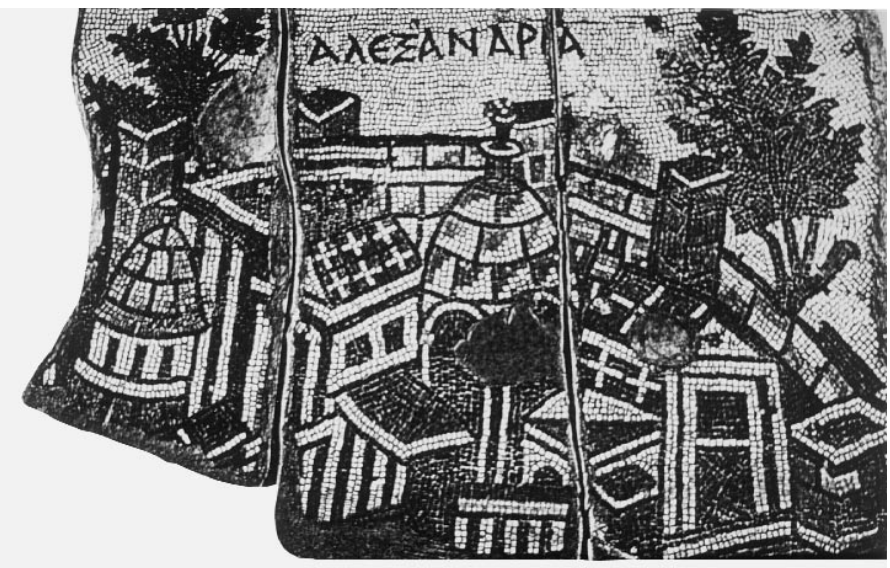


Fig. 11. Mosaic floor. Alexandria. Detail. Church of St. John the Baptist, Jerash.

Mosque in Damascus[60]. Al-Balādhurī tells in his *Futūh al-buldān* that Coptic artisans, among others, were sent by al-Walīd to his Governor in Medina, when he ordered him to pull down the mosque and rebuild it[61]. These craftsmen were asked for by the caliph and they were wanted, probably because they already had built up a certain reputation. We learn from Leontios of Neapolis in his *Life of John, Archbishop of Alexandria*, written in 645, that this archbishop sent from Egypt to Jerusalem in 629 one thousand workmen and artisans to assist in rebuilding the churches which the Persians had destroyed in 614, an undertaking by Modestos, vicar and later archbishop of Jerusalem[62]. The busy traffic in artisans in Alexandria, although a thousand may be exaggerated, may suggest that they enjoyed a certain name.

Earlier I published some articles about Egyptian travelling or immigrant artisans living and working in many places in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean areas[63]. My hypothesis is that they were the ones who created a totally new type of capital, the very finely decorated, deeply undercut so-called impost capital[64]. Exactly this type of capital I discovered recently in a small domed octagon in the *sahn* of the Great Mosque at Damascus, which to my view belongs to the products of these Egyptians[65].

This makes it all the more plausible that the artisans who made the mosaics of the Great Mosque at Damascus, came from Egypt, and specifically from Alexandria[66]. It is good to bear in mind that the above-mentioned mosaic in Thessaloniki, which resembles in its fanciful architectural setting the architectural landscape in Damascus, is said by C.R. Morey to belong to the expression of the Alexandrian style[67].
However, we must confess that neither the Arabic documents nor the papyri explicitly specify the workmen, the artisans as mosaicists. But if we can show that glass mosaics with *tesserae* of colored glass, with golden *tesserae*, wall mosaics of this quality and style and with this kind of decoration and representation are likely to have been made in Egypt before, if we can find the textual and archaeological evidence for it, then we may perhaps come to the conclusion that the design and the important part of the work was done mainly by Alexandrians.

There are some very interesting data in this respect to mention.
The first one leads us to Boscoreale in the neighborhood of Pompeii. The Boscoreale paintings, already mentioned, are paintings in the so-called Bedroom M, originating from the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York *(Fig. 13)*. For a long time already it is supposed that like other Pompeian frescoes these were made by or under the influence of painters from Alexandria[68]. In the architectural scenes from the villa at Boscoreale, especially in the bedroom, Hellenistic buildings, palaces and houses are depicted, which suggest an affinity with Alexandrian buildings[69]. Another striking fact is that certain objects painted on these walls, like special incense burners, have a similarity to incense burners found in Alexandria *(Figs. 14-15)*[70]. In Coptic architecture pillars were decorated with vine leaves, like the decoration of the pillars on the frescoes in Boscoreale[71]. We find a similarity with certain architectural features in Petra, which are said to have been introduced there by Alexandria[72].
The grandiose architecture on the mosaic of St.George in Thessaloniki (see *Fig. 6* and p. 4) is reminding Morey of the Pompeian style and of the architecture 'on a monumental scale in the facades of the rock-cut tombs of Petra'[73].

However, it is all very well to mention resemblances, but we have to explain how there could be a similarity and what it means. For this can not be just a matter of coincidence.
To start with it is not strange to compare frescoes with mosaics. One can even say that, like in modern times, a designer of mosaics, the master mosaicist, is also a painter. Think of an artist like Marc Chagall. Although the technique of the actual making of the mosaic is different from the making of a fresco, the design and the style can be fairly the same. And as it seems to be confirmed from different sides that what is generally called Pompeian architectural wall paintings or frescoes

60 Van Lohuizen 1987, 139.
61 Creswell 1939, 32.
62 Creswell 1939, note 3.
63 Van Lohuizen 1987, 137, 139; Van Lohuizen 1989, 200.
64 See p. 1; Van Lohuizen 1987, 135, 149-150.
65 The origin of the architectural sculpture and the origin and the function of this small domed octagon has always been a riddle. I intend to write an article about this small building very soon.
66 Franz 1959, 46 thinks it very plausible that artisans in Damascus were Copts. He supposes that certain architectural forms in Islamic architecture have a Coptic origin.
67 Morey 1942, 143.
68 See Rostowzew and Ainalov for example.
69 MacKenzie, 1990, 91-92, 99.
70 Lehmann 1953, 122; Brown 1957, 90.
71 Franz 1959, 46; Finster 1970/71, 149.
72 MacKenzie 1990, 124, 126.
73 Morey 1942, 143.

represent also buildings from the Alexandrian area, the link with Alexandria in some way appears highly probable.

We mentioned already that Copts may mean Alexandrians. Alexandria was conquered by the Moslims in 642. The caliph must have been quite impressed reading the letter of ʿAmr: 'I have taken a city of which I can but say that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres'[74]. Even if this seems to be quite exaggerated, if one should reduce the number to 400 palaces and baths and 40 theatres, it still looks very impressive as it probably was. The impression made on a Muslim mind is well illustrated by the following: 'I have made the pilgrimage sixty times; but if God had suffered me to stay a month at Alexandria and pray on its shores, that month would be dearer to me than the sixty prescribed pilgrimages which I have undertaken'[75].
The Muslim conquerors might have been impressed by other cities they conquered like Jerusalem, Antioch and Damascus, but they were it certainly the most by Alexandria, Antioch having been a prey to many earthquakes since the sixth century and Jerusalem and Damascus never having had as cities that touch of Hellenistic brilliancy and extraordinary magnificence[76].
So what would be more likely than that the caliph tried to find the artists, the artisans and the workmen who were still working in the tradition which had given that city its splendor? And they were his own subjects after all, now that Egypt was conquered, so he could even force them – if they did not like the use of a species of liturgy, a voluntary contribution – as corvée laborers to help him in constructing and decorating the mosques he wanted to build[77]. He could also have ordered the mosaic glass without his payment, like the Romans did: they compelled Egypt to pay one of its main taxes to Rome in the form of smalto, the glass used in the production of mosaics[78].
What probably appealed most to him were the palaces and theaters with its decorations, in short buildings which wore no sign of Christianity. Representations with mythological scenes, landscapes and/or architectural sceneries with palaces and *tholoi* did not vanish at the advent of Christianity. This classical taste, probably belonging to a revival of purely Hellenistic art[79], suited the conqueror for obvious reasons. He was looking for scenery without figurative representations, because these could not be used as decorations in a mosque. And they were found on the walls of secular buildings, which supposedly were decorated with art works like the frescoes in the Villa at Boscoreale with the representation of an architectural scenery which seems to have constituted the so-called *scenae frons*[80]. There were also idyllic landscapes with palacelike kinds of fancy buildings, sometimes with a roofing of upturned acanthus leaves like one sees them on the mosaics in Damascus (see *Fig. 3*), symbolically representing the *locus amoenus*, the place of heavenly bliss[81]. And this whole concept may have happened to coincide with the Muslim idea of how Paradise, described in several *sūrahs* in the Koran [82], could be represented in a beautiful and very appealing way on the walls of a mosque which certainly had to compete with beautiful churches with all sorts of decorations.
Palaces and other buildings built on top of each other, like on the frescoes from Boscoreale (see *Figs. 13-14*), it is all there, described in the Holy Book:

But those who fear their Lord – for them await lofty chambers, above which are built lofty chambers, underneath which rivers flow – God's promise.

Blessed be He who, if He will, shall assign to thee better than that – gardens underneath which rivers flow, and He shall assign to thee palaces[83].

And that the Islamic vision of Paradise might be represented on the Damascus mosaics, is also shown by a rich display of pearls, beautiful large trees, and water, as it is described in several

[74] Forster 1961, 61; Butler 1902/78, 368.
[75] Forster 1961, 86; Butler 1902/1978, 369, note 4: Ibn Dukmâk (Duqmāq) writes that Abd al Malik ibn Juraij said this.
[76] Butler 1902/1978, 291-292.
[77] Bloom 1993, 23. He speaks of corvée labor (see also Stern 1972, 214 and Ettinghausen in Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam* 1992, 59) without saying that this implies that the craftsmen are not likely to come from Constantinople, because Constantinople was not under Muslim rule and thus the caliph could not order and use craftsmen from there as corvée laborers.
[78] L'Orange and Nordhagen 1966, 38.
[79] De Lorey 1931, 6-7.
[80] De Lorey 1931, 10: Stern 1972, 219; Hellenkemper Salies 1988, 308.
[81] Brandenburg 1984, 250.
[82] Brisch 1988, 16-17; Grabar 1992, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 190-191. Also Börsch-Supan 1967 and Finster 1970/71 mention the mosaics at Damascus as representations of Paradise. Also Balty 1977, 154.
[83] Brisch 1988, 16-17. Koran 39:20 (But those who fear their Lord …), Koran 25:10 (Blessed be He who …); Grabar 1992, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 163.

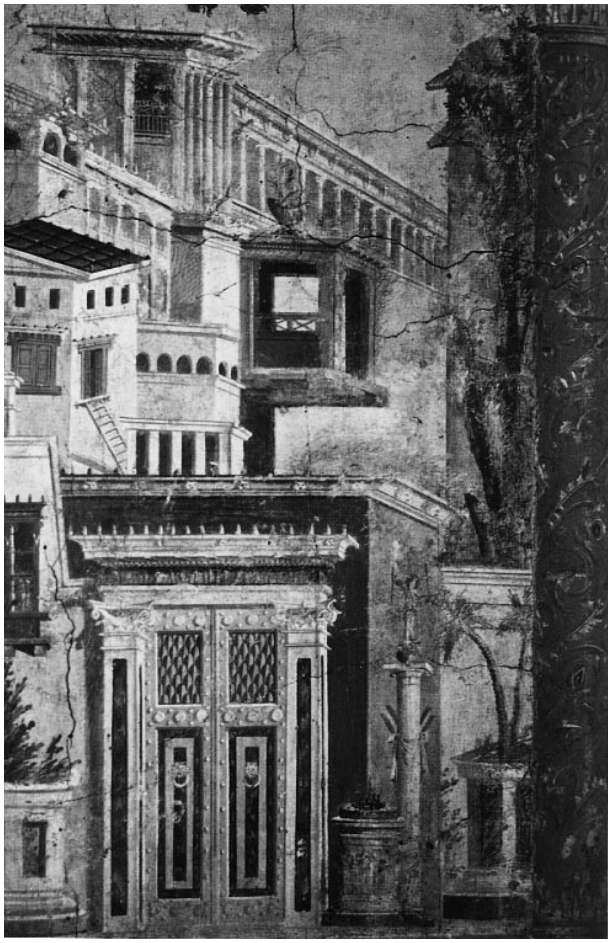


Fig. 13. Fresco from the Bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Cynistor from Boscoreale. The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

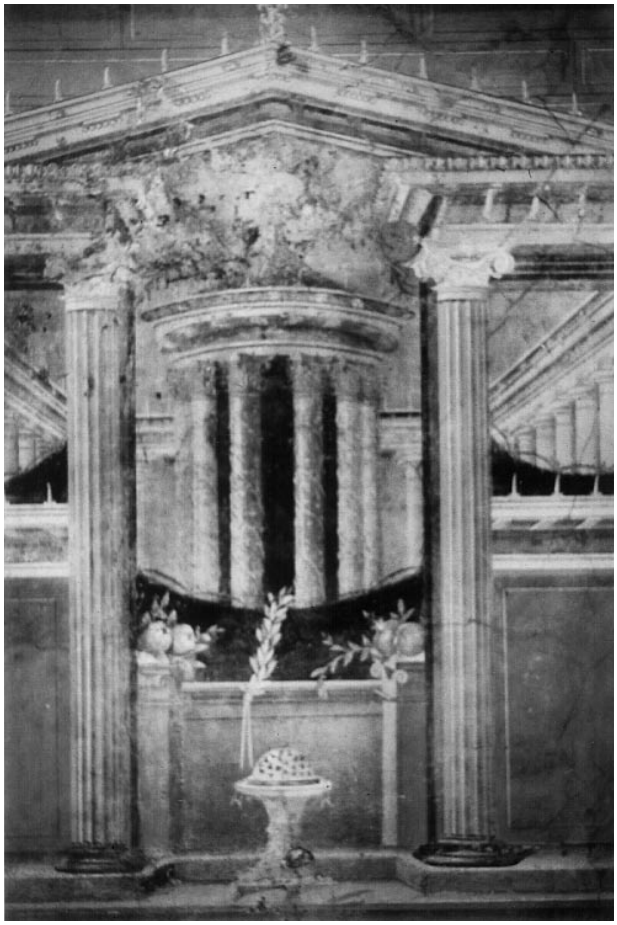


Fig. 14. Fresco from the Bedroom in the Villa of Publius Fannius Cynistor from Boscoreale. The Metropolitan Museum New York.

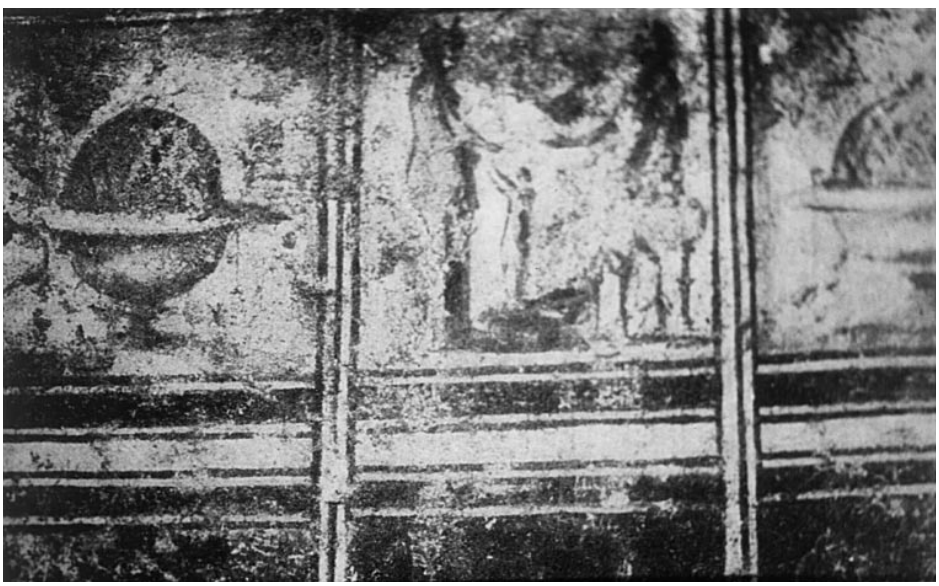


Fig. 15. Fresco with incense burner. Ptolemaic Tomb. Hadra Cemetry, Alexandria.

Fig. 16. Mosaic floor. Berenike II from Thmuis (Tell Timai). Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.

sūrahs[84]. It all has the light air of fantasy and of peace: no defensive walls, no strict boundaries. It is Ibn Zabāla, who is quoted at the beginning of this article, who wrote about mosaics in the Mosque at Medina, rebuilt by al-Walīd as we know, showing the same vision of Paradise[85]. And finally: the lost inscriptions of the Damascus mosaics seem to underline, among others, the theme of Paradise too[86].

And now as to the wall mosaics, which really speaking means glass mosaics, textual as well as archaeological evidence about its former existence in Egypt is available.
We know for example that Ptolemaic and Roman houses in Egypt not only had floor mosaics, but also wall mosaics[87]. Further that in Tell Atrib in Egypt large quantities of pieces of wall mosaics were excavated[88]. In the excavations of the Jeremias Monastery of Saqqara, founded in the fifth century, pieces of glass mosaic were found[89]. And also golden glass *tesserae*[90]. That mosaics with golden glass *tesserae* existed in Egypt is not amazing. Two exquisite Alexandrian pieces of so-called gold glass now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York clearly show that the manufacture of

[84] Exhibition catalogue 1991 *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, 22-23.
[85] Brisch 1988, 18. Sauvaget 1947, 26, 80. See also note 1.
[86] Brisch 1988, 16. Finster 1970/71, 118: the court poet of al-Walīd Nābiga Banī Saibān says that *sūrahs* from the Koran were inscribed on the walls of the Mosque at Damascus. De Lorey 1931, 1; Hillenbrand 1994, 71: al-Muqaddasī mentions also inscriptions in connection with the mosaics in Damascus.
[87] Daszewski 1985, 4.
[88] Ruszczyc 1990, 318.
[89] Glass mosaic cubes were found at various places as in the Menas sanctuary and at Saqqara. See Johnson and West 1949, 111-113.
[90] Exhibition catalogue 1993 *Syrien*, 439. I do not think that these tesserae were used for glass windows, as it is said in the catalogue, but that they were pieces of a glass mosaic, which is shown by their size: 0,6 by 1 cm, as the pieces of a glass mosaic found in Qasr el Heir al Gharbi Castle have a size of 0,7 by 1 cm (Exhbition catalogue *Syrien*, 518).

golden *tesserae* could not have caused any problem[91].

The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī, who seems to have made the pelgrimage to Mecca [92], says that wall mosaics of the Great Mosque in Mecca were made, at least partly, by Egyptian craftsmen who recorded their names on it[93].

It is V. Daszewski who says that the origin of mosaic lies in Egypt. This he bases on a papyrus from the third century B.C.[94]. In his valuable publication: *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, 1985, he gives an extensive description of the floor mosaic: Berenike II from Thmuis (Tell Timai) from the second century B.C. *(Fig. 16)*, which is signed by Sophilos[95]. The representation is of a woman crowned with the prow of a ship. The quality is very high. It is made of very fine *tesserae*, mainly of stone, although glass is also used, like in other Egyptian mosaics, for example in the one from Kom el-Dikka, which shows a dark-blue background, made up of small glass *tesserae*[96]. There is a richness for example of greenish hues and a variety of shades which reminds us of the Damascus mosaics[97]. This mosaic shows that there has existed a mosaic tradition of a very high level in Egypt. There are no reasons to assume, I think, that this rich tradition has died out very soon. But unfortunately mosaics of a later date are not (yet) discovered in Alexandria and surroundings, evidence being buried under today's city. But textual evidence about mosaics in the Mosque of 'Amr at Cairo, the first mosque built in Egypt in the winter of 641-2, shows that this mosque was at one time adorned with wall mosaics, but that in 997 the mosque was replastered and whitewashed and a great quantity of mosaic was removed[98].

In the context of other mosaics outside Egypt of a high and specific quality an Egyptian origin is sometimes supposed, for example in the case of the already mentioned floor mosaic with a Nilotic scene and a Nilometer in Tabgha *(see Fig. 7)*[99].

That the manufacture of mosaics in Egypt went on for a long time is shown by a passage in the eleventh-century writings of a Persian traveller[100]. He mentions mosaic workshops in Old Cairo in the time of the Fatimids[101].

Fairly recently it is mentioned that skilled Alexandrian mosaicists travelled far and wide[102]. It is known for example that Egyptian artists made wall mosaics with stone and glass *tesserae* in Pompeii[103].

Concluding I may say that all this leads me to the idea that as 'one of the many parents who brought a new Islamic art to life'[104] Egypt too may be mentioned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ainalov, D. 1961 (ed. C. Mango), *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, New Brunswick.

Anderson, M.L. 1987, *Pompeian Frescoes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York.

Bagnall, R. S. 1993, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton.

Bahnassi, A. 1990, *La Grande Mosquée Omeyyad à Damas*, Damascus.

Balty, J. 1977, *Mosaïques Antiques de Syrie*, Brussels.

Beckingham, C.F. 1983, *Between Islam and Christendom: Travellers, facts and legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London.

Bertelli, C. (ed.) 1989, *Mosaics*, New York.

Bienkowski, P. (ed.) 1991, *The Art of Jordan*, Gloucestershire.

Blair, Sh. S. and J.M. Bloom (eds.) 1991, *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, Hanover, NH.

Blair, Sh. S. 1992, What is the date of the Dome of the Rock? in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, part 1, Oxford, 59-89.

Bloom, J. 1993, On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture, *Muqarnas* 10, 21-29.

Bonfioli, M. 1957, Mosaici Siro-Palestinesi in rapporto alle decorazioni delle Moschee di Gerusalemme e Damasco, *Rivista di Archaeologia Christiana* XXXIII, 161-196.

Borrás Gualis, G. M. 1990, *El Islam*, Madrid.

Börsch-Supan, E. 1967, *Garten-Landschafts-und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum*, Berlin.

Bothmer, H-C., Graf von 1987, Architekturbilder im Koran-eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus dem Yemen, *Bruckmans Pantheon* XLV, 4-21.

[91] *5000 Years of Glass* (ed. H. Tait) 1991, 97.

[92] Creswell and Gautier-van Berchem *EMA* I 1978/79, 233.

[93] Creswell and Gautier-van Berchem *EMA* I 1978/79, 230 note 7, 233. Rezq 1988, 9-10 note 50. Serjeant and Lewcock 1983, 340, 349-350 note 66 mention the interesting fact that Masʿūdī tells that the mosaics from the Christian cathedral in Sanʿā were removed in 684 to decorate the Ka'bah in Mecca.

[94] Lavagne 1983, 263.

[95] Daszewski 1985, 2.

[96] Daszewski 1985, 130-131.

[97] Daszewski 1985, 84, 159.

[98] Creswell 1978, II, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 172: this is mentioned by Yāqūt, Ibn Duqmāq and Maqrīzī.

[99] See note 45.

[100] Creswell and Gautier-van Berchem *EMA* I 1978/79, 230 note 8.

[101] *Idem*; Butler 1978, 103, note 3: at least 'the survival of mosaics (in Egypt) is proved to the fourteenth century'. Creswell 1978/1979 *EMA*, I:I, 228: 'It is not impossible that, under the Fatimids, there flourished a school of Egyptian mosaicists who worked under the supervision of ʿAbd Allāh (a master craftsman probably of Egyptian origin) at the restoration of the mosaics of the Sakhra and at the decoration of the dome of the Mosque of al-Aqsa'.

[102] Bertelli 1989, 12.

[103] Daszewski 1985, 4; Bertelli 1989, 12.

[104] Grabar 1964, 70.

Bourguet, P. du 1971, *The Art of the Copts*, New York.
Bowersock, G.W. 1990, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor.
Bowersock G.W. 1992, The Arabs before Islam in *The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance*, New York/London.
Bowman, A.K. 1986, *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC-A.D.642*, Berkely.
Brandenburg, H. 1984, Die Darstellungen Maritimen Lebens in *Spätantike und Frühes Christentum*, 249-256.
Brend, B. 1991, *Islamic Art*, London.
Brisch, K. 1988, Observations on the Iconography of the Mosaics in the Great Mosque at Damascus in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (ed. P. Soucek), Philadelphia/London, 13-25.
Broek, R. van den, J.J.V.M. Derksen, G.Mussies, K.J.H. Vriezen 1988, *Kerk en kerken in Romeins-Byzantijns Palestina: archeologie en geschiedenis*, Kampen.
Brown, B.R. 1957, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, Cambridge, Mass.
BSAC = *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*.
BullAIEMA = *Bulletin de l'association internationale pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique*.
Butler, A.J. 1978 (first ed. 1902) ed. P.M. Fraser, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford.
Cameron, A. and L.I. Conrad (eds.) 1992, *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the literary source material*, Princeton.
Cameron, A. 1981, *Continuity and change in sixth-century Byzantium*, London.
Canard M. 1964, Les Relations Politiques et Sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes, *DOP* 18, 33-57.
Canard, M. 1973 (repr.), *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient*, London.
Canfora, L. 1990, *Het ware verhaal van de Alexandrijnse Bibliotheek*, Nijmegen.
Caubet, A. 1990, *Aux sources du monde Arabe: L'Arabie avant l'Islam* (collections du Musée du Louvre), Paris.
CorsiRav = *Corsi di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*.
Costa, P. 1974, La Moschea Grande di Sanʿā, *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli* vol. 34 (nuova serie XXIV), Fascicolo 4, Napels.
Crespi, G. 1992, *Die Araber in Europa*, Stuttgart/Zürich.
Creswell, K.A.C. 1939, Coptic Influences on Early Muslim Architecture, *BSAC* V, 29-42.
Creswell, K.A.C. 1978, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, New York.
Creswell, K.A.C. 1978/1979, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., New York.
Creswell, K.A.C., rev. J.W. Allan 1989, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Aldershot.
Crowfoot, J.W. 1931, Churches at Jerash: A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930, *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Supplementary Papers*, London.
Crowfoot, J.W. 1941, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London.
Daszewski, W.A. 1976, Some problems of early mosaics from Egypt in *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten*, Berlin.
Daszewski, W.A. 1985, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt* I, Mainz am Rhein.
Degeorge, G. 1983, *Syrie*, Paris.
Donceel-Voûte, P. 1988, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban: Décor, archéologie et liturgie*, I, II, Louvain-la-Neuve.
Donner, F.M. 1981, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton.
DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
Encyclopaedia of Islam 1965 (new ed.), II, Leiden/London.
Enderlein, V. 1990, *Islamische Kunst*, Dresden.
Ess J. van 1991, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* I, Berlin/New York.
Ettinghausen, R. 1977, *Arab Painting*, New York.
Evetts, B.T.A. (ed.) 1895, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries attributed to Abû Sâlih, The Armenian*, Oxford.
Exhibition catalogue 1991: *Age of Spirituality* (ed. K. Weitzmann), New York.
Exhibition catalogue 1991 = *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
Exhibition catalogue 1992 = *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, New York.
Exhibition catalogue 1993 = *Syrien: von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen*, Mainz am Rhein.
Exhibition catalogue 1993 = *Die Gärten des Islam*, Stuttgart/London.
Exhibition catalogue 1993 = *The Mosaics of Jordan: Roman, Byzantine, Islamic*, London.
Exhibition catalogue 1994 = *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (ed. Th.F. Matthews and R.S. Wieck), The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
Farioli Campanati, R. 1992, Decorazioni di origine tessile nel repertorio del mosaico pavimentale protobizantino del Vicino Oriente e le corrispondenze decorative parietali di Ravenna, Salonico, Constantinopoli e Qusayr ʿAmra, *CorsiRav*, 275-295.
Finster, B. 1970/71, Die Mosaiken der Umayyadenmoschee von Damaskus, *Kunst des Orients* VII, 2, 83-142.
Finster, B. 1978, Die Freitagsmoschee von Sanʿā I, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* IX, 92-133.
Finster, B. and J. Schmidt 1979, Die Freitagsmoschee von Sanʿā II, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* X, 179-192.
Forster, E.M. 1961 (first ed. 1922), *Alexandria: a History and a Guide*, New York.
Fowden, G. 1993, *The Egyptian Hermes: A historical approach to the late pagan mind*, Princeton.
Fowden, G. 1993, *Empire to Common Wealth: Consequences of monotheism in late antiquity*, Princeton.
Franz, H.G. 1959, Architekturdarstellungen auf den Mosaiken der Omayyaden-moschee in Damaskus und die frühislamische Baukunst, in *Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957: Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst*, Berlin, 41-48.
Fraser, P.M. 1981, Alexandria from Mohammed Ali to Gamal Abdal Nasser in *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel*

einer mediterranen Groszstadt, Mainz am Rhein, 63-75.
Frishman, M. and H.U. Khan (eds.) 1994, *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London.
Gibb, H.A.R. 1958, Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate, *DOP* 12, 219-235.
Grabar, A. 1953, *Byzantine Painting*, Geneva.
Grabar, A. 1966, *L'âge d'or de Justinien: De la mort de Théodose à l'Islam*, Paris.
Grabar, O. 1964, Islamic Art and Byzantium, *DOP* 18, 67-89.
Grabar, O. 1968, La Grande Mosquée de Damas et les origines architecturales de la mosquée, in *Synthronon, Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, Paris, 107-114.
Grabar, O. 1973, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven/London.
Grabar, O. and R. Ettinghausen 1987, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250*, Harmondsworth.
Grabar, O. 1988, The Iconography of Islamic Architecture, in *Content and Context of Visual arts in the Islamic World* (ed. P. Soucek), Philadelphia/London, 51-67.
Grabar, O. 1992, *The Mediation of Ornament*, Princeton.
Grabar, O. 1992, Architecture and Art, in *The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance*, New York/London, 105-149.
Grimm G. 1981, Orient und Okzident in der Kunst Alexandriens, in *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Groszstadt*, Mainz am Rhein, 13-27.
Guillou, A. 1993, Byzanz und die Entstehung Westeuropas, in *Mohammed und Karl der Grosse: die Geburt des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart/Zürich.
Hayes, J.R. (ed.) 1992, *The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance*, New York/London.
Hellenkemper Salies, G. 1988, Die Mosaiken der Grossen Moschee von Damaskus, Università degli Studi di Bologna, *CorsiRav* XXXV, 295-314.
Herzfeld, E. 1942-3, 1946, 1948, Damascus: Studies in Architecture, *Ars Islamica* IX-XIII.
Hillenbrand, R. 1994, *Islamic Architecture: Form, function and meaning*, Edinburgh.
Hinske, N. (ed.) 1981, *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Groszstadt*, Mainz am Rhein.
Hunt, L-A. 1991, Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem and the Problem of "Crusader" Art, *DOP* 45, 69-87.
Johnson, A.C., L.C. West 1949, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton.
Kaegi, W.E. 1992, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge.
Kennedy, H. 1986, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the sixth to the eleventh century*, Singapore.
Khouri, R.G. 1989, *Petra*, Amman.
King, G.R.D. 1977, *The Origins and Sources of the Umayyad Mosaics in the Great Mosque of Damascus* (Ph.D. thesis unpublished), School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
Kitzinger, E. 1965, *Byzantijnse mozaieken*, Amsterdam.
Kitzinger, E. 1977, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main lines of stylistic development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century*, Cambridge, Mass.
Kleinbauer, W.E. 1972, The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki, *Viator* 3, 27ff.
Krause, M. 1981, Das Christliche Alexandrien und seine Beziehungen zum koptischen Ägypten, in *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Groszstadt*, Mainz am Rhein, 53-63.
L'Orange, H.P.L. and P.J. Nordhagen 1966, *Mosaics*, London.
Lambert, E. 1956, Les origines de la mosquée et l'architecture réligieuse des Oméiades, *Studia Islamica* VI, 16.
Lammens, H. 1915, l'Islam primitif en face des arts figurés, *Journal Asiatique* VI, 239-279.
Lavagne, H. 1983, "Luxuria inaudita": Marcus Aemilius Scaurus et la naissance de la Mosaïque murale, in *Mosaïque: Recueil d'hommages à Henri Stern*, Paris, 259-265.
Lavin, I. 1962, The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, *The Art Bulletin*, 1-29.
Lehmann, P.W. 1953, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass.
Levi, D. 1947, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton/London/The Hague.
Lewis, B. (ed.) 1992, *The World of Islam*, London.
Lohuizen-Mulder, M.E. van 1987, Early Christian Lotus-panel Capitals and other so-called Impost Capitals, *BABesch* 64 (1987), 131-151.
Lohuizen-Mulder, M.E. van 1989, The Two-zone Capitals, *BABesch* 64 (1989), 193-204.
Lorey E. de 1931, *The Mosaics of the Mosque of the Omayyads at Damascus*, Paris.
MacCoull, L.S.B. 1990, The Pascal Letter of Alexander II, Patriarch of Alexandria: a Greek Defense of Coptic Theology under Arab Rule, *DOP* 44, 27-41.
MacKenzie, J. 1990, *The Architecture of Petra*, Oxford.
Mango, C. 1980, *Byzantium, The Empire of New Rom*, London.
Mango, C. 1992, The Temple Mount AD 614-638 in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, part 1, Oxford, 1-17.
Meyendorf, J. 1964, Byzantine Views of Islam, *DOP* 18, 113-133.
Michell, G. (ed.) 1978, *Architecture of the Islamic World*, London.
Moorhead, J. 1981, The Monophysite response to the Arab Invasions, *Byzantion* LI, 1, Brussels, 579-592.
Morey C.R. 1942, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton.
Papadopoulo, A. 1976, *l'Islam et l'art Musulman*, Paris.
Parlasca, K. 1971, Hellenistische und Römische Mosaieken aus Ägypten, *second Intern. Coll. on Graeco-Roman Mosaics in Vienna*, 363-369.
Pazaros, Th. 1985, *The Rotunda of St. George*, Thessaloniki.

Peters, F.E. 1977,1978, Byzantium and the Arabs of Syria, *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 27-28, 97-113.
Pfrommer, M. 1992, *Göttliche Fürsten in Boscoreale: Der Festsaal in der Villa des P. Fannius Synistor*, Trierer Winckelmanns-programme 12, Mainz am Rhein.
Piccirillo, M. 1988, The Mosaics at Umm er-Rasas in Jordan, *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, 4, 208-231.
Piccirillo, M. 1993, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman.
Pirenne, H. 1993, Mohammed und Karl der Grosse in *Mohammed und Karl der Grosse: die Geburt des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart/Zürich, 21-111.
Rezq, A.M. 1988, The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt and their Social and Military Rank during Mediaeval Period, *Islamic Archaological studies*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1-33.
Rosen Ayalon, M. 1991, La Jerusalem islamique in *Jerusalem 5000 ans d'histoire, DossArch*, 165-166.
Rostowzew, M. 1911, Die Hellenistisch-Roemische Architekturlandschaft, *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung* XXVI, 187.
Ruszczyc, B. 1990, Tell Atrib-Kôm Sidi Youssef 1979, *Etudes et travaux (Studia i prace). Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences* 14, 317-319.
Sauvaget, J. 1947, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris.
Schick, R. 1987, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A.D. 600-750*, Chicago.
Schick, R. 1988, Christian Life in Palestine, *Biblical Archaeologist* vol. 51, 4, 218-240.
Serjeant R.B. and R. Lewcock 1983, *San'ā an Arabian Islamic City*, London.
Soucek, P.P. (ed.) 1988, *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, Philadelphia/London.
Sourdel, J. and Th. B. Spuler 1985, *Die Kunst der Islam, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin.
Stern, H. 1957, Encore les mosaïques de l'église de la Nativité à Bethlehem, *Cahiers archéologiques* IX, 141-145.
Stern, H. 1972, Notes sur les mosaïques du Dôme du Rocher et de la mosquée de Damas, à propos d'un livre de Mme Marguerite Gautier van Berchem, *Cahiers archéologiques* XXII, 201-233.
Stern, H. 1976, Les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée de Cordove, *Madrider Forschungen* XI,
Strika, V. 1972, La grande moschea di Damasco, *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 55-74.
Tait, H. (ed.) 1991, *5000 Years of Glass*, London.
The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 1991, Oxford.
Torp H. 1955, Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'eglise Saint-Georges à Thessalonique, *Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Thessaloniki, 12-19 August 1953, I*, Athens, 498ff.
Vasiliev, A.A. 1950, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I,I, Brussels.
Vasiliev, A.A. 1956, The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D.721, *DOP* 9, 10, 23-49.
Vries, B. de 1988, Jordan's Churches: Their Urban Context in Late Antiquity, *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, 4, 222-226.
Walters, C.C. 1974, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt*, Warminster.
Webster, T.B.L. 1967, *Hellenistic Art*, London.
Weiss Z., Netzer E. 1991, Two Excavation Seasons at Sepphoris, *Quadmoniot*, 24, 113-121.
Wilken, R.L. 1988, Byzantine Palestine: A Christian Holy Land, *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, 4, 214-237.

September 1994

SINGEL 170I
NL-1015 AH AMSTERDAM

An early Etruscan Terracotta Workshop: the seated and standing Statue Acroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)

A Review Article

Patricia S. Lulof

SUMMARY

This article is mainly based on the definitive publication of the seated and standing statue acroteria from Poggio Civitate by Ingrid Edlund-Berry (1992). In the 1960s over 200 fragments were found of at least twenty terracotta statues at the site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo), south of Siena in Northern Etruria. They have been reconstructed as ridgepole acroteria depicting seated and standing male figures with large sombrero hats or helmets and smaller female figures. They were produced in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. and once adorned the ridgepole of a building known as the 'Meeting Hall', a type of political sanctuary which probably served the leadership of the Etruscan cities of the Northern League.
The subject of monumental terracotta ridgepole statues deserves our special attention, since it is an important and rare category of architectural decoration, which, on the one hand, sheds light on the artistic and technical merit of early Etruscan workshops and, on the other hand, informs us about the origin and development of Etruscan architecture and terracotta decoration. The Murlo site is particularly significant because it plays a central role in the discussion on the origins and political organisations of the Etruscans.
Edlund's study will be summarized and extensively reviewed. Furthermore, the results of the inquiry will be briefly discussed against the background of some tentative ideas on monumental terracotta statues in the Archaic period (650-480 B.C.).

INTRODUCTION

Terracotta is an ambiguous category of archaeological material. On the one hand, it is rather common and, until a few years ago, was treated without much respect. On the other hand, it is a source of varied information. Especially in Italy, where it was widely applied as architectural decoration, terracotta gives scholars insight into the (often vanished) building, its chronology and the artistic merit of the terracotta workshop. Fortunately, this has been acknowledged in recent years. The enormous quantities of architectural terracottas, found in almost all Etruscan or Latial sites, are now studied, compared and thoroughly analyzed.
When in 1966 the Murlo statues were discovered and subsequently, in 1970, exhibited for the first time, the archaeological world was astonished. The statues were regarded as a highlight in Etruscan sculpture and became just as famous as the Veii-group in the 1920s. Although ridgepole statues of monumental size were mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 35, 152-157) and shown indirectly in many miniature dwellings (hut urns from the Iron Age)[1] most scholars had doubted their existence on account of technique and attachment to the roof[2]. However, the significance of the statues from Murlo is now recognized everywhere. They have given us concrete evidence that, from the beginning of monumental building, the Etruscans placed large terracotta figures on their roofs.
In 1990 a Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas was held in Rome[3]. One of the results of this conference was that we now know that many other examples of terracotta statues are known to have decorated a roof, either as gable decoration or as central or lateral acroteria. Unfortunately, probably as a consequence of the lack of stools or bases, they have mostly remained unpublished[4]. It has been shown that Veii and Murlo were not the only examples of ridgepole statues. Also in Satricum such temple decoration existed[5]. Thus, we may safely assume that there existed a purely Etruscan tradition in ridgepole decoration, at first attested in Acquarossa and Murlo in the Orientalizing period (7th Century

[1] Bartoloni 1987, fig. 96 and Staccioli 1968 tav. lix 2.
[2] Andrén 1940, 38; Cristofani 1990, 36.
[3] E. Rystedt, Ch. and Ö. Wikander (eds), *Deliciae Fictiles* Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10-12 December, 1990 (ActaRom 4, 50) Stockholm, 1993.
[4] An overview is given by Danner 1993, 93-108.
[5] Lulof 1991 and 1993.

Fig. 1. Reconstructed roof of the Archaic Building with statue acroteria in the Antiquarium at Murlo (Edlund 1992, pl. 5).

B.C.) and, thereafter following the development of terracotta temple decoration, well into the late Archaic period, as was noted by Pliny for Rome[6] and actually demonstrated in Veii and Satricum[7]. From later periods there are no examples of figurative ridgepole decoration. The statues and mythical scenes moved from the gables and ridgepoles to the pediments, following Greek systems in temple decoration. Ridgepole decoration in terracotta of this type is known only in Etruria and Latium; in Greece and *Magna Graecia* no proof was found of decoration of the *kalypteres hegemones* in such a manner.

THE STATUE ACROTERIA FROM POGGIO CIVITATE *(Figs. 1-3)*

Edlund's book is the definitive publication of the Murlo statues[8]. Her work had a rather long history; it started in the sixties and resulted in a very important, albeit incomplete, publication in the *Dialoghi di Archeologia*[9] and later in the catalogues of the exhibitions in Siena[10]. In modern excavations, immediate publication is required, even if the excavations are still in progress. Sometimes this results in preliminary works, which do not discuss, for instance, the final reconstruction of a category of architectural terracottas or their place in the decorative system. These deficiencies are acceptable, since each (next) year of excavation yields additional data or new fragments. There is as much to say in favour of immediate publication (otherwise, we would not have known about the Murlo, cowboys, until 1992) as in support of final, complete publications. It is admirable that Edlund combined the two approaches and returned to the statues of her preliminary work, thus providing us with the final edition of this rare and astonishing category. In the present volume Edlund's prime goal is to

[6] Colonna 1981, 41-59 discusses the Etruscan Vulca of Veii and the Doric Damophilos and Gorgasos.

[7] Cf. n. 5 and Stefani 1946 and *Santuari d 'Etruria*. 1985, 102-104.

[8] *The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1992, 256 pp., 28 pls., 5 ills.; 30 cm (Archeologica 96) – ISBN 88-7689-064-5).

[9] The Seated Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), *DialArch* 6 (1972), 167-235.

[10] *Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena): The Archaic Etruscan Sanctuary* (Exhibition in Florence-Siena 1970); *Case e Palazzi d'Etruria* (1985), esp. 102-114.

Fig. 2. Bearded head in situ (Edlund 1992, pl. 11).

present the final results of the study of all the fragments of the Murlo statues, which includes the analysis of their style and function. Many new fragments are incorporated in the catalogue. They came to light in the years following the initial publication. Although her basic interpretation remains unchanged, in this definitive publication Edlund seizes the opportunity to comment upon the place of the statues in the general development of architectural terracottas in Etruria and reconsiders their role in the Archaic Building Complex at Murlo.

The book is divided into six major chapters, but, unfortunately, lacks an index. An index would have been helpful to lead the hurried reader to his topics of interest.
As modern publications of a specific category of finds usually do, the first chapter (11-22) deals with the history of excavation and publication regarding the statues. This section shortly describes the site and its buildings on the hill of Poggio Civitate (Murlo). The Archaic Building followed several Orientalizing structures and could best be described as a 'Meeting Hall' for neighbouring communities. It was erected (complete with its terracotta decoration) around 600 B.C. and wilfully destroyed around 525 B.C. The architectural terracottas, including the statues, were buried in pits, capped with layers of stone. There was no important settlement at the site. Over 200 fragments belong to circa 20 statues of both male and female figures. They are either seated or standing, dressed in plain garments with strange hats and pointed slippers. They were placed on top of the roof of the Archaic Building, either perpendicular (the seated figures), looking towards the inside of the courtyard or along the beam of the roof (the standing figures), facing one end of the building. The figures were all placed on a semi-curved ridgetile. The statues were modelled by hand and fired at the site. A large section of this chapter is reserved for the references to the statues in the preliminary publications. They are presented in chronological order and form the basis for the *Forschungsgeschichte* of the statues. Especially the find circumstances and the reconstruction of the statues' destruction are carefully explained. Much attention is given to primary observations on style, date, parallels and reconstruction of the figures. The article of R. Bianchi Bandinelli in the *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, proposing a late dating (575-550 B.C.)[11] and a tentative interpretation of the entire ridgepole

[11] Bianchi Bandinelli 1972, 237-238.

Fig. 3. Restored statue with pointed hat and beard (Edlund 1992, pl. 1).

group as a divine meeting, is thoroughly reviewed for the sake of completeness. In my opinion this section should not have received as much attention as it does; many references could have been mentioned in footnotes. The numerous observations on style should have been postponed to the appropriate chapter. The stratigraphical data do not add new information to the reconstruction and date of the statues. The section with the references is followed by a summary of the main themes and problems of interpretation regarding the statues. The author has hidden observations on the workshop and the techniques in this (very short) section.

The second chapter (23-158), by far the largest, contains the catalogue with the exhaustive description of all fragments (239 entries) found in Murlo between 1966 and 1987. The catalogue is, in fact, the completion of the study on the statues. The indispensable introduction to the catalogue tries to explain presentation, division and numbering. But in catalogues such as these, the numbering of fragments, the find data, the references to museum and exhibition inventories, and so on, might confuse the reader (although the thorough concordance gives some relief). The structure of the catalogue is not very efficient. Far too many measurements are recorded, whereas there is a lot of space for bibliographical references (although most fragments simply prove to be 'unpublished'). The fabric of the statues is nowhere properly described. The term 'Murlo Terracotta' is inadequate, because it remains, as far as the statues themselves are concerned, virtually unexplained (I shall come back to this subject). In the descriptions the manufacture receives no separate attention. Some observations on modelling are given in the description of the condition: hardly the place where one would have expected them. As an example we may take Cat.no. 1.3.1, a rather well-preserved head. Here the technique is explained under the paragraph on condition, but we miss observations on the specific modelling, such as whether details are modelled separately on the surface. Interestingly, it appears that the head is formed around a hollow tube of clay around which the actual head was formed. This does not follow from the description, and is entirely invisible on the photographs (a drawing would have given more information).

By far the most interesting chapter for terracotta specialists is chapter three (159-179). It tells us about the various aspects of the statues' manufacture, which proved to be important for the reconstruction and restoration of the statues. Similarities in modelling and technique, in material and fabric on the one hand, and the other categories of the architectural decoration on the other have led to the conclusion that workshop(s) and kiln(s) were in the direct surroundings of the site. In my view, however, it cannot be excluded that a travelling workshop had received the commission to decorate the Archaic Building. In this case such a workshop, perhaps from Chiusi, might have used material from the local deposits. At any rate, uniformity in technique between several categories of architectural decoration points towards a single workshop. The discovery of moulds seems to confirm the hypothesis of a workshop which produced the terracottas on the spot. Moreover, traces of the place where the architectural terracottas were laid down to dry or other workshop activities took place, have actually been found. The location of the kilns,

however, remains a mystery. This is not very surprising, since, in general, the kilns were either built in an entirely different part of the site (for reasons of security) or cleared out completely after use. The analysis of some fragments of tiles from Murlo has been carried out in 1986[12]. The fabric is only briefly described and further referred to as 'Murlo terracotta'. There are differences between the fabric of the tiles, but they remain unexplained. It is a pity that no figurative terracottas were used for analysis. One could have investigated whether the orientalizing and archaic building phases used different materials for their decoration. Whatever the facts, the fabric used for the statues remains unanalyzed. The author does not enter upon questions regarding the character of the temper and firing temperatures; is it true that in the early periods of terracotta production no volcanic particles were used? Is the Murlo material fired at very low temperatures, as can be estimated from the frailty of the fired products? The section on the manufacture of the statues (though interesting and important) is somewhat overdone. The reconstruction of the procedure of modelling is explained with tiresome accuracy and repeats many observations already presented in the catalogue. Yet, important details such as the solidness of hands and feet, remain unnoticed.

The section on the distribution of the fragments deals with the find circumstances and presents some tentative conclusions drawn from these data. Most fragments belonging to the statues have been found scattered on the courtyard, along the northern side of the building, or in 'dumps' such as pits (Civitate A, Tr. 2), or a *fossa* (Civitate A, Trs 1, 24, 28), and were covered with a thick layer of stones. Fragments belonging to one statue have been recovered from areas far apart. Their distribution suggests that the statues have fallen down from their original place on the roof and were carried off at random to various places. These find circumstances led the excavators to the presumption that the terracottas were buried ritually and sealed. It is tempting to follow Edlunds' idea this ritual being a *damnatio memoriae*[13]. However, one could reasonably question her opinion, by pointing to other towns (such as Satricum or Veii)[14], holy or secular, where the site, after a destruction, was thoroughly cleaned, but where no indications for a *damnatio memoriae* were found.

The last section of chapter three deals with the reconstruction of the statues' size, which varies strongly. Some statues exceed (seated!) 1.70m; others are half life-size. The author concludes that there were more seated statues (at least ten with a sombrero hat, presumably male, and at least nine smaller statues, presumably female) than standing or running (four statues, of which three probably wore helmets). The highest count of preserved statues is between twenty and twenty-five.

In chapter four (181-193) the stylistic analysis of the statues is discussed. Edlund uses the term 'Murlo-style', mainly referring to her earlier publications on the style of the Murlo workshop[15]. This style is difficult to fit into the artistic context of the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C. in the Mediterranean world. Although Edlund submits the 'stylistic' features of the Murlo statues (the seated pose, the headgear, the position of the hands and feet, the decoration of the garment and the footwear and, finally, the placement as ridgepole acroteria) to careful analysis, some aspects remain obscure. In Etruscan art, she argues, the seated pose indicates status. She goes on saying that the pointed headgear is unparalleled in Etruria and can be interpreted as an indication of power. The rendering of the lower part of the body is, in her view, connected to the seated pose, its block-like shape being intended as a stable base. Yet, the pose is, I think, no stylistic feature but an odd rendition of reality. The same accounts for the painted meander on the garments of the statues. Meanders, painted or carved, were present on many garments in antiquity. It simply represents embroidered cloth. Similarly, the footgear does not support the stylistic analysis. *Calcei ripandi* are typical for Etruria and probably Eastern in origin. Finally, Edlund sees the placement of the statues as a stylistic feature, which is, in my opinion, rather doubtful.

Facial features are generally regarded as the most important aid in stylistic assessment, but, quite to my surprise, Edlund fails to mention them in this section.

In the last sections in this chapter she discusses the opinions of other scholars. For example, R. Bianchi Bandinelli regards the headgear and square beards as Eastern, and considers the seated pose a Greek feature[16]. This is followed by an argument on the influence on the sculpture, canopic urns and bucchero from Chiusi and that of the situla cultures of Northern Italy. The influence from the North is illustrated, first, by the intriguing interpretation of S. Ferri (the Iguvine tablets)[17] who sees Celtic influence in the representation of the statues as *numina*; and, second, by the opinion of L.

[12] Tobey e.a. 1986.
[13] Edlund-Berry, forthcoming.
[14] Knoop 1987 and Stefani 1946.
[15] Edlund-Berry 1972.
[16] Bianchi Bandinelli 1972, 236-247.
[17] Ferri 1978, 3-4.

Bonfante (Certosa situla)[18], who compares details of clothing and the sombrero hat with images on situlae and other artifacts from the North and East (Balkan), and regards the statues as secular figures representing ancestors or high-placed figures. Subsequently, Edlund brings the alleged Greek influence (the seated pose and the pointed shoes) and the near Eastern and Egyptian influence (rigidity, beard and bulging eyes) into perspective. She also points out that the 'Northern theory' should be more closely examined in future.

Although it is clear that the style of the unparalleled Murlo statues is difficult to analyze, some critical remarks can be made. Edlund considers the Murlo statues as unique creations in a local style, which she has coined the 'Murlo-style'. The same style is present in the other categories of the architectural decoration belonging to the Archaic Building. She prefers this name to other existing styles, whether Chiusine, Northern or Egyptian. Nevertheless, she admits there is some eclecticism in this 'Murlo-style'. Although Chiusi and Murlo have striking geographical and cultural affinities, the author is careful not to conclude the same for their workshops. She notes similarities in the manufacture of the statues and that of large storage jars and the canopic urns from Chiusi. Yet, she warns us to be careful in using technical characteristics as an indicator of style. I do not agree with her caution on this point. Technique, in my view, can be very useful in tracking down influences and stylistic characteristics.

We may conclude, with Edlund, that the workshop in Murlo worked in a local and individual tradition, recognizable in the execution and technique of every terracotta category present in Murlo. The style is 'eclectic' and has strong affinities with Chiusi. I am inclined to think — a conclusion Edlund does not draw — that workshops existing in Murlo and Chiusi descended from a common predecessor or used the same source for their subjects and style. A workshop, perhaps, which had its tradition in the East (Asia Minor, Cyprus or Phoenicia); or even vases and small ivories, brought from travels and trade with the East.

The fifth chapter (195-207) confronts us with the problem of the architectural setting, function and symbolic meaning of the statues from Murlo. In Poggio Civitate, the roof decorations develop from two-dimensional into full-sized three dimensional statuary without a clear break[19]. The statues were doubtless used as ridgepole decoration. The identification of the building, on which the statues were placed, presented serious problems. From the beginning, despite the rich roof decoration, the excavators doubted its reconstruction as a temple. The building's plan suggested a secular, rather than a sacred, use. In addition, no votive objects were found. After a meticulous description of its reconstruction Edlund concludes that the Archaic Building was erected around 600 and destroyed between 550 and 530 B.C. The sealed 'dump' of architectural terracottas indicate that the building was not simply the residence of a local chieftain, but rather a place for political meetings, perhaps the official residence of the head of the Northern League of the Etruscan cities[20].

The statues may shed some light on this question. One of the frieze plaques, showing a gathering of important persons or gods, helps to understand the iconography of the statues. Edlund believes a similar gathering is to be seen in the seated acroteria, which can be arranged in small groups consisting of at least one male statue with a sombrero hat, a female statue and perhaps a standing one, separated by heraldic animals. The identification of the figures remains problematic, since important humans often were portrayed as gods and vice versa and a division between human, divine and heroic is hard to make. Edlund concludes that the Archaic Building served as an inaugurated gathering place protected by nameless, but powerful divinities, perched on the roof in the form of seated and standing statues.

Chapter six (209-215) is divided in two parts: whereas the first presents a summary of the material study of the statues, the second contains some suggestions for the function and importance of the Archaic Building and its decoration in Etruscan history, thereby largely repeating the arguments put forward in chapter five. She goes more deeply into the function of the Archaic Building by comparing it with the most famous of all Etruscan meeting places, the shrine of Voltumna where representatives of the Twelve Peoples of Etruria gathered to decide on political matters of common interest. Edlund discusses four other shrines, attested in ancient texts (Virgil on the palace of King Latinus and a late-Roman inscription from Spello) or in actual remains (Lucus Feroniae and Montetosto) and gives us reason to believe that more sanctuaries or gathering places, such as Poggio Civitate existed, and that the building served as a northern equivalent of the *Fanum Voltumnae*, serving the cities of Chiusi, Arezzo, Volterra, Rusellae and Vetulonia and others.

[18] Bonfante 1979, 31-36.
[19] Rystedt 1983.
[20] Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Ant.Rom.* 3.51.

Finally, there are two appendices, concordances and lists and a vast bibliography (217-256). The photographs are of inconsistent quality, probably due to bad printing, which makes details highlighting the technique entirely invisible. The lack of drawings is regrettable. Appendix 1 gives an overview of the distribution of the fragments at the site. Appendix 2 presents a list of fragments belonging to animal acroteria. Unfortunately, this important category has not been integrated in the publication, nor submitted to any reconstruction like that of the statues. The animals obviously belonged to the same roof, if not the same ridgepole tiles, as the statues, and may shed a completely different light on the reconstruction of the roof as a whole.

Although I do not always agree with Edlund, her publication of the Murlo statue acroteria is no doubt one of the most thorough studies I have seen on monumental terracottas. It is a pioneering work indeed, simply because publications of these categories are so rare[21]. Edlund has made a true effort to present the statues as completely as possible and, therefore, deserves our utmost respect and credit. There is very much in these chapters that is of interest to all those who have to deal with architectural terracottas, or with the early Archaic period in (Northern) Etruria in general.

Publications of terracotta material, either from excavations or from storerooms, have to contend with common problems, such as the quantity of the (often unattractive) material and the diversity of subjects connected with the material. It is difficult to be complete and, at the same time, efficient. The work on architectural terracottas is so arduous, that it often yields only one (final) publication. The book under review is a case in point. It is therefore a pity that the book has a few inaccuracies and lacks clarity in some sections. It is regrettable that Edlund endlessly elaborates some aspects (even in different chapters), whereas she pays little attention to other important subjects.

Finally, I cannot abstain from some criticism on the appearance of the book, although I am fully aware that this is beyond the author's influence. The layout, the choice of paper and the finishing of the book is inefficient and unattractive. It is a shame that important publications such as that of Edlund have to suffer under the shortcomings of the publisher.

SOME REMARKS ON MONUMENTAL TERRACOTTA STATUES AND THEIR ORIGIN

In addition to the review of Edlund's study, I would like to seize the opportunity to put forward some thoughts on the origin of terracotta statues. Quite recently, a comparative research was begun by the present writer, which aims at the relations between a selected choice of terracotta workshops in Italy and Greece[22]. Here, the problem will be briefly formulated and introduced to the reader. The following suppositions are by no means definite.

In the Archaic period (650-480 B.C.) sculpture, both in terracotta and in more precious materials, gained popularity and was, in the Mediterranean region, abundantly used in architectural contexts, such as the Doric and Italic temples and the Etruscan and Italic monumental building complexes[23]. The production and development of terracotta sculpture rapidly accelerated. The workshops which excelled in producing terracotta roofsystems, temple decorations and dedications were commissioned in many towns to put their artistic and technical workmanship into practice.

Since the beginning of the century, scholars discussed the origin and development of terracotta sculpture[24]. Whether the origins of this genre have to be sought in Etruria and Greece or in the Eastern Mediterranean (Asia Minor and Cyprus) is one of the most pressing questions. Studies into the nature of travelling workshops have shown that they were itinerant from the Bronze Age onwards and that there was a lively exchange of artistic ideas and skills between geographically dispersed regions[25]. On the other hand, the actual transference of the artistic and technical tradition has never been fully studied[26]. In my opinion, the technical competence of a specialized artist or workshop is always identifiable in the products and can, therefore, be used to trace the origins of workshops[27].

To put it in a few words, workshops or, better, coroplasts, were itinerant. They could be invited from far away, particularly when they were commissioned to do a difficult or prestigious job, such as the building and decoration of a complete roof. To do away with such works by labelling them as 'local' (even though, admittedly, it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint direct influences) is hardly

[21] Soon, we hope to see more publications of this category, Moustaka 1993; Lulof 1994, 277.

[22] Since 1992 a project has started at the Institute of Mediterranean Studies at the University of Amsterdam. It contains the study of five workshops which produced monumental terracotta statues in the Archaic period (Murlo, Satricum, Pompeii, Morgantina, Olympia). On a similar subject: Bonghi Jovino 1990.

[23] Damgaard Andersen 1993, 71-86.

[24] Deonna 1907.

[25] Stibbe 1992-1993.

[26] Andrén 1940, cxvi-cxxv and *idem* 1966, 732-743.

[27] Lulof 1994.

satisfactory. 'Local' tends to be associated with 'provincial' or 'traditional'. Moreover, local production often lacks innovation. However, what characterizes, for example, the Murlo statues is precisely their innovative eclectic, yet highly distinctive style and manufacture, as Dr Edlund justly shows. The talented coroplasts who created these fabulous figures no doubt stood in a long tradition and were probably educated by renowned masters in a famous workshop.

The workshop responsible for the statues on the roof of the Archaic Building in Poggio Civitate is the earliest specialized terracotta workshop in Italy, that we know of. The seated cowboy figures are the first example of early Etruscan monumental sculpture in terracotta. They show, for instance, Eastern influences in style and concept, which can be traced back to Cyprus/Phoenicia as has been, carefully, shown in the study under review and previous publications[28]. Comparing the Murlo statues in technique and style with material from the Eastern Mediterranean (the earliest examples of monumental terracotta statues are from Cyprus)[29] seems to be a promising method to investigate further the origin of the workshop in question. However, this is not the place to present models and parallels to support the 'Eastern' theory. In future studies I will go deeper into the relation between the early Etruscan terracotta workshops and their potential predecessors. For now, following in the footsteps of W. Deonna (a scholar of the early days of terracotta studies), I would like to venture the suggestion that monumental terracotta sculpture originated from the East (Asia Minor, Cyprus) and was somehow transmitted to Northern Etruria in the early Archaic period, where it brought forth, among other things, the skilful Murlo statues. In the 6th century B.C., the Etruscan workshops encountered Greek traditions, which resulted in the integration of artistic and technical skills, so much praised by ancient and modern commentators[30].

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrén, A. 1940, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples*, Lund.

Andrén, A. 1966, s.v. 'Terracotta', *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* VII, 732-743.

Bartoloni, G. e.a. 1987, *Le urne a capanna rinvenute in Italia*, Roma.

Bonfante, L. 1979, I 'Popoli delle Situle' e l'arte etrusco, *Prospettiva* 17, 31-36.

Bonghi Jovino, M. (ed.) 1990, *Artigiani e botteghe nell'Italia preromana: Studi sulla coroplastica di area etrusco-laziale-campana*, Roma.

Case e Palazzi d'Etruria 1985, Stopponi, S. (ed.) (Exhibition catalogue Siena).

Colonna, G. 1981, Tarquinio Prisco e il tempio di Giove Capitolino, *PP* 36, 131-165.

Cristofani, M. 1990, Osservazioni sulle decorazioni fittili archaiche dal santuario di Sant'Omobono, *Archeologia Laziale X, QuadAEI* 19, 36.

Cristofani, M. 1993, Über die Anfänge der 'römische Kunst', *RM* 99, 123-138.

Damgaard Andersen, H. 1993, Archaic Architectural Terracottas and their Relation to Building Identification, *Deliciae Fictiles*, 71-86.

Danner, P. 1993, 'Die Dekoration auf First und Giebelschrägen in der archaischen Baukunst Mittelitaliens', *Deliciae Fictiles*, 93-108.

Deliciae Fictiles 1993, E. Rystedt, and Ch. and Ö. Wikander, (eds.), Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute Rome, (Rome, 10-12 December 1990), ActaRom-4, 50, Stockholm.

Deonna, W. 1907, *Les Statues céramique à Chypre*, Genève.

Edlund-Berry I.E.M. 1972, The Seated Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), *DialArch* 6, 167-235.

Edlund-Berry I.E.M. 1989, Four Terracotta heads from Poggio Civitate (Murlo): Towards a definition of the 'Murlo Style', *OpRom* 17:3, 21-32.

Edlund-Berry I.E.M. 1992, *The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Roma.

Edlund-Berry I.E.M. 1995, Ritual Destruction of Cities and Sanctuaries: The 'Unfounding' of the Archaic Monumental Building at Poggio Civitate (Murlo), De Puma, R.D. and Small, J.D. (eds.) *Etruscan Art and Society. Studies on Murlo and Ancient Etruria*, Madison Wisconsin.

Ferri, S. 1978, Osservazioni ad alcune statue del Murlo-Poggio Civitate (Siena), *RendLinc* 33, 3-8.

Hermary, A. 1991, Les débuts de la grande plastique chypriote en terre cuite, in: Vandenabeele F. and Laffineur, R. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Chypriote Studies* (Brussels/Liège/Paris, 29 May-1 June 1980), Bruxelles.

Knoop, R.R. 1987, *Antefixa Satricana. Sixth-Century Architectural Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum (Le Ferriere)*, Assen.

Lulof, P.S. 1991, Un gruppo di statue fittili tardo-archaiche da Satricum (Le Ferriere), *MededRom Antiquity* 50, 87-101.

Lulof, P.S. 1993, Reconstruction and Architectural Setting of Large Terracotta Statues in Late Archaic Central Italy, *Deliciae Fictiles*, 277-287.

Lulof, P.S. 1994, 'A Petrographical and Geochemical Study of the Late Archaic Ridgepole Statues from Satricum, Italy, *BerROB* 41, 1994.

[28] See n. 11.

[29] Deonna 1907; Andrén 1966, 734-735; Hermary 1991, 139-140.

[30] Mansuelli 1984, 358.

Mansuelli, G.A. 1984, Thyrrhenoi philotechnoi. Opinioni di antichi sull'arte etrusca, *Studi Maetzke*, 355-365.
Moustaka, A. 1993, *Die Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia* (Olympische Forschungen, Band XXII), Berlin, New York.
Phillips, Jr. K.M. 1993, *In the Hills of Tuscany. Recent Excavations at the Etruscan Site of Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena)*, Philadelphia.
Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena): The Archaic Etruscan Sanctuary 1970 (Exhibition catalogue Florence-Siena 1970).
Rystedt, E. 1983, *Acquarossa IV. Early Etruscan akroteria from Acquarossa and Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (ActaRom-4, 38:4), Stockholm.
Santuari d'Etruria 1985, Colonna, G. (ed.) (Exhibition catalogue Arezzo 1985), 99-104.
Staccioli, R.A. 1968, *Modelli di edifici etrusco-italici*, Firenze.
Stefani, E. 1946, Veio, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 36-59.
Stibbe, C.M. 1992-1993, Sparta e Satricum, *MededRom Antiquity* 51-52.
Tobey, M.H., Nielsen, E.O. and Rowe, M.W. 1986, Elemental Analysis of Etruscan Ceramics from Murlo, Italy, in: Olin, J.S. and M.J. Blackman (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Archaeometry Symposium* (Washington 1984), 115-127.

January 1994

INSTITUUT VOOR MEDITERRANE STUDIES
VAKGROEP MEDITERRANE ARCHEOLOGIE
OUDE TURFMARKT 129
NL-1012 GC AMSTERDAM

BaBesch 70 (1995)

Terracotta Statues from Olympia

A Review Article

Patricia S. Lulof

SUMMARY

This article is based on the definitive publication of the terracotta statues found in Olympia (1993). From the end of the seventies onwards, every fragment of the concerning material found during the German excavations in Olympia and kept in the Olympia Museum and its storerooms, has been studied by Aliki Moustaka. One of her main aims was to reconstruct the complete *corpus* and, in particular, to investigate the connections between the terracotta statues and the numerous roofs found in Olympia. The terracotta material consists of a group of 236 fragments which once belonged to at least 35 multi-figured groups, solitary figures, and animals. Some of them were designed as dedications or votive groups, but most of them must be regarded as fundamental parts of the terracotta roof-systems (central and lateral acroteria) of small treasuries built inside the sanctuary of Olympia under the 'Kronos hill'. Except for some isolated pieces, the works all date from the Archaic period. The earliest piece was produced at the beginning of the sixth century; the peak of production was around the turn of the sixth and fifth century; and the most recent, the Zeus and Ganymed group, can be dated to the end of the first quarter of the fifth century. They were made of local clay at several workshops, not all in Olympia itself, using a technique that must be regarded as exclusively Greek. In this article, Moustaka's work will be summarized and extensively reviewed. In addition, her conclusions will be briefly discussed against the background of recent debate on the techniques used in terracotta statues in Greece and central Italy.

INTRODUCTION

The large, free-standing terracotta statues have not received the attention they deserve as an integral part of Greek art, especially when compared to the contemporary marbles and bronzes. For a long time terracotta has been regarded as a second-rate form of art. Deonna wrote his survey of terracotta 'sculpture' only at the beginning of the 20th century[1]. Accordingly, it was thought that Greece produced very few terracotta statues, since no large terracottas seemed to have been found[2]. During recent decades, however, numerous fragments of monumental terracotta statues have come to light at Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and several smaller sites[3]. Since then, the total number of known terracotta statues must have at least doubled. Olympia has for some time been regarded one of the main suppliers of terracotta 'sculpture', although Corinth is said to have been more famous. Generally speaking, however, clay has been regarded as a dull and inferior material when compared to shiny marble (certainly by modern scholars, but possibly also in ancient times), yet it was used more often than marble to embellish and decorate temples. When polished and painted, terracotta statuary could not be surpassed by marble sculpture in either artistic quality or in technical achievement. In fact, terracotta has proved to be the stronger material (albeit often broken into many pieces), and the firing techniques used have kept both the surface and the colours intact. Without these terracotta fragments we would never have known, for example, the original colours of Greek sculpture.

The artistic and thematic development in terracotta 'sculpture' ran parallel to that of stone sculpture and bronzes. It was, in fact, a full partner in the spectrum of 'great Greek art'. There was a only one

Rob Bland (Amsterdam) corrected the English text; all remaining flaws are, of course, entirely mine. I am indebted to the Faculty of Arts, University of Amsterdam, for providing the financial support.

[1] W. Deonna, *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1908, 13-28. Terracotta sculpture is an erroneous term, if one analyzes the word 'sculpture'; I shall therefore use quotation marks.

[2] Herrmann 1972, 127.

[3] The Greek terracotta acroteria have been studied by M.Y. Goldberg, Archaic Greek Acroteria, *AJA* 86 (1982), 193-217 and listed by P. Danner, Griechische Akrotere der archaischen und klassischen Zeit, (*RdA* Supplement 5, 1989), 7-95. On terracotta 'sculpture' from Athens see: T.L. Shear Jr., The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972, *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 359-407. On Delphi see: C. LeRoy, J. Ducat, Les terres cuites architecturales. La sculpture decorative (*Fouilles de Delphes* 2:4), Paris 1967. In M.-F. Billot & V. Anagnostopoulos, Statuaire de terre cuite a Delphes, Hommages à Jean Marcadé (*REA* 95 1993, nos. 1-2), 87-141, a bibliography is presented which lists all relevant publications.

marked difference: terracotta statues in Greece were relatively small in comparison to bronze or marble works. The building and firing of large monumental statues or groups in terracotta was a technically difficult process, only mastered in central and southern Italy. The absence of good materials here forced artists to make large terracotta works as early as the end of the seventh century. They continued to produce them late into the fourth and third centuries, when the interest in terracotta statues in Greece had completely died.

In Archaic Greece, however, this branch of plastic art was in full bloom. Every leading artistic centre produced terracotta statues or groups, especially at the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries. It is therefore surprising that as late as 1987, no separate chapter dealing with important terracottas had yet appeared in a book on Greek sculpture[4]. This *hiatus* is perhaps a consequence of the frailty of the material and the enormous difficulties involved in reconstructing statues and groups from large numbers of fragments. No doubt because of this, most of the groups have had to wait many years for publication, and whenever such work is undertaken a huge investment in time, study and patience is involved. However, since 1987 publications of long-excavated or long-forgotten terracotta statues have appeared in rapid order. We are fortunate indeed that several of them have been of the same high quality as this publication of the statues at Olympia, one of the most impressive terracotta *corpi* from the Archaic Mediterranean world.

The book appears as the twenty-second volume of the *Olympische Forschungen* series produced by the German Archaeological Institute[5]. It is the definitive publication of the Olympia terracotta statues and precedes, in fact, that of the Olympian treasury roofs. Most of the statues formed integrated parts of these roofing systems but they are here presented separately. No doubt this choice has been prompted by the internal unity of the material and the editorial advantages of a separate publication.

Aliki Moustaka writes in a simple, straightforward style. The reader can only guess at the incredible amount of work she must have done to be able to produce this clear and concise account. Of course, leading scholars such as Georg Treu (1897), Emil Kunze (1938/39, 1956, 1948, 1956 and 1958) and Alfred Mallwitz (1980) were themselves occupied with the most famous of the Olympia pieces (such as the Zeus and Ganymed group, the warrior, and the impressive Athena group) and a lot of the preparatory work had thus been done. However, many undefined fragments were left unpublished and Moustaka took on the immense task of putting all the pieces together.

The structure of the book is simple and well-considered. A short introduction and reader's guide (pp.1-3), and two concise introductory chapters on the technique and the date of the material (pp. 4-9) precede an extensive annotated catalogue (pp. 10-157). Two chapters, one on the integration of the statues and groups as members of roof-systems, and the other on the function of statues as votive offerings (pp. 158-167) then conclude the catalogue. Concordances and indices (pp. 168-180) complete the main text. The illustrations are arranged in 126 plates at the end of the book. The descriptive sections of the book (the catalogue) are thematically structured, and reflective or concluding sections are in their chronological place. Every statement is well supported by argument. No part of the book, including the catalogue, is repetitive, and every word is carefully chosen.

A well thought-out list of contents, the extensive concordances, and the general index help the hard-pressed reader to find the topic of his or her interest without being forced to search through the entire book. As a reviewer, however, I would advise anybody who uses the book to read every chapter with care, since the author's ability to compress a maximum of basic information into a minimum of words (without becoming in any way unreadable) is wholly admirable.

Over 350 high quality black-and-white photographs showing the artistic and technical characteristic of each fragment in great detail (often from several sides) document the presentation of the material. Eight watercolours reproducing the colours of a selection of pieces, and over 60 superb drawings depicting reconstructions, technical characteristics, and simple front views, complete the book. The illustrations of the Olympian terracotta statues are invaluable to all of us who are working on the terracotta statues of antiquity.

Consulting this book will be a joy to anyone (not just the terracotta specialist) who wishes to be informed about the *medium* terracotta as a major category in Greek sculptural art.

If there is any place for criticism in a review of a book that surpasses all previous publications there are a few minor items I would like to have seen included in a second edition. Firstly, a short

[4] Floren 1987, 22-25.

[5] Aliki Moustaka, Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia (*Olympische Forschungen* Band XXII), Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin/New York, de Gruyter, 1993, xiv/180 pp., 2 figs., 4 colourpls., 122 pls., 28.5 cm. – ISBN 3-11-013485-3.

Fig. 1 Head of Athena (A 1), belonging to a terracotta central acroterion representing Athena fighting a Giant (A. Moustaka, pl. 1)

Fig. 2 Reconstruction drawing of a lateral acroterion, featuring Nike (F 1) (A. Moustaka, pl. 58)

Fig. 3 Reconstruction drawing of an Olympian Treasury crowned by terracotta acroteria showing Athena fighting a Giant flanked by two Nikai (A. Moustaka, pl. 15)

overview, perhaps a table, informing us of the exact number of statues, groups and animals, plus the dates, attribution, and possible artistic background to the works, would certainly have been very helpful[6]. And secondly, a more precise description of the technical properties of the different types of fabric used (including the temper and painting), or perhaps a set of technical analyses, presented either in a summary or a series of tables, would have been a welcome contribution to future comparative investigations.

THE TERRACOTTA STATUES FROM OLYMPIA *(FIGS. 1-3)*

The introduction informs us of the find-circumstances of the statues, which according to Moustaka were not very informative. Most of the fragments were found in the so-called 'Stadion Walle III A', a bank thrown up in 465-455 B.C. to help build one of the stadium ramps. The votive-gifts and terracotta roofs from the treasuries were being demolished at this time to make room for a new project: the Zeus temple. This was probably done after the Spartan earthquake, mentioned in the sources (464 B.C.). The short chapter on the date of the statues adds more information about the *terminus ante quem* of the statues. New excavations have thrown more light upon the dates when the treasury roofs were destroyed, until recently subject to inconclusive scholarly discussions.

Fig. 4 Athena modelling a clay horse, Berlin 2415 (after J. Ziomecky, Les représentations d'artisans sur les vases attiques, Warsaw 1975, no. 9)

The section on the technique of the statues tells us in a very terse style about various aspects of their manufacture and fabric. All the peculiarities of Olympian technique are surveyed. At first it was believed that both manufacture and fabric derived from Corinth. However, Moustaka shows us that most of the clays used were from local, Olympian, deposits and that the technical properties of these statues can be regarded as general to Greece. The technique was already fully developed in the earliest pieces of the group (early sixth century). One multi-figured group, however, undoubtedly came from Corinth and a set of acroteria (L 1-9, J 1) were made using a typically Italic technique, probably of material from Southern Italy. The study of the technique employed for the Olympia statues is an important contribution to the study of terracotta `sculpture' in general and I shall therefore be returning to this subject below.

By far the most important part of the book is the catalogue. It forms the body of the subject. The material is classified into 16 groups and presented in order of importance and notoriety, numbered

[6] The following list can be extracted from the publication under review:
Athena-Giant group (A 1-22), 500-490 B.C., 'Palmettenstirnziegel' roof (8 K), central acroterion, including two Nikai (F 1 and F 3), lateral acroteria;
Warrior-group (B 1-24), 500-480 B.C., Corinthian workshop, votive group;
Zeus and Ganymed group (C), 490-470 B.C., roof?, central acroterion;
Silen and Maenad group (D 9), 520 B.C., Epidauros roof (8 W), lateral acroterion;
Silen and Maenad group (D 2), 520 B.C., roof? West Greek, central acroterion;
Warriors (E 1-3), 530-500 B.C., Gela roof (1 W), acroterion or votive group;
Warriors (E 4-12), 500 B.C., A Megara type roof (2 K), acroterion or votive group;
Nike (F 46), 520 B.C., roof?, lateral acroterion;
Two Nikai (F 26-45), 500 B.C., A Megara type roof (2 K), lateral acroterion;
Two Nikai (F 48-49), 500-480 B.C., 'Frühe Rankensima'roof (1 R), lateral acroteria;
Horses and charioteer (G 1, M 1-38), 550-530 B.C., Gela roof (1 W), lateral acroteria or votive group;
Sphinx (J 1), 575-550 B.C., 'Frühe Blattstabsima'roof (3 W), lateral acroterion;
Sphinxes (J 12-16), 550-525 B.C., 'Frühe Rankensima'roof (1 R), acroteria;
Lion (L 1-9), 580 B.C., 'Rosettensima'roof (2 W), Metapontum/Siris, pediment;
Lions (L 10-14), 500-480 B.C., 'Frühe Rankensima'roof (1 R), votive group or lateral acroterion?
Boar (N 1-4), 530-500 B.C., Gela roof (1 W), pediment or votive group;
Dolphins (O 1-6), 420-400 B.C., Fountain house?, sima decoration.

from A to R. Fragments are arranged into groups based on fabric and subject. There is a concise introduction for each group (*e.g.* sphinxes), which is then divided into sub-groups (different sphinxes), based on differences in fabric and manufacture, style and size; thereafter the author deals with each statue in detail, giving every relevant example from stone sculpture, reliefs and vase-painting which may help to verify its reconstruction; the style and the artistic background of the workshop responsible are then discussed, and a date is suggested. Again, the arguments are based on numerous parallels; finally, the excavation data are described, and an attribution to a roof considered, if possible. Each presentation of a group is followed by a presentation of the fragments, including administrative and technical data, brief descriptions of technical properties and a bibliography.

Most of the statues are far from complete but careful study has made it safe to assume that there were eight multi-figured groups, up to 1.20 metres in height, which include a group depicting Athena fighting a Giant, a composition with three warriors, the Zeus and Ganymed group, and at least two pairs of Silens and Maenads.

A second group of statues consists of at least ten solitary (semi-)human figures, amongst which are eight *nikai*. Most of them are lateral acroteria, no more than one metre in height, and they can all be dated to the Archaic period. In fact, the winged and draped female figures from Olympia present an attractive series which reveal an interesting development in style and technique. A third group consists of at least 14 (semi-)animal figures, amongst which are sphinxes, lions and horses. Seven sphinxes, three lions, and four horses can be reconstructed. They are various heights and lengths, but never more than 1.20 metres. They represent the earliest group of large terracottas in Olympia and as a series they cover the sixth century. They were possibly lateral acroteria.

There is no room to discuss all the statues reconstructed in the book, although they are of such outstanding technical and artistic value that it is tempting to touch upon every detail.

THE TERRACOTTA STATUES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE TREASURIES

The concluding chapters on the original positions of each statue (either on a roof as an acroterion, or on the ground as a votive offering) are written with exceptional clarity. From the absence of references to terracotta votive statues in the literary sources, we can infer that terracotta was a material peculiarly equipped for the decoration of buildings, although the boundary between votive object and architectural decoration is often hard to define. From 550 B.C. onwards various votive monuments in terracotta were erected in Olympia, probably all multi-figured groups depicting chariots or mythical battles. According to Moustaka, most of these figures can be regarded as parts of a roof-system (that is, central or lateral acroteria, or even pedimental groups) if the following factors are found to coincide with their architectural position: shape, size, the rendering of the figures, themes, the presence of counter-figures and the shape of the bases; and similarities in fabric, manufacture, style and date between members of a roof-system. The more cross-references there are, the more confident the author in ascribing a statue to a roof-system. The multi-figured groups, which were half to two-thirds life-size, were (with the exception of the warrior-group) intended as architectural decoration, possibly as central acroteria. The gabled shape of their bases was often conclusive to an allocation. The bases of the lateral acroteria, on the other hand, are flat with clear fixing-holes for iron or leaden pegs, designed to connect them to the acroterial stools. The acroteria were only placed at the front of the buildings since the treasuries were erected at the foot of the 'Kronos Hill'.

Moustaka quite rightly warns us against regarding similarities in the fabric of acroteria on the one hand and particular roof-systems on the other as being decisive for their attribution or allocation. It is quite conceivable that a statue or group of statues was executed in a different manner, in a deviant fabric, or even in a different style than that of the roof for which the pieces were intended.

As many as twelve small treasuries were built in the sixth and early fifth centuries, precisely the period when terracotta production in Olympia reached its peak. Another argument in favour of the close connection between the statues and the treasury roofs is supplied by the find-circumstances. Both the roofs and the statues were found mixed up together inside one of the banks of the Stadium. It may thus be safely concluded that most of the statues once adorned one or other of the twelve small treasury buildings. Date differences may be explained in terms of different phases of roof, since roofs outnumber foundations. However, the demolition of the treasuries has made it impossible for us to tie the roofs, let alone their architectural members, to particular foundations, (and thus to a specific building) even though in some cases we know the name of the town which had the treasuries

built. Moustaka remains very cautious in any final attribution of the roofs[7].

GREECE *VERSUS* CENTRAL ITALY: THE MANUFACTURE OF TERRACOTTA STATUES

Except for some isolated remarks by Pliny and Plutarch, the technique of making terracotta statues was rarely discussed in classical literature *(Fig. 4)*[8]. Consequently, in modern times, as more and more terracottas were found and catalogued after excavations in central Italy and Greece, technique received only casual attention[9]. The art of producing large free-standing terracotta statues is said to have originated in Corinth in the 7th century[10]. Monumental terracottas were produced in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily from the Archaic period onwards, as excavations at Gela and many other Greek centres have shown[11]. Most terracotta statues from the Archaic period, however, come from central Italy[12], where monumental statues formed part of the rich terracotta decoration of the Etrusco-Italic temples[13].

In order to make fine modelling possible, without impairing the strength of the statue, the Greeks applied a layer of pure or very finely tempered clay to the surface. This outer coating (varying from a few millimetres to several centimetres thick) was difficult to fire, since it easily cracked or blistered. It is not the same as slip, and in the past this technique was said to have been typically 'Corinthian'. However, all the relevant terracotta pieces (large statues found in architectural contexts, as well as specifically architectural terracottas) found in Greece and the Greek colonies are covered with such a layer. It cannot therefore be regarded as an exclusively Corinthian feature, although it may well have been invented by Corinthian artists[14]. This layer is completely absent in work found in central Italy and other regions in the Mediterranean[15].

Being personally occupied with the study of terracotta techniques in Greece and central Italy, I consulted Moustaka's brief but very informative chapter on technique with great interest. What makes this chapter particularly valuable is the clear evidence presented to show that the process of manufacture in Olympia remained unchanged for two

[7] The treasuries of Megara and Gela form fortunate exceptions. A third (Sikyon) must be excluded since it had a marble roof. For the foundations of treasuries I-XII, attribution is guaranteed only for I (Sikyon), IX (Selinunte), X (Metapontum), XI (Megara) and XII (Gela). The other foundations (II-VIII) are the subjects of scholarly dispute.

[8] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv, 111-112, 153-157; Plutarch, *Convivalia*, II, 3.2; *Quaest. Rom.* 98.

[9] For large statues (with remarks on their manufacture) see: Weinberg 1957, 289-319; Caskey 1986, 25-35 (Keos); Bookidis 1988, 18-21 (Corinth); Curri & Sorbelli 1973, 245-266 and Colonna 1987, 7-41 (Veii); *Enea nel Lazio. Archeologia e mito* (Catalogue Rome 1981), Rome 1981, 265-270 (Lavinium); Edlund 1992, 159-175 (Murlo); W. Schürmann, Die Karlsruher Nike – Ein Rekonstrukionsversuch, *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 25 (1988), 19-21 (with bibliography).

[10] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv, 151-153, mentions Butades from Corinth as the inventor of the modelling and moulding of terracotta coroplastic art. He reports that the coroplasts Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos came with Demaratos from Corinth, and settled in Tarquinia in the 6th century. The production of large-scale terracotta statues was first attested in the Aegean and in Cyprus: Caskey 1986 and V. Karageorghis, *The coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus III. The Cypro-Archaic Period. Large and Medium Size Sculpture*, Nicosia 1993. Excavations at Corinth confirmed the existence of a major production centre of terracotta 'sculpture', Bookidis 1988, 18-21.

[11] The 'Greek' layer of levigated clay on a coarse core occurs on some pieces from Campania and Sicily as well; J. Kenfield, An East Greek Master Coroplast at Late Archaic Morgantina, in: N.A. Winter (ed.), Proceedings of the First International Conference on Archaic Greek Architectural Terracottas (Athens December 2-4, 1988) *Hesperia* 59/1 (1990), 265-274 (Morgantina); P.C. Sestieri, Statua fittile di Posidonia, *BdA* (1955), 193-202, pl. 2 (Paestum). However, most of the architectural terracottas from these regions lack the layering: for example on material from Pompeii, P.S. Lulof, Gli Acroteri, in J.A.K.E. de Waele & B. d'Agostino, *Il tempio dorico del foro triangolare a Pompei. Architettura e terrecotte architettoniche*, (in preparation).

[12] Clay was the prime material used for artistic purposes, since harder materials, such as marble, were either of poor quality or unavailable. Excavations at Pyrgi, Veii, Caere, Rome, Lavinium, and other sites have produced enormous quantities. On the origin of terracotta 'sculpture' in Italy, see Weinberg 1957, 289-290; Andrén 1966, 734-735; E. Langlotz, *L'Arte della Magna Graecia*, Rome 1968, 32. For further references to terracottas from Etruria and Latium, P. Danner, Die Dekoration auf First und Giebelschrägen in der archaischen Baukunst Mittelitaliens, *Deliciae Fictiles*, Stockholm 1993, 93-108.

[13] Edlund 1992, on the earliest known terracotta statues of monumental size, which were related to architecture from Murlo (600-580 B.C.); see also P.S. Lulof, An Early Etruscan Terracotta Workshop: the Seated and Standing Statue Acroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo). A Review Article, *BABesch* 70 (1995), 215-224.

[14] Weinberg 1957, 289-319; Herrmann 1972, 127 note 487; Bookidis 1988, 19. This layer may be up to 2 cms thick; it consists of a pure creamy yellow clay, which is of the same type as the core.

[15] A fragment of a statue of a dying warrior, found on the Esquiline (G. Colonna, Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico: le tombe del VI-V secolo a.C., *PdP* 32 (1977), 163), probably belonging to an acroterion, and a small head of a helmeted warrior in the Museo Civico di Albano (G. Colonna, Una testina fittile arcaica del Museo Albano, *Documenta Albana* 2, 4-5 (1982-1983), 35), are to my knowledge the only exceptions in Central Italy. In both, a roughly tempered clay was used for the core, over which a thick layer of finely tempered clay was applied to form a smooth surface. Later, in the Augustan period, this technique was commonly used for prestigious statues (H.G. Martin, *Römische Tempelkultbilder*, Rome 1987, 48 and M.A. Tomei, Statue di terracotta dal Palatino, *RM* 99 (1992), 171-228).

centuries. The earliest pieces (600 B.C.) are produced in the fully developed technique which is found in the latest products (400 B.C.). This conclusion confirms my own published view that technique formed part of a tradition which was passed from generation to generation – within a workshop – without any significant change. I believe that the study of technique may therefore enable us to detect similarities and differences in the production of the large terracotta statues of central Italy and of Greece and its colonies, and thus may help to reveal the original workshops. If we assume that specific forms of technical expertise can be regarded as the signature of a particular workshop, then technical properties allow us to distinguish between the 'sculpture' found in different regions. Therefore, technique may be regarded as itinerant and can be reliably used to trace the regional background of the various workshop traditions.

The hollow figures from Olympia were built by hand, from straps of clay supported by an armature of wood or sprigs, using a variety of methods. In some cases a kind of box-like construction, made of clay, was built within the hollow space of the statue before firing. In the case of wings, moulds were possibly used. I agree with Moustaka's views on the use of moulds for the large statues. In the recent literature, moulds are suggested whenever a terracotta fragment is presented, even when the likelihood is small (as is the case with unique statues). The walls of the Olympia statues consist of a roughly tempered core over which a thick, finely tempered surface layer of clay was laid. This layer was used for the finer modelling and to create a polished surface. The thickness of this layer varies, being thicker in places where more surface modelling was required. There has been much debate about the origin of the material used for the production of the statues. Moustaka shows that most of the clays and temper came from the area around Olympia, with one very clear exception. The origins of the Lion L 1-9 must be sought elsewhere, as not only the material but also the style of its manufacture can be regarded as South Italic or Western Greek (here the typical Greek surface layer is entirely lacking and the surface of the piece is covered with a thick slip). The range of colours used to paint the surface (before firing) was limited; only red, black and white were used. According to Moustaka, the process of firing is hard to reconstruct, especially in view of the complexity of the multi-figured groups. Obviously, it was impossible to transport these complex pieces in an unfired condition, nor are there any indications of firing in successive phases. The kilns must have been built at the site itself and the statues were probably fired at 800-1000°C. They must have been placed upright on their plinth, since their undersides are burnt.

The most important difference between the terracotta 'sculpture' from the Greek mainland and that from central Italy is now recognized to lie in the finely tempered surface layer which covers the Greek statues, and which is entirely lacking in the pieces from central Italy. Only workshops in Greece and, apparently, some in Magna Graecia, mastered this technical problem. Another difference may now be added: the height of the terracotta statues in Olympia (and in Corinth and Delphi) is never more than 1.20 metres. In central Italy, and in the Greek provinces in the South, both acroteria and ridge-pole statues, as well as pedimental 'sculpture', reach heights of 1.80 metres if not more. This is so even in the earliest phase of terracotta production (Murlo). Whereas the Etruscans never mastered the incredibly difficult technique of firing statues built from two differently tempered layers, it seems that the Greeks (no doubt for practical reasons) never chose to build (and fire) monumental statues above 1.20 metres in height[16]. These differences serve to distinguish the work of the Greeks from that of the peoples of central Italy, both equally praised for their artistic and technical capacities. However, when I visited the storerooms of Olympia, at the kind invitation of Aliki Moustaka, I was deeply struck by supreme mastery of the Greeks who made these terracotta statues, and understood why Greek work has for so long inspired so many artists. Having myself worked with the terracotta statues of central Italy for many years, I was forced to re-evaluate the nature of Italic terracottas. In the end I concluded that although they may fall short of the Olympian work in terms of artistic quality and fine manufacture, their monumental size and their superb firing techniques remain, for me, as impressive as ever.

[16] Large statues were difficult to transport; they may have been prepared for firing on a platform, around which the kiln was later built; P. Pelagatti, E. Fiandra, Vasai Cretesi, *ArchCl* 14 (1962), 13-23; Curri & Sorbelli 1973, 261 and Andrén 1966, 735, think that the artists prepared and finished the products inside the kiln itself.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrén, A. 1966, *s.v.* Terracotta, *EAA* 7, 732-743.

Bookidis, N. 1988, Classicism in Clay, *Praktika tou XII diethnous sunedriou Klasikes Archaiologias* (Proceedings of the 12th Congress of Classical Archaeology, 4-10 September Athens 1983), Athens, 18-21.

Caskey, M.E. 1986, *Keos II. The Temple at Ayia Irini. Part I: The Statues* (American School of Classical Studies), Princeton New Yersey.

Colonna, G. 1987, Il maestro dell'Ercole e della Minerva. Nuova luce sull'attivitá dell'officina veiente, *OpRom* 16, 7-41. Curri, C. and S. Sorbelli 1973, Nota sulla tecnologia della scuola coroplastica di Veio, *StEtr* 41, 245-266.

Deliciae Fictiles 1993 = Rystedt, E. and Ch. & Ö. Wikander (eds.), *Deliciae Fictiles* (Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas, 10-12 December 1990), Stockholm.

Edlund-Berry, I.E.M. 1992, *The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)*, Rome.

Floren, J. 1987, *Die griechische Plastik I. Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*, Munich.

Herrmann, H.V. 1972, *Olympia: Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich.

Weinberg, S.S. 1957, Terracotta Sculpture at Corinth, *Hesperia* 24, 289-319.

June 1995

INSTITUUT VOOR MEDITERRANE STUDIES
VAKGROEP MEDITERRANE ARCHEOLOGIE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM
OUDE TURFMARKT 129
NL-1012 GC AMSTERDAM

Reviews

G.L. CARANCINI (a cura di) of (ed.), *Miscellanea Protostorica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1990, x-410 pp., 36 figg., 1 carta (Archaeologica Perusina 6, Studi dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Perugia). ISBN 88-7689-031-9 (ISSN 0391-9293).

Come già ribadisce lo stesso curatore, questo volume raccoglie due contributi molto più coerenti di quanto non suggerisca il titolo d'insieme, *Miscellanea Protostorica*. Anche se le aree d'indagine sono alquanto distanti, dall'Umbria meridionale alla pianura padana, i due studi riuniti in questo volume si concentrano ambedue sul periodo di passaggio dalla tarda età del Bronzo alla prima età del Ferro (Villanoviano), cioè sull'arco di tempo che va dal XV al VII secolo a.C. Mentre i soggetti primari dei due saggi sono abbastanza diversi, tanto che l'uno si occupa di tracce di insediamento attestate in superficie e l'altro esamina i corredi di tombe scavate, gli obiettivi di ambedue i saggi sono molto simili: studio dei processi di trasformazione in una società tribale e protourbana a una aristocratica e urbana.

Il titolo del primo contributo ('Seconda relazione sulle nuove ricerche di superficie eseguite nell'alveo dell'antico *Lacus Velinus* (TR-RI)' da G.L. Carancini, S. Massetti, F. Posi, P. Curci e P. Dionisi, pp. 1-185) indica che si tratta di un progetto in corso già da tempo. La ricerca è quella delle vicende e modalità di insediamento nella tarda età del Bronzo e nella prima età del Ferro nelle attigue valli degli attuali laghi di Ripa Sottile, Ventino, Lago Lungo e Piediluco e del fiume Velino nelle province di Terni e Rieti: la zona più bassa di questo bacino, detta 'conca velina', che è ancor oggi talvolta paludosa, e gli attuali laghi sono i residui dell'antico *lacus Velinus*. Nella prima relazione a cui si riferisce il titolo (G.L. Carancini et al., L'area tra Umbria meridionale e Sabina alla fine della protostoria, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* III-3(2), 1985, 37-85) si era già richiamata l'attenzione sulle tracce di insediamento che sembrerebbero da collegare all'antica linea di riva del lago scomparso. Dopo la pubblicazione di ulteriori studi pedologici e geomorfologici che ipotizzarono un unico bacino lacustre con una quota di 374/375 m s.l.m. per la posizione dell'antica linea di riva dello scomparso lago, un secondo progetto di studi fu organizzato per indagare sui rapporti fra gli insediamenti già individuati e l'andamento proposto dell'antica linea di riva: nell'autunno di 1984 e nella primavera di 1985 si eseguì un programma di ricognizioni che coprirono una fascia larga ca. 250 m a cavallo della quota 374/375 m. I risultati delle ricognizioni e le interpretazioni di questi dati costituiscono il contenuto del presente articolo.

La maggior parte dell'articolo viene occupata dal resoconto delle ricognizioni (pp. 11-76), che è preceduto da una chiara introduzione sui presupposti e scopi della ricerca: come tale, il saggio va ben oltre i sommari elenchi di siti e datazioni che troppo spesso costituiscono gli unici risultati di ricognizioni resi noti; si presenta prima di tutto un quadro generale dei ritrovamenti attraverso una 'tipologia e cronologia dei materiali raccolti', in cui si fa riferimento sia a confronti esterni che a ritrovamenti delle stesse ricognizioni. Poi segue 'l'elenco dei siti individuati' (pp. 77-121), di cui si presentano non solo diversi dati topografici (localizzazione, uso attuale del suolo ecc.), ma anche gli specifici ritrovamenti, in base ai quali si propongono una datazione e un'interpretazione del sito. Grazie a questa descrizione completa è possibile (ri)valutare i risultati delle ricognizioni in base alle condizioni di conservazione e ritrovamento, il che è indispensabile per un utilizzo dei risultati per altri scopi. L'unica imperfezione di quest'elenco è l'assenza di dati quantitativi, in particolare sulla superficie del sito e sulla posizione esatta nel reticolato I.G.M., in quanto i dettagli delle tavolette I.G.M. pubblicati risultano difficilmente leggibili.

L'ultima parte dell'articolo è costituita dalle interpretazioni e conclusioni: una breve sintesi quantitativa dei risultati (pp. 123-131) è organizzata intorno ad alcune tabelle sinottiche, che mettono in evidenza uno spostamento notevole di insediamento nel Bronzo Finale e nella prima età del Ferro dal versante reatino del bacino velino verso la zona dell'attuale Lago di Piediluco. Questi dati indicano inoltre chiaramente che la quota dell'antica linea di riva va abbassata alla isoipsa 370/371.

Le 'considerazioni generali' (pp. 131-145) si riferiscono a due temi, uno di interesse soprattutto 'locale', nell'Umbria meridionale, e uno che comprende il contesto più vasto dell'Italia centrale. Per quanto riguarda la situazione umbra meridionale, questa ricerca ha attestato la continua abitazione del bacino velino in numeri consistenti; un fatto significativo è la costatazione che si tratta di insediamento perilacustre o, più generalmente, in 'condizioni umide'. Il tentativo di distinguere una gerarchizzazione fra i siti individuati, che viene anche messa in relazione con una possibile deteriorizzazione del clima, risulta poco convincente: non solo la possibile esistenza di una tale organizzazione territoriale è direttamente presa da quella costruita per l'Etruria meridionale (in particolare gli studi di Francesco di Gennaro), ma si manifesta soprattutto nell'incompleta descrizione dei siti individuati. Poiché infatti manca ogni indicazione dell'estensione dei siti o delle loro caratteristiche, ed essendo i ritrovamenti utilizzati solamente a scopo cronologico, mancano i dati necessari per classificare i siti. Anche le osservazioni che il sito di M. Cornello sembra essere più esteso e che si distingua da altri siti non viene motivata.

Il tentativo di esaminare l'insediamento perilacustre del bacino velino nel contesto supra-regionale dell'Italia centrale è interessantissimo: soprattutto il suggerimento di una presenza (molto) più diffusa di insediamento di bassa pianura e di zone umide nelle grandi valli fluviali, è importante. Giustamente si fà notare che quasi tutti i progetti di ricognizioni o altre ricerche topografiche hanno tralasciato i fondivalle, ovviamente per i grossi problemi presentati dagli strati alluvionali recenti. La presenza di notevoli insediamenti in zone umide, parti-

colarmente nelle pianure costiere della Toscana, è già stata attestata da ricerche congiunte (p.e. *Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum. La Versilia tra VII e III secolo a.C.* a.c.d. E. Paribeni, Pontedera 1990), mentre più recentemente sono anche state intraprese ricognizioni sistematiche di tali ambienti (si veda in particolare E. Regoli, Il progetto di ricognizioni topografiche della Valle del Cecina, in *Archeologia del paesaggio*, a.c.d. M. Bernardini, Firenze 1992, 545-560). Per quanto riguarda il bacino velino però, lo scopo limitato delle ricognizioni che hanno interessato quasi esclusivamente la fascia intorno alla quota 374/375 m, non ha consentito di comporre un quadro generale dell'insediamento protostorico della zona: la mancanza di ricerche sistematiche nelle zone di altura rappresenta indubbiamente la prima ragione della preponderante posizione dell'insediamento perilacustre. A questo riguardo l'assenza di una carta che indichi esattamente le aree indagate risulta un'omissione assai grave. Ricerche recenti in zone vicine sembrano confermare l'importanza dell'insediamento di altura e di pianura (S. Coccia and D. Mattingly (eds.), Settlement history, environment and human exploitation of an intermontane basin in the central Apennines: the Rieti survey, 1988-1991, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60, 1992, 213-289).

Questo articolo rappresenta tutto sommato un contributo notevole alla conoscenza del bacino velino in età protostorica; costituisce un resoconto molto completo delle ricognizioni eseguite, che risponde bene alle domande inizialmente poste. A causa degli obiettivi assai limitati però, la ricerca non è in grado di affrontare temi più generali.

L'altro contributo al presente volume ('Le sepolture bolognesi dell'VII secolo a.C.' da S. Panichelli, pp. 187-408) è uno studio che si inserisce nella lunga tradizione di ricerche sulle necropoli bolognesi, come sottolinea il capitolo introduttivo (pp. 187-198). Quest'ultimo offre un compendio di detta tradizione -che va dallo Zannoni al Kilian- per chiarire il punto di partenza del presente lavoro. La ricerca qui discussa si distingue dagli studi precedenti che per la prima volta è stato possibile studiare tutte le tombe scavate e documentate: purtroppo non si danno altri dettagli di questa circostanza assai rilevante, che viene menzionata solo di passaggio.

Manca una chiara esposizione degli obiettivi dello studio: al capitolo introduttivo segue una lunga e dettagliata tipologia dei ritrovamenti, organizzata per classe di oggetto (pp. 199-283). Dai capitoli successivi (pp. 285-320) emerge che lo scopo principale è quello tradizionale di datare le tombe in base all'evoluzione tipologica dei corredi tombali e di stabilire una sequenza cronologica per le necropoli bolognesi: la 'cronologia relativa' presenta gli elementi tipici di ogni fase distinta, anche in confronto con le periodizzazioni di autori precedenti. Quasi da parte si elencano qui tutte le tombe studiate (631 sepolture in tutto), divise per fase e necropoli (pp. 308-310). Un confronto con altre necropoli protostoriche (Tarquinia e Este) risulta in una tabella comparativa dei periodi principali e delle loro fasi (p. 320).

Questa tabella rappresenta evidentemente la conclusione della prima parte dello studio, insieme al compendio delle 'linee di tendenza dello sviluppo culturale' (pp. 321-332), che è una presentazione delle tipologie per classi di materiale, sia bronzo che ceramica.

Così almeno suggerisce l'improvviso cambiamento di argomento alla pagina 333, da dove inizia 'un'analisi della composizione dei corredi' (pp. 333-370): l'introduzione a p. 333 indica soltanto le analisi che seguono tralasciando però lo scopo di queste; il titolo 'ruolo e rango nella comunità attraverso gli usi funerari' suggerisce che si tratta infatti di un'analisi sociologica della comunità bolognese nell'VIII secolo. Quello che segue rappresenta in realtà un laborioso elenco di numerose combinazioni di oggetti attestate nelle sepolture in ogni fase delle necropoli bolognesi: si distinguono diverse classi di associazioni, che senza altri argomenti vengono considerate come indicative di tombe femminili, prevalentemente femminili, indifferentemente femminili o maschili, prevalentemente maschili e maschili. Non ogni classe è presente in ciascuna fase cronologica. Mentre la presenza delle diverse combinazioni di oggetti è chiaramente e molto convincentemente dimostrata dalle dettagliate presentazioni corredate di tabelle sinottiche, l'interpretazione di esse non viene più elaborata. Il tentativo di un'analisi spaziale delle necropoli è praticamente impedito dalla mancanza di planimetrie, eccezione fatta per la necropoli di San Vitale. In compenso viene descritta la distribuzione delle fasi per le necropoli in generale. Nel caso di San Vitale, piante con simboli indicanti le diverse associazioni di oggetti mostrano dove queste sono localizzate. Nonostante il numero ridotto di tombe ascrivibili ad ogni fase (rispettivamente 18, 4, 10 e 5), si distinguono alcuni gruppi tombali. Ma oltre a notare la vicinanza dell'una all'altra non emergono conclusioni dalla presenza o dalla composizione di tali gruppi.

Il titolo dell'ultimo capitolo ('gruppi e articolazioni sociali nelle necropoli bolognesi dell'VIII sec. a.C.', pp. 381-391) promette le interpretazioni sociologiche delle analisi precedenti: anche se queste pagine riassumono gli elementi precedenti e, per quanto possibile, collegano le diverse combinazioni di oggetti all'organizzazione spaziale in gruppi, la discussione rimane un lungo elenco delle combinazioni di oggetti e tombe nei due periodi più importanti dell'VIII secolo; manca infatti ogni termine sociologico o di riferimento a forme di organizzazione sociale.

In conclusione, bisogna sottolineare la profonda conoscenza dei materiali bolognesi e la minuziosa elaborazione e presentazione di numerosissimi dati. Come tale, questo studio rappresenta indubbiamente un valido contributo alla conoscenza delle necropoli bolognesi. Soprattutto il repertorio bibliografico (pp. 393-408) delle singole tombe costituisce un prezioso strumento per futuri studi delle necropoli. Sorprende tuttavia l'assenza di un elenco, anche sommario, degli inventari delle singole tombe: anche se numerosissimi oggetti sono presentati in diverse combinazioni, mancano descrizioni d'insieme dei corredi. Per quanto riguarda gli obiettivi sociologici, anche se non indicati esplicitamente, bisogna concludere che le analisi offrono delle possibilità eccezionali ma mancano purtroppo le interpretazioni di tali dati. A questo riguardo, questo lavoro si inserisce nella vecchia tradizione di studi funerari che si concen-

trano su questioni cronologiche e tipologiche ma che tralasciano lo studio sociologico delle comunità che seppellirono i loro morti in queste necropoli. Questa posizione tradizionale sorprende, specie se confrontata a studi recenti di necropoli che si concentrano per l'appunto su questi aspetti, come p.e. Osteria dell'Osa (si veda in particolare lo studio teorico di A.M. Bietti Sestieri, Analisi di contesti funerari: i dati archeologici di fronte alla teoria, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* III-4(2), 1986, 249-263). In entrambi gli articoli si nota quindi una profonda conoscenza dei materiali e delle situazioni oggetto di ricerca e gli studi contribuiscono anche in primo luogo a queste situazioni locali e particolari. Non manca tuttavia la consapevolezza che anche studi dettagliati e specifici possano contribuire a problematiche più generali: in ambedue i saggi del presente volume non mancano elementi di maggiore portata o riferimenti a contesti più ampi. Per ora queste idee rimangono poco elaborate e, nel caso delle ricerche topografiche nel bacino velino, sono auspicabili nuove ricerche sul campo. Ciò tuttavia non intende diminuire il valore di questi due studi come approfonditi contributi archeologici.

Peter van Dommelen

RAFAELLA PAPI, *Dischi-corazza abruzzesi a decorazione geometrica nei musei Italiani* (Studi Archeologica 93, Tyrrhenika II). Roma Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1990. 104pp., 99 figg., 29 tavv., 30 cm. ISBN 88-7689-061-0.

The book is published in the series *Tyrrhenika. Studi archeologici sull'Italia antica* (directed by Giovanni Colonna) and deals with 128 specimens and fragments of bronze disc-armour, mostly recovered in the last century and kept in museum deposits in Italy ever since. The book fits in with a recent tendency in Italian archaeology to publish all material properly, regardless of a possible lack of data due to illegal or inaccurate excavations. Bronze disc-armour – a type of pectoral in the shape of a small disc – had been produced locally from the beginning of the Iron Age onwards, in the hitherto unknown and allegedly unproductive region of Picano and Umbria (surrounding lake Fucino). The period in which the bronze discs were made corresponded with the Villanovan and the rich Orientalizing periods in Etruria (9th-7th century B.C.). They could be important for the understanding of cultural interactions between the peoples of different regions in Central Italy in the Iron Age. The bronze discs – varying from 10 to 25 cms in diameter and decorated with complex geometrical patterns and fabulous figures – have been used to protect the torso of the male warrior. The possession of such a beautifully decorated and precious bronze armour may be taken as a clear indication of high social status.

The book is divided into three sections: an introductory section (1-27), a catalogue and some indexes. By far, the longest chapter is the Catalogue. It accounts for 110 examples of bronze discs from various museums and private collections. An Appendix (71-87) to the catalogue (by Giuseppe Grossi) contains 18 additional numbers. The fine drawings of each disc, by Cesare Miceli, attract our attention immediately. The drawings are reduced to one-third of the original size and display the discs in every detail, showing their miraculous technique, the meticulous incisions and spectral figures *à repoussé*. Five indexes (91-101) are added to the book: museum inventories, provenances, names, figures and plates. All help to clarify the vast amount of data used in the catalogue.

The introduction explains the importance of the disc-armour for the Italic culture in the Early Iron Age. The author informs us on the earlier publications of the disc-armour, describing the 1876 find of two bronze discs in a farmer's kitchen, which were used as lids of pots. Many discs, known from the 19th century antique markets, were only occasionally discussed. The attention was mainly focused on the extravagant animals which decorated the centre of the discs. The geometrical decorations were underestimated and often, erroneously, regarded as etruscan. The bronze discs all came from the same area (Umbria and Picano) and were never recognized as armour. Famous scholars occupied themselves with the origin, the classification and the chronology of the bronze discs. Fortunately, the discovery of the fully dressed Capestrano warrior in 1934 put an end to all the speculations on the function of the discs: they were simply meant to protect the male torso. Although almost all discs were found in the Fucino region, they were regarded, at least up to 1966, as Etruscan. The Abruzzi region was considered too 'backward' to be the cradle of these fabulous discs. In the years that followed 1966, scholars discussed possible origins, without ever suggesting that the pieces were produced locally. In more recent studies it has justly been put forward that the origins of this category have to be sought in the late Villanovan period of Southern Etruria. It is concluded that the discs were made especially for the Abruzzi markets. The chronology of the discs was also a disputed issue. The most acceptable date was according to Stary (*Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfeweise in Mittelitalien*, Mainz am Rhein 1981) the first period of the Iron Age. Furthermore, the author discusses the history of the various collections which included disc-armour. The *Collezioni Gorga*, of which the larger part was acquired through clandestine commerce, contained about 10.000 archaeological objects (among which several bronze discs) and has been an object of study since 1969. The discs (which eventually proved to originate from the Abruzzi), were singled out as a separate research topic in 1981, which formed the starting-point of the present study.

The author's special aim is the evaluation (11-27) of the origin and date of the disc-armour. Despite a lot of scattered evidence, she doesn't succeed in solving the questions. I cannot but highlight her most important remarks. The discs stand out for their peculiar and complex fixing system. They were strapped onto the torso by means of leather belts and iron buckles. The fastening is demonstrated by discs found *in situ* in 1897 and 1938. The technical characteristics as well as the style of the decorations have been used to differentiate between the discs. In Umbria, for example, the discs had incised geometrical decorations. In the Piceno many discs were found with decorations in the orientalizing style, figuring fantastic

animals and chevrons. The various necropoleis where these bronzes were found, are passed under separate review. The discs were found in warrior-tombs, but sporadically also in female graves. The manufacture of the discs is explained thoroughly, since, in the author's opinion, technique can give an indication of a master's hand. The discs can be divided into two groups, a geometrical and a geometrical-orientalizing group, which are closely related. Within these groups, subdivisions can be made on the basis of iconographical and decorative characteristics. In order to make a chronological sequence, one has to rely on data from excavations. Unfortunately, the grave outfits to which the armour belonged, were seldom complete. Yet, the author occasionally managed to ascribe a date to a disc. Close similarity in technique, decorations and size of certain groups point towards the existence of workshops. The decoration reminds us of late Villanovan shields, but on close examination, seem to rely more on decorations of ceramics. The analysis of the decoration helped to define the hand of the Dresden Master, who was responsible for at least a dozen of discs decorated with running deer and *swastika*. The discs of the Dresden workshop are dated in the second half of the 7th century B.C. after comparison with *buccheri graffiti*. The author thinks that the artistic tradition of the Dresden workshop must be sought in contemporary cultures in Latium and Etruria. Finally, at the very end of the chapter she focuses on the importance of the communities around the lake of Fucino and their famous metallurgic industry. Its presence – this is a very clear argument in the discussion on the origin of the bronze discs – is demonstrated by a geological survey of the surface of habitation areas. Here an enormous amount of raw material (slags and other traces of metallurgic activities) was found, which points towards the existence of industrial zones and metal workshops. The bronze specialists of these centres were responsible for the fabrication of the discs and possessed a high level of technical capacity as well as a considerable wealth of stylistic and decorative traditions. The exact position of specialized workshops in this society is a subject that Papi seems to find very interesting. Unfortunately, this is not further discussed. The chapter ends with a careful glance at the people of the disc-armour, the warrior-elite who is represented in the Warrior of Capestrano.

Raffaella Papi has made an important contribution to the publication of this extraordinary interesting material by collecting items excavated in different periods and long forgotten in storerooms. The present book sheds light on a special, hitherto unknown, category of armour. Papi is among the many scholars who acquitted themselves of the ungrateful task to re-excavate systematically a corpus of material that is in danger of being gradually forgotten.

The latter item apart, we are left overall with a good many questions in the introduction. The author informs us that a new valuation and a tentative systematization was highly necessary, for which she needed to present the *corpus* of disc-armour as complete as possible. Indeed, the catalogue stands out in efficiency and accuracy, much helped by the fabulous drawings. Apart from some inconsistencies (cross-references are far from flawless, for instance, p. 23, cat. A 16 from Forme, A 16 in Catalogue is, in fact, from Barrea), one may regard the present work as a fine publication of very interesting material. However, the most pressing shortcoming of this book is the analysis of the material, presented in the first section where the author demonstrates that the discs came from one artistic production centre with a high technical refinement. This promising starting point is not supported by sufficient evidence. Papi came to her conclusion on the origin and date of the discs through an argumentation which is hard to follow. Fortunately, (presented at the very end of her 'analysis') an important fact comes to her aid: the discovery of traces of metallurgic activity around Lake Fucino indicates that local bronze workshops existed in the area. Therefore, one must conclude that the bronze discs probably were not imported from Etruria, as has been suggested before, but were made in the region of Fucino by order of a local warrior-elite.

Patricia S. Lulof

BRIAN C. MADIGAN & FREDERICK A. COOPER, The temple of Apollo Bassitas, volume II, the sculpture. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992. 126 pp., 13 figs., 68 pls.; 31 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-949-9. $ 50,-.

FREDERICK A. COOPER (ed.), The temple of Apollo Bassitas, Vol IV. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992. folio drawings; 62 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-949-9. $ 80,-.

Ever since its first discovery in 1811 and the ensuing excavations, the temple of Apollo Bassitas near Phigaleia in Arcadia, and especially its sculptural decoration, has been subject to frequent research. As Pausanias (8.41.9) reports, the temple was built during the Peloponnesian War, in honour of Apollo Epikourios, who delivered the Phigalians from the plague of 429 B.C. For this project, Iktinos, the famous architect of the Parthenon, was employed, which makes the building even more intriguing.

Former plans of W.B. Dinsmoor and R. Carpenter resulted in only preliminary articles. In the 1960's the archaeologist P.E. Corbett, together with his namesake G.U.S. Corbett, an architect, made a rearrangement of the slabs in the British Museum. For this purpose, they studied also the remains of the temple on the spot. C. Hofkes-Brukker and A. Mallwitz attempted a monograph, producing a volume with fine illustrations (Der Bassai-Fries in der ursprünglich geplanten Anordnung, mit einem Beitrag von A. Mallwitz, Zur Architektur des Apollon-Tempels in Bassai-Phigalia 1975). However, a catalogue of the frieze blocks and backers that could warrant a faithful reconstruction of the sequel of the slabs was still lacking. This project was undertaken by Cooper (= C.), who has been working on it since 1968. The first results were laid down in his dissertation (The Temple of Apollo at Bassai – A Preliminary Study, 1978). It was based on cataloguing all the blocks scattered around the temple or brought to various museums. The final publication is now forthcoming. Of the projected four volumes, II and IV are here under review, while I and III, containing the architectural remains (I: text, III: illustrations), are still due out. Vol. II: 'the Sculpture', was prepared as a dissertation by Madigan (=

M.) from 1978 onwards under C.'s supervision. It deals with the temple sculpture, both the fragmentary metopes from the pronaos and the opisthodomos, and the Ionic frieze from the interior of the cella. There is no evidence for pedimental sculptures or akroteria.

The book divides logically into two parts. First, the part on the metopes (Ch. 1-5) and the Ionic frieze (Ch. 6-11). After a discussion of the porch entablature by C., M. deals with the fragments of the opisthodomos and pronaos metopes (Ch. 2-3) together with their composition and style (Ch. 4-5). The Ionic frieze is treated in a symmetrical way: the entablature (Ch. 6) by C., followed by M.'s chapters on the subjects, composition, sculptural program, sculptors, and style (7-11). In the second part, we find the cataloguing of the fragments of the metopes (nos. 1-126), the frieze slabs (nos. 129-205), the unassigned remains of architectural sculpture (nos. 206-317), pieces of a monumental statue (nos. 318-332)*, and, finally, miscellaneous sculpture (nos. 333-354). Appendices on the 1812 expedition by Brønsted and Stackelberg conclude the book.

The sculpture of altogether 12 metopes, with the originals illustrated in photographs close at hand, is shown in drawings as an incomplete jigsaw puzzle. The temple was exceptionally located in a north-south direction and the metopes of the south porch (O = opisthodomos) are interpreted as the rape (O 2,4) of the daughters of Leukippos by the Dioskouroi; Leukippos being represented on the last metope (O 6), and fleeing maidens with floating drapery on the others (O 1,3,4). The north metopes (P = pronaos) are here thought to represent Apollo's return from the Hyperboreans accompanied by Hermes (P 4), and not, as previously sustained, Orpheus with a kithara. On either side were metopes with Leto and Zeus (P 5) and Artemis in the company of a female figure (P 3). The two females on the following metope (P 2) probably figured as the Charites, Horae, or local nymphs. A dancing figure with krotale on the first metope (P 1) is identified as Aphrodite, while for its pendant (P 6) the local heros, Arkas, would be the most suitable figure.

The majority of the 23 slabs of the Ionic frieze, with representations of Greeks fighting Amazons (12) or Centaurs (11), are in the British Museum (BM 520-542). The slabs were likely to have been sculpted first in a building 25 meters NW of the temple, which is convincingly interpreted as a workshop, whereafter they had to be reassembled in the cella. Therefore, the trimming at the joints was imperative. Fourteen attempts have been proposed. During the construction, a change in plan allegedly necessitated the trimming of some slabs. Dinmoor's reconstruction, and Corbetts' rearrangement of the slabs in the British Museum, was based on the axiom that, "Every clamp cutting and dowel hole on a block must correspond to one on an adjacent block or to a fracture thereupon representing a paired cutting. Shallow slots or pry marks must fall near or at joints between stones" (p. 40). The right sequence can therefore be inferred from the cuttings and pry holes on the slabs and corresponding backers. Only after C.'s cataloguing of **all** the frieze backers could a definite arrangement, as the one presented here, be attempted.

According to M., three themes were intended, which once ran without architectural interruption around the cella interior. These being, (1) the Trojan and (2) Heraklean Amazonomachies (this distinction of two Amazonomachies is new), and (3) a Centauromachy. The Trojan Amazonomachy consisted of four slabs. Against what we perhaps would expect, the sequence is read counter-clockwise. It started in the northwest corner, where the visitor was forced to begin his tour. The battle filled three slabs, and its main characters were Ajax (538) and Achilles slaying Penthesileia (537). The scene ended with a truce (539).

This was followed by the Heraklean Amazonomachy, which spanned 8 slabs around three inner walls (west, 4 slabs, south 3, east 1). The violation of a truce marks the transition to the Heraklean Amazonomachy (536), which started with Telamon's fight against Melanippe and Peleus. They covered the three remaining slabs of the west frieze. The fight continued with three slabs over the south wall (542-541-540), its culmination being laid in the axis, where Herakles was represented slaying Hippolyte. The fight ends on the east wall (southeast corner), on a slab where two Amazons seek refuge in a sanctuary (535).

Next follow the 11 slabs of the Centauromachy (7 on the east wall and 4 on the short (north) side). It opens with the Dioscuri fighting two Centaurs (526), followed on the next slab (524) by what appears to be Theseus trying to avert a Centaur, who is threatening two females, one of which is probably the priestess of Artemis Ortheia, clinging to the cult statue of the goddess. The following 5 slabs (525, 530, 528, 527, 529) depict the high point of the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs. Kaineus is clearly recognizable as being driven into the earth under the Centaurs' blows. On the corner slab two Greeks are about to get the better of their opponents.

The short (north) side shows Apollon and Artemis standing as towering figures on their chariot. Just opposite, exactly in the axis of the cella, Herakles, the main character of the Amazonomachy, is portrayed. On the last slab (520), near the northwest corner, Pirithous and Hippodameia are represented, the latter being abducted by a Centaur.

The composition of the Ionic Frieze (Ch. 8) can be analysed only after the correct sequel of the slabs is fixed. However, serious objections have recently been leveled against the reconstruction proposed here. I. Jenkins and D. Williams have pointed out that slabs 522 and 529 do not fit into the northeast corner because of the protruding high relief sculpture: (The Arrangement of the Sculptured Frieze from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae; in, O. Palagia – W. Coulson (eds.), Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia, Oxbow Monographs 30, Oxford 1993, 57-77). Neither do slabs 535 and 540 tally in the southeast corner. Moreover, Dinsmoor has proved, as the Corbetts could further confirm, that 520, 527 and 528 must belong together, and the only possible position is on the short north side. This makes C.'s and M.'s arrangement highly improbable and their entire interpretation inconclusive. Nevertheless, it is reported here in order to cover the contents of the book completely.

On the north and south frieze Apollon and Artemis, and Herakles are respectively represented. Both Amazonomachies run along the three sides in the shape of a letter U, while the longer Centauromachy (11 slabs) occupies the remaining space (east and north walls). The contrast with external Ionic friezes is rightly emphasized, and influences from Polygnotan murals may have contributed to the Bassae composition, for the narrative pattern appears to have been virtually the same.

According to M., the sculptural program shows certain basic concepts in antithesis: mortality and immortality, for example, which may account for the occurrence of Amazonomachies and Centauromachies also in a funerary context. The presence of Apollo himself on the north metopes and frieze is easily understandable in the god's temple – a well-known model for the Centauromachy was available in the west pediment of the Zeus temple of Olympia. Herakles' immortality after a life full of labors and achievements might contain the metaphorical sense of life. The connotation of brutality (Centaurs) and *hybris*, meaning the fight between Greeks and the barbarians (Persians), has perhaps contributed to the choice of this sculptural program.

Following M.'s stylistic analysis, three hands have supposedly worked on the frieze. The Master of the Stone Swords (SS), who prefers to render the weapons in stone, whence his name, is mainly responsible for the Centauromachy (8 slabs). The central south slab (541), with its dominating Herakles, is also assigned to him. The Master of the Bronze Baldrics (BB), who has a more pictorial style, is characterized by originally-added bronze attachments and by complex figural groupings. His slabs (8) dominate the west and south sides. The Paratactic Workman (PW) displays his figures in a paratactic fashion, his groups consisting mostly of two opponents. He seems to imitate both his fellow artists, but does not emulate them. There can be no doubt that SS was the leading artist and PW the less gifted. Whether there was a familial relationship between the three masters can not be established nor excluded.

As the metopes and the friezes are both integral parts of the construction, M. rightly stresses that they had to be ready at about the same time, unless an interruption of the building work at the metope level were to be surmised. However, there is no stylistic reason to suppose such a temporary interruption. Therefore, both sculptures must date from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.

Vol IV provides folio drawings of the topographical and geological maps of the region and site. Actual state plans and ideal reconstructions of the temple, its plan and elevation, the colonnades and various capitals, are basic for the architectural analysis due in volumes I and III. The plans of the fallen blocks on the four sides and the find spots of the catalogued blocks lay at the basis of the correct sequence of the sculpted slabs. This folio publication is not a monograph but a monument! Since he started, C. has needed 25 years to complete the work, but now he has set a standard with this a outstanding publication. One can hardly wait for the other volumes to appear.

J.A.K.E. de Waele

LUIGI BERNABÒ BREA E MADELEINE CAVALIER. *Meligunìs Lipára, vol. V: scavi nella necropoli greca di Lipari*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1991, XXXVI, 199 pp., 187 pls.; 28 cm. (Pubblicazioni del Museo Eoliano di Lipari). – ISBN 88-7062-709-8.

This fifth volume in the series Meligunìs Lipára (Publications of the Museo Eoliano of Lipari) presents the results of five emergency excavations carried out by the museum staff within the precincts of the town of Lipari between 1979 and 1985. All these excavations involve tombs dating from the early fourth to the late second centuries. They include tile-graves, stone sarcophagi, tombs made of slabs, tombs made of re-used stelai, stelai and cippi. The contents of some graves are rich and interesting, especially those containing several masterpieces of typical Liparian polychrome ware (including the Lipari painter) and theatrical terracottas. The most spectacular finds in the former category are two splendid polychrome lekanai, larger than all other lekanai hitherto found at Lipari. The elegance of the drawings, and the extraordinary state of preservation of the colours on one of them, make these even more exceptional. The drawings on both vases depict the blissful state of the initiated souls in the hereafter, depicted as a flowery garden, the paradeisos.

The most captivating of the theatrical terracottas are those of Hercules and Ares, datable to the middle half of the fourth century.

The book is a good example of how such excavations can be published: clear, to the point, and with an intimate knowledge of the material. When one visits the Museo Eoliano at Lipari or works in its store rooms, as the author of this short review had the pleasure to do some years ago, one gets the same impression of order and scholastic expertise.

Each of the five parts into which the book is divided opens with a short description of the discovery and excavation of the site concerned, followed by a short description of each grave with an enumeration of its contents. Objects of special interest are treated in separate articles which are well-written, without a great show of words. The more common finds are presented with very short descriptions only; these accounts seem very brief indeed, but the authors explain in the introduction that these categories of finds are treated extensively in volume II of the same series, so that one can look there for data on clay, shapes etc. All objects are depicted in photographs and, where important, with a drawing too. The photographs of complete tomb contents are also very useful. The planimetric and transverse section drawings are admirably clear, the more so when one reads of the circumstances under which they were made. These sites were all damaged by draglines, so that the excavators started with a mess of dislocated tombs and objects. Nevertheless the picture became clear and adds considerably to our general knowledge of the cultural history of Lipari.

Barbara Heldring

FETHI CHELBI, *Céramique à vernis noir de Carthage*. Tunis: Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art.

Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992. 279 pp., 542 figs., 632 planches – ISBN 9973-912-00-4.

L'affection d'un archéologue pour son matériel se trouvait rarement mieux exprimée que dans les illustrations de la monographie impressionnante de Fethi Chelbi, arrangées et encadrées à la manière d'un ancien album de famille. Ici Chelbi (1946) a presenté les premiers resultats de ses 'fouilles' dans les réserves des Musées de Bardo à Tunis (ancien Musée Alaoui) et du Byrsa à Carthage (ancien Musée Lavigerie) sous la forme d'un catalogue raisonné. Dès la fin du siècle dernier plus de trois milles de tombes ont été découvertes, qui malheureusement pour la plupart sont restées sans publication. La majorité de ces inventaires tombales sont dispersées, dès la période de l'administration française, dans les dépots des deux musées tunisiens mentionnés, ainsi que dans le musée d'Utique (no. 449). Les musées nordeuropéens les plus importants ont également des collections considerables de matériel funérair provenant de Carthage (A.M. Bisi, La collezione di vasi cartaginesi del Museo di Bruxelles, *RStFen* 5, 1977, 23-50, esp. 23 n. 1; à sa liste s'ajoute Leyde). C'est le mérite de Chelbi, Chargé de Recherche, responsable de la Section d'Archéologie sous-marine à l'Institut National du Patrimoine et conservateur du site d'Utique, d'avoir rassemblé et discuté une catégorie de ce matériel et, ainsi, de l'avoir rendu accessible pour des études futures. Il est important de se rendre compte, que les 635 vases à vernis noir et à figures rouges présentés dans ce livre constituent un corpus presque complet des inventaires livrés par les tombeaux d'époque classique et héllénistique de Carthage. Ainsi, l'entreprise de Chelbi est comparable avec une autre publication récente sur une classe de céramique d'origine presque exclusivement funéraire de Carthage [F.-W. von Hase, Der etruskische Bucchero aus Karthago. Ein Beitrag zu den frühen Handelsbeziehungen im westlichen Mittelmeergebiet (7.-6. Jahrhundert v.Chr.), *JbZMusMainz* 36 (1989), 327-410]. La plupart du matériel discuté par Chelbi provient des nécropoles de Borj-Jedid, Sainte-Monique et de l'Odéon – moins des tombeaux du Byrsa, du Théâtre et de Dermech – et s'insère dans la période qui va du début du IVème siècle jusqu'à la destruction de Carthage à la fin de la troisième guerre punique (146 av. J.C.).

L'ouvrage de Chelbi est une refonte d'une thèse du Troisième Cycle de l'Université d'Aix-en-Provence de 1983, préparée sous la direction de Jean-Paul Morel. C'est aussi ce savant de la céramique à vernis noir, qui a préfacé le livre; Mhamed H. Fantar a contribué une autre préface. Tandis que Morel admet (p. 5) qu'il n'est pas "totalement d'accord avec Chelbi sur tel point de détail" le recenseur actuel ne se considere pas qualifié de juger sur les differences d' opinion entre les deux specialistes. Au contraire de ces divergences – surtout sur le terrain de la céramique à vernis noir tardive, campanienne et locale (?) – il faudrait de mettre ici quelques apostilles chez le matériel attique du Vème et IVème siècle av. J.C.

Quant à la datation des vases attiques à vernis noir et à figures rouges il faut de dire, que Chelbi a choisi quelquefois une chronologie très ample ou trop basse, fait que je voudrais illuster avec quatre examples. Donc, le skyphos no. 449, daté par Chelbi au Vème siècle av. J.C. (58, 197-198), semble être produit plus strictement dans les années 480-460 av. J.C. Aussi le "lécythe aryballisque" no. 493, daté aux alentours de 350 av. J.C. d'après le plus récent des deux vases associés (62, 208-209, nos. 31 et 545), semble mieux être daté aux alentours de 400 av. J.C. sur la forme générale (W.W. Rudolph, *Die Bauchlekythos: ein Beitrag zur Formgeschichte der attischen Keramik des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, Bloomington 1971, pl. 27-28, classes XIII.B-D). Dans ce cas il est également nécessaire de corriger le fond du vase dans le dessin, parce que des fonds plat ne sont pas attestés dans le répertoire des lécythes attiques. Le "ryton-astragale" no. 517, daté au IVème siècle (65, 214-215), pourrait bien être daté à la fin du Vème siècle ou aux premieres années du IVème, comme l'exemplaire de la tombe 31 de Tharros (R.D. Barnett – C. Mendleson ed., *Tharros: A catalogue of material in the British Museum from Phoenician and other tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, London 1987, 231, no. 31/5, pl. 133). Le guttus no. 526, daté par Chelbi aux deuxième et troisième quarts du IVème siècle av. J.C. (66, 217), trouve également un bon parallèle à Tharros, dans le tombeau 5, datant aux premières années du IVème siècle (Barnett – Mendlesohn cit., 142, no. 5/7, pl. 81).

Particulièrement ces inventaires tombales phéniciennes et puniques de Tharros, qui se trouvent à present dans le British Museum à Londres, ont une importance considérable, non seulement par ses parallèles en vernis noir, mais aussi pour la connaissance du développement de la céramique punique. Ils nous offrent ces rares repères pour la chronologie de la céramique grècque. Ainsi, par ce manque de comparaisons avec le matériel funeraire de Tharros on est confronté avec une lacune bibliographique regrettable: la littérature datant d'après 1984 n'est pas considerée.

Au niveau de l'évaluation et interprétation des importations grècques on regrette également que Chelbi ne soit pas concerné la polémique véhémente, qui s'est tenue dans les périodiques anglaises pendant la derniere dizaine d'années environ entre D.W.J. Gill, M. Vickers et J. Boardman [récemment: D.W.J. Gill, Pots and Trade. Spacefillers or objets d'art, *JHS* 111 (1991), 29-47; A. Johnston, The Vase Trade: a point of order, *ActaHyp* 3 (1992), 403-409]. Sous ce rapport l'ouvrage de Chelbi est comparable avec l'opus magnum du P. Rouillard sur les importations grècques à la Péninsule Ibérique [P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIIème au IVème siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1991; cf. R.F. Docter, Two Sherds in a Cigarbox: the Greek Component in Toscanos – Mainake, *Talanta* 24/25 (1992/1993), 23-41].

Néanmoins Chelbi réussit a faire des conclusions importantes dans cette matière (25-28). "Quand on replace les céramiques à vernis noir de Carthage dans leur cadre chronologique, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la concordance du schéma obtenu avec celui de l'histoire politique de la cité" (25). Ainsi Chelbi a distingué trois facies de la céramique à vernis noir à Carthage, séparés et marqués par les trois guerres puniques (264-241, 219-201, 149-146 av. J.C.).

Dans le premier facies, jusqu'à la première guerre punique, on voit quelques rares vases à figures rouges (attiques), supplantés progressivement vers le deuxième quart du IVème siècle par des vases à vernis noir d'origine exclusivement attique. Vers 350 et durant la seconde moitié du IVème siècle des productions siciliotes, étrusques, apuliennes, campaniennes, liparotes, latiales (l'Atelier des Petites Estampilles) et locales évincent progressivement les productions attiques. Le second facies, entre les deux premières guerres puniques, est caractérisé par un recul général des céramiques à vernis noir, bien des productions importées que locales, peut être par les conséquences de la première guerre punique. Seulement la augmentation des importations de la céramique alexandrine et ibiçaine forme "semble-t-il les indices d'un commerce de guerre qui s'exerce loin du théâtre des opérations: La Méditerranée centrale" (27). Le troisième facies de la céramique à vernis noir de Carthage, s'insère entre la deuxième et la troisième guerre punique. "Il est caractérisé par une véritable invasion de la campanienne A (...). Le phénomène (...) s'explique de toute évidence par l'effondrement de la thalassocratie carthaginoise, la toute-puissance de Rome en Méditerranée occidentale et le contrôle qu'elle exerce désormais sur une économie campanienne en pleine expansion" (27).

Donc, la contribution la plus grande de Chelbi à la connaissance des rélations exterieures de Carthage est d'avoir distingué 11 productions de provenance assurée au moins: attique, alexandrine, locale punique, siciliote, liparote, latiale (l'Atelier des Petites Estampilles), étrusco-latiale, étrusco-méridionale, apulienne, campanienne A et ibiçaine ('gris ibicenco') en relation avec une discussion sur la chronologie et la situation politique de Carthage. En outre, 25 productions diverses sont distinguées, dont la provenance précise reste incertaine ou peut être seulement exprimée en termes plus générales. Le couvercle d'une pyxis à relief d'applique (no. 565), appellé malheureusement "protocorinthien" (69, 226, 250) d'après la céramique archaïque du Corinthe, doit être considéré également une production inconnue.

Dividée par régions la situation se presente ainsi: productions locales puniques (32,7%), grècques/attiques (32,6%) et italienne/sicilienne (27,1%), dont la campanienne A est representée avec 14,6%. Les productions diverses constituent une pourcentage de 7,6%.

La situation dans les nécropoles de Carthage n'est pas tellement corroborée dans la cité antique, où, selon des dates préliminaires, 45% à peu près de toute la céramique à vernis noir peut être attribué à la Grèce/Attique [H.G. Niemeyer – R.F. Docter et al., Die Grabung unter dem Decumanus Maximus von Karthago. Vorbericht über die Kampagnen 1986-1991, *RM* 100 (1993), 234-235]. Dans ce sondage de l'Université d'Hambourg la campanienne A constitue un pourcentage de 25% environ, tandis que les productions locales sont représentées avec 13,5% (vases à vernis brun-mat et gris, cf. no. 448) et 7,5% ('Byrsa 661') à peu près. Il manque les classes campannienes B et C, comme dans le matériel présenté par Chelbi (23). Ce fait s'explique par la datation la plus haute des deux classes, vers le dernier quart du IIème siècle av. J.C. et vers le début du Ière siècle av. J.C. respectivement, donc bien postérieur à la destruction de Carthage en 146.

Le livre est illustré à merveille avec des figures (dessins) et des planches de presque tous les objets. Malheureusement, c'est dans cette partie du livre qu'on est un peu troublé par quelques irrégularités. Il manque 28 figures (23, 32, 133, 134, 312, 314, 350, 424, 429, 445, 449, 467, 490, 494, 496, 504, 507, 517, 540, 545, 571, 601-605, 611, 612, 614), aussi que sept planches (61, 65, 66, 288, 379, 496, 507). C'est à dire que les nos. 496 et 507 ne sont pas illustrés, ni par des dessins ni par des photographies. A la fin des figures quelques planches de rattrapage sont insèrées, où l'on trouve les dessins nos. 53, 114, 298, 301, 305, 315, 458, 463, 464, 474, 484, 486, 539 et 542. Ici on trouve encore les nos. 30 et 442 (= 424?) avec des dessins differents, ainsi que les doublures des dessins de no. 462 et no. 497.

Malgré ces irrégularités, l'importance de ce livre ne peut pas être soulignée suffisamment. Dès à présent les archéologues travaillant à Carthage et dans l'Afrique punique ont à leur disposition un livre de reference pour une classe de matériel, qui est abondante dans le repertoire de la céramique fouillée. La portée du livre s'étend aussi vers le champ de l'historien de l'économie antique, parce qu'il apporte non seulement de la matière à la discussion sur la place de la céramique grècque dans l'économie, mais aussi des nouvelles interprétations. On èspère donc, que Chelbi publiera bientôt son livre sur la céramique punique.

Roald F. Docter

KANON
(Festschrift Berger)

This review appears long after the publication of the *Festschrift*; for this the present reviewer offers his apologies both to Prof Berger and the contributors to this splendid volume. The book contains six sections most of them consisting of about ten papers. The first part deals with the (sculpture of the) buildings on the Acropolis, section II with Classical sculpture in general, the third contains papers on Classical reliefs and small plastic objects; then follows Hellenistic and Roman sculpture and the fifth part is on iconography and painting; the last section contains some varia. Here we will have to restrict ourselves to the papers of sections I and II.

In the first paper Hermann Büsing (pp. 2-3) deals with the proportions of the Parthenon. His conclusion is that the relation 4:9 was laid out at the foot of the peristasis, not – as is often assumed – in the entablature, and this is what caused the narrowing of the metopes at the corners (because of the inclination and tapering of the columns). Next Brian F. Cook (pp. 4-8) shows that the fragment of a snake (now in the British Museum) that belongs to Cecrops in the West gable, is a late repair, apparently made when there was a scaffolding around the building. The join of the snake is negligent and was made with cement though there is a mortise hole (pls. 1-3). A second mortise hole, behind Cecrops, served for the head of the serpent which must have been visible between

Cecrops' arm and torso, clearly identifying the figure to the spectator on the ground.
The third contribution is by John Boardman who discusses some problems of the east frieze, first, the little figure who hands the peplos to the priest (pl. 4.1 and 5.2): Boardman calls him a girl, an assumption that has convincingly, I believe, been refuted by C.W.Clairmont in *AA* 1989, 495-6; besides, Boardman's description of the buttocks of the figure is not quite complete in so far as they are proportionally tiny, and therefore should depict those of a quite young boy (they are smaller even than those of the boy in pl. 5.3; compare the Paros girl in New York, a relief that – incidentally – I have always suspected).
Further Boardman speaks of the puzzling object in the hands of the man no. 49 (pl. 5.4-5) suggesting that it may perhaps be a piece of equipment used in the production of the peplos. He concludes that there is more and more reason for locating "the action of the whole frieze in a comparatively restricted period of time and place, at the opening stages of the procession in...the Agora". However, it seems to me that it is a mistake to look for a single location and stage; in fact, to do so seems to me a kind of anachronism. Rather, it is to be expected that each section of the frieze is meant to conjure up the entire festival by portraying a striking element selected from the solemnities. It seems impossible that the huge frieze was ever taken in as a whole and, I am sure, it was never meant to be; each section – as the spectator walked towards the entrance looking at the pictures with some difficulty – must have reminded him of the great festival as a whole, the one after the other. No spectator would ever have asked himself whether what he saw took place more or less simultaneously at a given location of the procession, nor whether or not he had seen particular aspects of the festival he might have expected to see, had he known the entire frieze by heart: there was simply too much to be admired for such rather pedantic observations. Even for us, who have the help of innumerable finely illustrated books and the complete series of casts in Basle, it is hard to envisage the whole composition.
In the next paper (pp. 15-18) Mrs Gisler-Huweler speaks of the N. frieze, pointing out that there cannot have been 12 chariots with *apobates*, but that there were only 11 (see fig. 1); yet, she believes that Beschi's assumption, that the number four in the North frieze is meant to symbolize the Archaic tribes, should be maintained, since *apobates* were not part of the official procession itself and therefore not bound to this number. She further adds large fragments to slab 17 (pl. 7.1-2) and refutes an attribution of a fragment by E.B. Harrison.
Speaking of marble blocks, originally intended for the frieze but used for a different purpose, Korres shows (pp. 19-27) that the frieze was carved *after* the blocks had been put in place on the building (p. 22), in contrast with the metopes. Scaffolding for the work on the frieze was necessary anyway (for painting the ceiling, for example) and it provided the sculptors with ample space for carving. Korres observes that continuous friezes were always carved *in situ* on the building; he refers to the Bacchos temple in Baalbek, where the frieze is unfinished and the sequence of the carving can be traced, a sequence no doubt similar to that of the Parthenon frieze: *viz*. preliminary drawing, background cutting, and carving the figures. The frieze blocks in question tell us that for parts of a building requiring a great number of identical blocks, supernumerary blocks were usually prepared to be on the safe side; such blocks could be used, as was the case here, in a different position.
The sixth paper, by W. Gauer (pp. 28-41), presents a new reconstruction of the Parthenon shield and a new interpretation. In a useful drawing, fig. 2, the identifications are listed by means of the numbers of the figures. At the bottom of the shield, for example, Theseus is fighting Antianeira (? formerly thought to be a Greek, with the portrait of Pericles). He is flanked by his two sons, Demophon pulling the arrow from Antiope's shoulder (which seems an awkward reconstruction), on the left; and Akamas killing the "jumping" Amazon on the right. The dead Amazon stretched out at the bottom of the shield next to a dead Greek, is believed to be Molpadia who treacherously killed Antiope with an arrow – she is the only Amazon with a bow.
The interpretation is very complicated and seems farfetched to me. The author believes the shield to be an allegory of the Persian wars and also of the peace made by Pericles with the Persians (p. 41). The figures on the right are believed to represent the war at sea (p. 38), in the left half he recognizes the battle in the open field (Plataea?); above, the siege of the Acropolis contains six Amazons attacking from the Areopagus. The two men at the top, the so-called stone-thrower (usually believed to be a portrait of Phidias) and "Capaneus", are now called Pallas and Erechtheus, symbolizing the priests and men who tried to defend the Acropolis against the Persians. Erechtheus was killed by Zeus' thunderbolt and Pallas was a kind of rebel against Aegeus and therefore killed by Theseus. This symbolizes the degree to which the men who tried to defend the Acropolis had been wrong in opposing the victorious plan to take to the ships. In short – here we have, once more, a very detailed interpretation of a monument of which we possess insufficient knowledge based on confused, fragmentary pictures, a monument on which all opinions are contradictory and likely to remain so.
On pp. 42-45 Brommer discusses some terracottas and a gem recalling works by Phidias, among which a small clay mould of a relief with Athena fighting a Giant, which he takes to be a relatively precise rendering of the Athena of the West gable (however, Athena's head seems to be turned to her right, facing the giant, not to her left as in the gable); further, a small relief (perhaps Melian) of a crouching sphinx carrying a youth, recalling the figures on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. He appends a list of Melian reliefs known since Jacobsthal's monograph.
In the next paper (pp. 46-53) D. Mertens deals with Spon's description of the Parthenon and his primitive picture of it (text figure 1). Spon believed that the strongly moving, three-dimensional figures of the gables stemmed from a Hadrianic restoration, and that Hadrian and Sabina were portrayed in the group of Cecrops and

his daughter, an opinion that withheld Lusieri from taking these figures down!
The next article is beautifully illustrated with coloured prints and fine drawings (pls. 11-14) by two painters from Basle, Horner and Müller. They are based on drawings made between 1835 and 1838 (pl. 14); in their water paintings they sometimes mixed glue in their colours!
Maria Brouskari publishes 13 new fragments of the friezes of the Erechtheion (pp. 60-68, *e.g.* a fragment that joins the swiftly moving woman of pl. 19.1). The style indicates, she believes, that the Erechtheion frieze is a few years later than the Nike balustrade.
In the next paper Erika Simon discusses the so-called sandal-binding Nike of this balustrade, who is not binding but undoing her sandal. A Neo-Attic (and slightly smaller) copy of it is preserved in a plaster cast in Alexandria (pl. 20.2 and 21.2-3); its head (with rather weakly features) is turned towards the spectator as if she invites him to follow her example as he is treading sacred ground. The balustrade, according to Miss Simon, is connnected with the Theseia which coincided with the wine festival, the Oschophoria: there is a Dionysiac element in the reliefs that is perhaps more clear in the later copies, in which the Nikai were made into wingless women (pl. 22.1, a well-known relief once in Munich, lost in the war). Therefore, Athena is not the central divinity of the ceremony; though she was portrayed no less than three times, she is present only as the protectress of Theseus and the Acropolis; the sacrificial animals are bulls and therefore not sacrificed to her.
The second section of the book is opened by C. Bols who argues that the cult statue of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi is copied in the stiff little bronze at Frankfurt of pl. 22, which seems Daedalic in its stiffness and its hairdo, but betrays its early Classical date by its profile and the bulge of one knee showing through the skirt (indicating awareness of a relaxed stance). Also other bronze statuettes of Artemis from Lousoi recall the ancient cult statue, mainly in the hair style but sometimes in other details.
The next contributions is a particularly interesting one: in it Delivorrias publishes a powerful fragment of a colossal female head in the magazines of the National Museum at Athens (pp. 81-86); its findplace is unknown but the marble seems to be Pentelic (pl. 24). Judging from the size of the head the height of the entire figure may have been some 3.50 m. The head is so impressive that one might feel inclined to attribute it to the Parthenon pediments, as Fuchs has actually suggested; usually, however, the head is dated later (about 420), but Delivorrias prefers an earlier date. It cannot be part of a cult statue (as has been assumed), because of the lack of a diademe or coronet, but more clearly because it appears to be unfinished. This gives the hair an almost impressionistic grandeur, deeply carved and drilled as it is. The mouth is slightly opened and the face is asymmetric and turned to its left, expressing movement and emotion. Delivorrias and others believe it to be an original but the lower lid of the left eye seems so sharply cut, at least in the photographs (contrast the head pl. 31), that one wonders whether it cannot have been a later repair of the East or West gable (of Roman times), such as the snake published by Brian Cook, discussed above.
On pp. 87-90 G. Despinis offers a new interpretation of the so-called Protesilaos in London and New York. The wound under the armpit, pointed out by J. Frel has convinced some scholars that this is a copy of the wounded warrior ('vulneratus deficiens') by Cresilas. Yet, the word "deficiens" seems, at least to me, ill-chosen for a man who is cautiously balancing himself and carefully treading forward without the slightest sign of pain caused by the arrow! In fact, his stance suggests that he is moving forward along a narrow foothold that stretches in front of him. It is curious to note that the ill-placed wound is transferred to the left thigh on the bronze statuette of pls. 25-26 (a probably genuine, rather free adaptation of the same original, discussed by Dörig, see below).
At any rate, Despinis believes the man to be Palamedes standing on the prow of a canoo balancing himself carefully while harpooning a fish (the inclination of the head and the direction of the object held by the hands suggest as much; besides, there is water and even a fish). Some sources tell us that Palamedes was killed when fishing and so Despinis believes that Palamedes is standing on the prow of his canoo in the act of harpooning, when suddenly hit by an arrow under his left arm; he is going to fall overboard and to drown. Again, however, it remains inexplicable that no pain or awareness of the arrow in his armpit is reflected either in his face and the inclination of his head or in the action or attitude of his body and arms. This would be more understandable in Protesilaos who was heroically determined not to be deterred by the enemy, to jump ashore and to die fighting. In short, it seems to me that the new explanation offered by Despinis, though possible, remains unconvincing.
On pp. 91-99 Dörig discusses the curious bronze statuette just mentioned, preserved in St Germain-en-Laye, which was turned into a candle stand at a later date and about which a vehement discussion has long raged (pl. 26-8); it is now usually regarded as antique and as a copy of the wounded warrior by Cresilas mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 34, 74). Here the wound is transferred to the left thigh causing a close similarity to the wounded Amazon by Phidias (here pl. 40.1, curiously provided with a bow, see below), who seems to be limping forward painfully, supporting herself on her lance and avoiding stretching the wounded thigh. The Amazon's attitude, however, is awkward because of her right hand raised high above her head. That of the statuette is somewhat more natural because of the stronger inclination of the head and the firm support and grip of the left arm and hand. Dörig, not aware of Despinis' new explanation of the original (see above), gives a detailed technical description. He compares its smallish bronze head with heads by, or rather attributed to, Cresilas (Pericles and the head of the Athena Velletri), finding the similarity convincing (pl. 28), a view with which it is not easy to agree.
Next (pp. 102-107), Miss Harrison discusses the uncertainties around the identification of the Athena Lemnia with the Dresden-Bologna type (which she calls

"androgynous subadolescent", p. 106) and pleads for the suggestion once made by Amelung that the Medici Athena type is to be preferred. A photomontage of friezes from Ostia (now in Berlin and Ostia) depicts the lives and love of Athena and Hephaestus (the explanation is convincing and amusing), in which Athena is standing on the isle of Lemnos more or less according to the type of the Medici Athena.
On pl. 31 H. Kyrieleis publishes three new photographs of the broad-cheeked, serious and impressive head of an athlete in Samos, dated to about 450-440. He argues that heads of Classical statues should be photographed from slightly below, from about the level of the middle of the standing figure the head once belonged to; this in contrast with Roman portraits that need a head-on view.
On pls. 32-35 M. Strocka publishes a head from Capua that is a copy of the same original as the so-called 'King' in Munich, which proves that its model was a Greek statue (probably part of a group of figures) and not a Roman concoction of different Greek elements, as has sometimes been thought. The two copies are of about 150 A.D. and the original is said to be "not later than 450 B.C." – which seems too early since the feet are placed in the unnatural but artistically so effective Polycletan stance (but the shoulders and torso are almost perfectly straight).
Further (pp. 119-126), B.A. Stucky studies three fragmentary bearded heads found in the Eschmun sanctuary near Sidon, which, as he shows, belonged to male sphinxes of a Hellenized Eastern type, such as are known from Labraunda (as acroteria) and, in relief, in Persepolis (pls. 36-38).
On pp. 127-133 Mrs Visser-Choitz discusses Plutarch's quotations of Polycletus' remark about the "difficulty when the clay comes to the nail" – if that is how the puzzling phrase may be rendered. She comes to a very practical conclusion: the clay mentioned is that of the clay mantle that is applied to the wax model to form the outer mould for casting, and the nail should then be a nail of one of the toes or fingers of the statue. She adds that extremities like toes and fingers were of solid wax without a core and therefore more fragile than other parts. It may, obviously, be asked whether – if this is right – the text would not more accurately have read: *ep' onyxi* (plur.).
In the last paper in Section II (p. 134-139) Martha Weber argues that gems depicting the Sosicles and Mattei Amazons are not to be regarded as faithfully rendering the form of the original sculptures (besides, she seems to feel uncertain about the authenticity of some of these gems). Such gems do not represent the originals, she points out, but copies of the Imperial period. The Sosicles type, provided according to her reconstruction with the outstretched arm of the copy in Paris (pl. 39.4), leans on a spear and is therefore the statue mentioned by Lucian as a work of Phidias. The Mattei type is by Cresilas and has now been reconstructed (in Basle) as holding with both hands not a spear but a bow nearly vertically behind her left shoulder (pl. 40.1; what about its string?), which seems a curious way to handle this weapon, especially when wounded in one's thigh! Besides, one wonders how the gems (pls. 2-4 and text figure) arrived at their rendering of a wounded Amazon limping along with the support of a spear, her bow dangling from her back, if the Mattei type handled her bow in so awkward a manner!
Incidentally – if I may add a remark of my town to the endless discussion on the Amazons: there is an argument for the identification of the Sciarra type that has, as a rule, received insufficient attention; whatever the historical value or truth of Pliny's story, it is clear that at the time he was writing it was believed that Polycletus had "won the contest". This must mean that the most popular type, the one that was most often copied in his time, was believed to be by Polycletus – which is the Sciarra type. Deviating identifications should take this argument into account.
The summary given so far, though rather lengthy, is a very insufficient account of the papers in the first two sections of this book; the four other sections with the remaining 37(!) contributions cannot be described here. However, I may perhaps, rather arbitrarily, mention four of them. On pp. 211ff. Borbein discusses the Asklepios Blacas, a colossal head from Melos now in London, which has always seemed to me too dull to be regarded as Classical; I am glad that he dates it to the late Hellenistic period (perhaps even after 100 B.C.). Dontas (pp. 222ff.) publishes two very beautiful fragments of the portraits of an Attalid royal couple, preserved (so far unnoticed) in the magazines of the National Museum of Athens (pl. 61). Further, there is a detailed account of two copies (in Gotha) of the well-known, amusing and very cleverly composed symplegma of a satyr and hermaphrodite by P. Gercke (pp. 232f., pl. 63-65), which, however, does not seem to do full justice to the intention of the satyr: he tries to pull the hermaphrodite down on top of himself falling backwards so as to cover himself full length with her/his lovely body. In other words, it is nothing like a sporting event in the palaestra (p. 234), but a realistic rapist-scene. As a piece of sculpture it is certainly strongly three-dimensional (or rather *zweiansichtig*) and highly interesting in that respect, while its centre and core was undoubtedly the erected penis now, unfortunately, lost (see pl. 63).
Finally, choosing from among other fascinating contributions, I may mention the "*Fest auf dem Nil*" by Ines Jucker (pp. 247f.), who discusses a series of charming children sarcophagi: among a host of Cupids and Psyches rowing boats, playing music, fishing, swimming or being threatened (and also eaten) by crocodiles, the main personages – the central couple formed by the 'real' Psyche and Cupid – are reclining on a sturdy raft, floating merrily along on the Nile, a happy marriage indeed!

J.M. Hemelrijk

SUSAN WOODFORD, The Trojan War in Ancient Art. London: Duckworth, 1993. 124 pp., 113 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 0-7156-2468-7. – £ 9.99.

This is a well-written introduction to Greek mythology and also, to a certain extent, to the way in which myths are represented in Greek art. It is clearly meant for those who have little knowledge of Greek myths, liter-

ature and archaeology, but also the more knowledgeable reader will find it enjoyable. Because of the bewildering quantity and variety of Greek myths, the author has restricted the subject to myths connected with Troy and the Trojan war. In telling these stories, she makes use of good translations of widely differing authors, from Homer to Lucian. This makes for good reading but is perhaps somewhat misleading because the reader for whom the book has been written is not aware of the great differences between such extremes as Lucian and *e.g.* Homer or Aeschylus in the appreciation of myths: for the latter myths were a matter of deep moral and philosophical concern and the greatest source of inspiration, but for later sceptics like Lucian myths were no more than an amusing trifle to exercize their wit on.

The tone of the author's discussion is on the whole more like the playful light-heartedness of Lucian, but tragic events, such as Hector's death, are told with impressive pathos and a great sense of drama. Yet, the book, the reader should be warned, is not quite what the title suggests (a short study of the way in which the Trojan war is represented in ancient art); it reads more like an introduction to the myths of Troy enlivened with illustrations taken from ancient art.

A list of the stories treated in chapters 1-4 may give an impression of the contents. It starts right at the beginning of the events that lead to the Trojan war: the egg-birth of Helen, the conquest of Thetis by Peleus and their marriage, the judgement of Paris and the abduction of Helen (figs. 1-13).

The second chapter, called "The army assembles", returns to an earlier phase, the marriage of Helen and Menelaos and then to the youth of Achilles, "who had not even been born at the time when Helen's hand was being sued for". Incidentally, this is the kind of remark that could have been made by Lucian but is somewhat misleading for the Classical period, since it may give the reader the false impression that in the eyes of the Classical Greeks the myths formed an integrated whole with logical and chronological coherence – which is very far from being the case. Surely, no Greek of the Classical period bothered to ask himself whether there was a notable difference in age between the great heroine Helen and the even greater hero Achilles.

Achilles' youth is treated rather fully: his heel (figs. 14-15), his education (figs. 16-19), his discovery among Lycomedes' daughters (incidentally, why not add that the nude girl in figs. 21-22 may be Deidamia, the mistress of Achilles and the mother of Neoptolemos? A Greek would certainly think of her – compare the nudeness of Cassandra in fig. 112). The scene, once painted by Polygnotos, is preserved only from later times unless there is a representation on a Pontic vase in New York, as has been suggested long ago by O. Brendel (see Hannestad, *Paris Painter* no. 10).

Then follows the wounding of Telephos and his supplication with Orestes as a hostage (figs. 24-25) and, finally, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis (figs. 26-27).

Chapter 3, "Troy", deals with Trojan princes loved by gods before the two wars: first Ganymede (figs. 28-33; the cock in fig. 30 crows loudly in protest!). It seems wrong to assume, as is often done and here suggested as a possibility, that the nudeness of Ganymede on the famous kantharos by the Brygos Painter (fig. 29) is a willful, "provocative" gesture of the boy: it is only meant to show that he is worthy of Zeus' desire – just as the nudeness of Cassandra in fig. 112 indicates the brutal intentions of her attacker.

Then follow Tithonos (figs. 34-36, who was to become the father of Memnon and is therefore directly connected to the Trojan war, figs. 84-87) and Anchises, whom we see, not in his great love affair with Aphrodite, but being carried out of Troy by Aeneas (fig. 37, the scene recurs in chapter 8, figs. 109-110, 112).

Subsequently we turn to the Trojan princess Hesione (fig. 38) and so, rather unexpectedly, to Heracles, sacrificing to Chryse (figs. 39-40), and his (the first) Trojan war (figs. 41-42; his fight against the Amazons is told in chapter 7, fig. 79). To explain how Philoctetes acquired Heracles' bow, so instrumental to the conquest of Troy, we are told of Nessos (figs. 43-44) and how Philoctetes set fire to Heracles' pyre: Philoctetes holds the bow on the famous krater with Heracles being carried aloft in a quadriga to Olympus (fig. 45, which is followed by the comedy version of this event: Heracles in his chariot, drawn by manacled centaurs, fig. 46).

In Chapter 4, "The Greeks go to Troy", we meet the daughters of Anios depicted on an Apulian krater (fig. 47) and Philoctetes bitten by the snake (fig. 49). Then we suddenly pass to a crucial event of the war, the killing of Troilos (figs. 49-53), and the board game of Achilles and Ajax (figs. 54-59; here we find a subtle description of the Exekias amphora). This scene, not known from literature, is used by the author to explain that representations of myths on vases need not be dependent on literary renderings, a truth that is, to my mind, not sufficiently kept in mind in her treatment of the pictures of other scenes (the board game probably did form part of the generally accepted story of the Trojan war).

This summary may suffice to give an impression of the wealth and also of the style of treatment of this book. The other chapters are called: "The anger of Achilles"; "The anguish of Achilles"; "Troy's doom draws nearer"; and "The fall of Troy". In these chapters, the fascinating stories of Protesilaos, the ambassy to Troy with Odysseus and Menelaos, and the rape of the Palladion are lacking, as is the rescue of Aithra from the flames of Troy by her two grandsons (not visible in fig. 112). No doubt, lack of space explains such omissions, yet, we might perhaps have been told that the woman furiously fighting with a pestle in fig. 111 was a *topos* in scenes of the Iliupersis (and, I take it, also in the orally transmitted stories) and that she must have stood for Andromache acting as her name required ("Man-fight") – if we may believe the Brygos Painter's cup in the Louvre.

Sometimes the author's interpretation of the pictures is open to doubt. On the pyxis of fig. 113, for example, the two pretty girls are certainly not meant to represent "Helen and Clytemnestra when they were still young and at home": all girls on this pyxis have been given fancy names of Argive heroines, which was a popular

way to glorify the figures in a scene of daily life. In fact, the so-called picture of Hephaestus and Thetis of fig. 71 may be a similar case: here a very humble smith is visited by a rather stately woman, a scene that may have been painted in honour of some ordinary craftsman, one of the many Attic manufacturers of arms, but the picture has been lifted onto a mythological, even divine plane by the obvious, but faint reference to the most famous arms of mythology, those of Achilles: at any rate, the scene should not be regarded as a straightforward representation of Thetis' visit to Hephaestus' smithy.
Further, it may be pointed out that the rather sickly story of Achilles falling in love at the moment he killed Penthesilea, may not be as old as the sixth century (or even the first half of the fifth) and these sentiments should, I think, not be read into Exekias' rendering of fig. 80 (its description on p. 89 seems fanciful to me). This is a subtle kind of anachronism that one should try to avoid – though one can never be certain.
Finally, there is an Epilogue with a summary of the Nostoi, but without illustrations. The Appendix entitled "The illustratrions in historical perspective" contains a short but clear survey of the history of ancient art, among other things, a good explanation of the change from black- to red-figure vase painting. There are a glossary, a bibliograpphy and an index, but there is no list of plates and inventory numbers are ignored; therefore it is difficult to consult ARV. The 113 illustrations are of mediocre quality, among them there are a number of very bad drawings (figs. 48, 59, 77); one is even a tracing of a photograph of a scene on the curving surface of a pot, resulting in ugly distortions of legs, arms and heads (fig. 37), an inexcusable maltreatment of Greek art that is not uncommon in recent books. On the other hand, there are numerous reproductions of the excellent drawings by Reichhold (figs. 9, 13, 35, 51 and 79) but the reader is not informed that these are his (no name is mentioned).
All this shows that the book is, on the whole, a pleasant and useful introduction. However, as has already been said, a fundamental objection must be made. In this time of overwhelming written information the reader should have been told right at the beginning that, what we call books (in the case of the Greeks, hand-written bookrolls available to the general public) were virtually non-existent down to 450 B.C. and probably much later. The well-to-do elite – the class that needed not to work and therefore had "scholè" (time for school) – received a (mainly oral) literary education, learning much poetry by heart, but the ordinary artisans who decorated the pots never saw any written texts of myths, neither of Homer nor of any of the dramatists nor of any prosewriter. The Greeks derived their thorough knowledge of the myths not from literature, nor from the occasional official recitations or from theatre performances but from "oral tradition"; they had carried myths in their minds long before Homer was born, surely even from before 1000 B.C. onwards. Clearly, their minds were absolutely crammed with legends, which were history, moral wisdom, parables and religious allegories to them. Their parents, nannies and grand parents must have told and retold the legends time and again; they knew these stories as we know Snowwhite and Cinderella, David and Goliath or Noah, from a time before we ever heard of Grimm or the Bible. Thanks to this intimate knowledge the Greeks could recognize the myths the poets put on the stage or the bards sang and this is why they could appreciate the often subtle changes made by these poets. Therefore, it should have been emphasized that both poets and draughtsmen drew from the same source, the great treasure of myths they carried around with them. Whereas the story-teller tells the complete tale in chronological order, the draughtsman has to conjure up the whole myth by combining (all or many or some of) its essential parts in a single picture. This explains otherwize inexplicable details, such as the presence of Paris' arrow in the hand of Apollo in the scene of Hector'death (fig. 74) or the anger shown by Ajax and Hector though they have just made peace and exchanged weapons in fig. 65.
Only rarely (at least before 400 B.C.) is it possible to show that the painter refers to a special episode from a special piece of poetry or a special theatre play and even then he will not bother to follow what he remembers of the recitation or perfomance with any precision. His mental picture of the myth is determined mainly by other representations he has seen on pots or the walls of buildings. Therefore, the pictures on vases are representations of a particular myth *on a par* with the representations given by Homer, Aeschylus or Euripides. Naturally, certain striking inventions or details in Homer or a tragedy did become part of the artisans' ideas of a myth, and may have inspired certain details in their rendering of it, but never is there question of illustrating Homer or a theatre play as we understand it – by means of a picture that reproduces the text in question as completely as possible. Yet, this is more or less consistently suggested by the way the myths in this book are "illustrated " with the ancient pictures.

J.M. Hemelrijk

FRANK KOLB, BARBARA KUPKE
Lykien, Geschichte Lykiens im Altertum

Lycia is a large area, mountainous and with a very broken coastline. It is so rich in archaeological sites that it would have been impossible to give an impression of its topography and history and at the same time to include descriptions of these sites. Therefore, the authors have chosen for the former: the book contains a treatment of the landscape and a rather detailed account of its history and settlements but no discussions of individual sites such as, for example, Xanthos or Arykanda. Even if a plan of a site is included (for example of Limyra, Pinara, Andriake, Apollonia and Tlos), very little information is given apart from one or two photographs or drawings of individual features of these sites. Clearly, the book is meant for the professional historian and archaeologist and not for visitors of Lycian sites. On the other hand, there are numerous maps, among them seven of the whole area (figs. 1-2, 7-12) indicating the geography, the sites (fig. 2: 60 = Saraycik? 61 and 62 are not in the list), rock tombs, theatres, Roman baths and aquaducts, and the bishopricks.

The first chapter deals with the borders and population, the climate and the character of the landscape; Chapter 2 surveys the ancient history of the region (from Prehistory to Byzantine times, including, *e.g., Gesellschaft und Kultur*, the Lycian script, foreign influence in architecture and poetry, political institutions etc.). The third Chapter gives a swift but full survey of settlements (including architecture, masonry etc.) and necropoleis (also dealing with the different kinds of rock-cut and built tombs). These form the main body and are the most interesting chapters.

The last chapter presents something of a surprize: it deals in great detail with a survey organized by the University of Tübingen in the area of Kyaneai, which is situated in the mountainous area between Antiphellos and Myra (fig. 92). Here we find an extensive description with photographs and some plans of the remains discovered in the region around this ancient town and a discussion of the function of the settlements and strongholds or rural castles which are marked on two detailed maps (figs. 103 a and b). Clearly this is a special interest of the two authors which they could not bring themselves to treat lightly.

Kyaneai has been known since, near its necropolis about 100 years ago, a monumental inscription of no less than 104 lines was discovered, carved on the face of a rock, honouring a very wealthy man called Jason (fig. 36, p. 27) who was a geat benefactor after the earthquake of about 140 AD. The description of the town itself is interesting but hard to follow, in spite of the plans, figs. 109-110 (p. 69). The main goddess of the town was, an inscription tells us, Eleuthera, who is also found at Myra. Judging by the numerous results summarized in these pages (pp. 59-75) the survey of the University of Tübingen seems to have been very successful.

The book is excellently edited, the text (77 pages) is printed in three narrow columns; there are 120 figures, good, often splendid photographs and sometimes rather less instructive drawings or plans (*e.g.*, figs. 53-55, 97-98) and there is a summary of earlier investigations followed by numerous, very useful notes and a substantial bibliography.

From the above it should be clear that the book makes very interesting and good reading; its contents are so rich and compressed that it seems wrong to select further points for discussion here: everyone should judge for himself. Only the last chapter, that on Kyaneai, though interesting, seems a little out of place; the present reviewer, at any rate, would have preferred in its stead a discussion of such interesting sites as, for example, Xanthos, Tlos, Limyra or Arykanda.

J.M.Hemelrijk

ELISABETH BARTMAN, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992. 222pp., 93 figs.; 24 cm (Columbia Studies in Classical Tradition). – ISBN 90-04-09532-2 – $ 80.00.

The words "copies in miniature" in the title of this book may suggest that it is a study of statuettes of up to, say, 30 or 35 cm, but this is not the case: the term miniature "applies to any copy that reduces the height of the original statue to approximately one meter or less" (p. 9, but statues of up to 1.20 m and more are included).

The book is a re-worked dissertation and consists of two parts (p. 4): "a generalized discussion of the history, function and typological range of the miniature" and a study of three statue types: the young satyr who leans on a tree trunk (usually attributed to Praxiteles), the statue type called "Lateran Poseidon" and the Heracles Epitrapezios. This part, containing the three "in-depth studies", is claimed to "provide methodological models for the study of copying" (p. 4). The author "seeks to determine how and why these copies look the way they do" (p. 5).

The titles of the chapters of Part One are: (1) "Definitions"; (2) "Statuary types and materials"; (3) "History and Function" (with subsections called: Pergamon and Greek copying; Roman reactions; Display; and Function). The titles of the three "case studies" (Part Two) are: (4) "Formal principals and techniques; the Resting Satyr"; (5) "Modern prejudices against the miniature; the Lateran Poseidon"; (6) "The conceit of the small; the Herakles Trapezios". These three chapters are each followed by a catalogue of the reduced versions of the statue type in question.

Finally there are a short chapter with Conclusions, and five Appendixes, one about the supposed Phoenician background of Heracles Trapezios (which the author refutes) and the others containing very useful lists of measurements of the statuettes of the catalogues (including the measurements of a number of full-scale copies of the resting satyr).

There are 94 plates (mostly of mediocre quality), at least two of which seem to have been reversed by mistake, *viz*. figs. 20 and 61 (unless the description in the catalogue is at fault; see p. 131, n. 8); on the other hand fig. 67 seems to be correct, though its description on p. 140, n. 23, is confusing (where is the right arm that is mentioned?).

Only a "small number of the thousands of Greek originals", the author tells us, were copied by the Romans and she adds that we "are only beginning to understand the criteria used by the Romans in this selection process" (p. 189). The present book is, if I understand it rightly, (among other things) an attempt to further this understanding, but I doubt if one can speak of "criteria used" and of a "selection process" (which means, I suppose, a series of deliberate actions of choosing on the part of the Romans) instead of a development governed mainly by chance.

Miniatures, being meant for private homes, provide a view of ancient artistic values that differs from that given by the monumental statues made for public buildings and imperial palaces (p. 10). Thus, the study of the miniature complements recent investigations of the programmatic exhibition of full-size copies in Roman public buildings and rich villas. The author believes (p. 4) that the ancients did not set "major" art above "minor", "original" above "derivative", which she calls "modern hierarchies", an opinion that is, to my mind, untenable in this form. Most miniatures attempt to reproduce the basic form and style of the prototype with no less accuracy than their larger counterparts (p. 10) and "virtually

all statuary types that were copied at all were copied in miniature format" (p. 16), with few exceptions, such as the Doryphoros and the Tyrantslayers (p. 18). More than once the author rightly stresses the fact that "exact copies... did not exist in antiquity (p. 79 and p. 3). One might add, that there was very little need of precision in copying since hardly any client had seen the originals and, if so, could remember them well. Therefore we should be surprised to find the extremely close similarities among certain copies of specially loved statues such as the Fréjus Venus (p. 1 and fig. 1; compare the far less close similarities in the hair of the satyr, p. 73). Because of the many variations in nearly all copies, copying obviously "eludes a single or simple definition" (p. 187). The three "case studies" lead to an interesting distinction between them: wheras the satyrs of chapter 4 are clearly copied from an admired masterpiece, this is true neither of the Poseidons (ch. 5) nor of the Heracleses (ch. 6). The Poseidons follow, the author suggests, a very old, popular design denoting this particular god, a motif used in all kinds of art. The seated Heracles, on the other hand, represents the general theme of the weary hero seated at rest, rather than a single famous original statue (p. 187).

So much for an impression of the general trend of the arguments in the book.

Because of its rich and varied contents, it would be difficult to summarize and to discuss the book from chapter to chapter. Therefore, I will, rather arbitrarily, turn to one of the "case studies", that of chapter 4 which discusses the "Praxitelean" satyr and its technique.

Of this satyr there are more than one hundred versions, only one-fifth of which are miniature (*i.e.* reduced in scale), which "offers a statistical profile ideal for our first case study" (p. 52).

The height of the large copies of the satyr is about 1.72 m (p. 54), which makes them "slightly larger than life-size (assuming satyrs are of human height)". This, however, seems doubtful: perhaps it rather shows that this particular satyr is meant to be not quite full-grown, for male statues such as the Doryphoros, the Agias and the like, were all some 20 cm above normal human scale (about 2 m). Incidentally, it seems also wrong to say that Eros and Psyche, or the boy strangling a goose are "less-than-lifesize", for they seem precisely to scale judging from their suggested age (p. 17).

'Miniatures' of the satyr come in different sizes, from 60 cm to 1.25 m which shows that no single ratio of reduction was employed: some versions are half size and others two-thirds (1.12 m, p. 55). The proportional scheme is retained also in the small versions, but there is some deviation in the relationship between limbs and trunk, so that the miniatures become more stocky (p. 56).

The style of the large scale copies of the satyr is distinguished as "fluid" and "flat", a distinction which does not appear in the miniatures. The fluid style is, rather surprisingly, characterized by strong modelling of the torso with a muscular structure, a prominent brow with deep-set eyes and bulging cheeks (p. 60). In the flat style anatomical forms become soft and malleable, with little hint of the underlying structure. The names of the styles may not seem to be very appropriate, but the stylistic analysis of p. 60ff. is quite interesting (there are some mistakes in the references to the plates in this section). The author suggests that the flat style may be based on line drawings of the satyr while the fluid style could derive from plaster casts (p. 63).

The description of the miniatures is sometimes a little puzzling: for example, the drapery (*i.e.* the panther skin) of figs. 18-19 is described as "strenuously geometricized" (p. 63), a description not supported by the photographs. On the whole, the animal skin receives much more attention than the other aspects of the small copies:" the appearance of the pelt (is) a barometer of the copyist's *technè*" (p. 66).

Sometimes the description seems misleading. The satyr, it is said, "thrusts his left hip provocatively out into space" (p. 53). However, the satyr leans on a tree trunk with his right elbow (or lower arm); as a consequence of this the pelvis is partly relaxed and dipping, since only the muscles of the right shoulder and arm and of the left hip are exerted while nearly all the others are at rest: there is no wilful, provocative "thrusting out into space" of the hip. Further, it is wrong to suggest that this tree trunk is "usually dismissed as a mere copyist's addition" (p. 53; it is even called a "strut" on p. 53, and n. 44 of p. 39). The leaning stance of the satyr is not, as the author expected, "easily reproduced" (p. 58); any draughtsman knows that it is particularly difficult (and even more so for a sculptor), since this kind of stance changes the normal position of all parts of the anatomy in all possible directions: no wonder that there is "considerable variety" in the stance of the copies (pp. 58-59).

There is a long section on the technique of copying, to scale and in miniature (p. 66ff.), which contains interesting observations but also remarks that seem to me mistaken. It is, I believe, quite misleading to suggest that "in its reliance upon a model and need to transfer that model to make a new image, the production of the copy is identical to that of an 'original' statue" (p. 68). The Greek sculptor did not at all "rely upon a model" but built up the final statue from smaller and larger sketches that more and more approached what he had in mind and the Greek bronze sculptor made the wax model (which was to be cast in bronze directly, or, as some believe, indirectly) free-hand from these sketches: there was no imitation at play but a laborious groping towards an aesthetic result guided by a perfect knowledge of proportions and the balance of masses. In contrast to this, most Roman statues show that, in spite of the author's repeated and strong contentions to the contrary, copying often was a more or less thoughtless activity, and only few copies could be called "the expressions of a distinct artistic will". Of course, copies vary a great deal, from very bad pieces to exceedingly good works of art, but the latter are not very numerous and only rarely are they up to the detailed surface scrutiny applied to recognize Greek originals. It is especially the loving care with which the Greek original and all its details are designed, executed and finished that is lacking in copies, or at least is rarely of an order comparable to that of Greek statues. This great refinement has made it so difficult to judge some excellent sculptures that may or may not reproduce older models. For example, it is, I believe, not quite as

certain as the author claims (p. 12) that the so-called Hermes of Praxiteles is a Roman copy; as has been suggested, it may well have been heavily re-worked in Roman times (*e.g.* part of the mantle may have been cut away with a gouge from the back and its sides so that the ugly strut in the hip became painfully prominent, and the hair was undoubtly recut). On the other hand, the Laocoon very probably is not an original (p. 19) but a copy (of a bronze original?), just as the excellent sculptures from the grotto at Sperlonga and other marvellous works of art, such as the dying Gaul and the Gaul killing his wife and himself in Rome. But in general Roman copies are easily recognized, by the traces of the flat or even the bull-nosed chisel used instead of the more delicate toothed chisel (p. 77) and, even more clearly, because of the quick, harsh handling of the running drill, which, incidentally, is, I believe, not distinguished by the author from the ordinary drill.

This brings us to some details of technique and material in which the text seems muddled. Traces of rasping on the statues are described as a method to "enhance" the surface (*e.g.*, p. 53 n. 7; also cat. n. 6 on p. 53), but surely, rasping prepared the surface for painting and was therefore nearly invisible when the statue was finished. On p. 20 we read: "By the imperial age terracotta may have fallen victim to a snobbish bias among élite patrons that preferred imported Greek marbles" (p. 20). This remark seems snobbish itself in its scorn for the well-to-do, even those of 2000 years ago. There is, of course, a very good reason to ignore terracotta for sculpture: it absorbs the light and therefore is unfit to convey an essential element of ancient (Greek) sculpture, its powerful three-dimensionality, which is emphasized by the reflection of the light falling on it (this is the reason why terracottas were often provided with an ivory-white surface). See further the muddled remarks about plaster and what should have been indicated as casting with piece moulds (pp. 68-69 and 74), about the pointing "machine" (which is described as a very complicated device (pp. 69-70) whereas in reality it is a surprisingly simple three-dimensional kind of set of compasses, technically far simpler than the art of casting in piece moulds, which was apparently widely spread in Roman times). Also the descriptions in the catalogues are uneven and often incomplete (no mention is made, for example, of the fact that the left arms of the bronzes figs. 69 and 71 are bent out of shape; also the right hand of fig. 78).

So much for some remarks mainly prompted by chapter 4. We may add a word or two about what might be called the status of the copyist-sculptors. I have often wondered if the term "Roman sculptors" should not rather be substituted, in many cases, by "Greek sculptors from Roman times". I say so, because the author compares the "Roman" sculptors with the Roman writers "for whom allusion and quotation were major forms of literary expression";...."imitation was more esteemed than artistic originality. Thus the artist distinguished himself by interpreting a familiar subject in a novel manner" (pp. 188-189). This is very true of the Roman authors, but it is definitely impossible to compare the cultural standards of the "Roman" artisans (or artists) in the copying workshops with that of the great Roman poets and intellectuals. The distance between them is immense – one might say, comparable to that between a soldier of the auxiliary forces and a Roman general.

But it is not only the (quite rich) contents of this study that frequently call forth criticism. Right at the beginning the reader stumbles on a striking instance of what seems to be a fashionable tendency nowadays: the use of absurd precision in defining one's meaning. In the very first lines of chapter one, called "Definitions" (p. 9) we read: "To qualify as a miniature copy a statue must meet two basic criteria: it must be both a miniature and a copy". Another example of such outrageous simplicity is: "For the requirement that the original pre-date the copy see..." (p. 9, n. 5). The closing sentence of this first chapter is also somewhat disconcerting: "To the ancients, it would seem, a miniature copy was a copy and a copy was simply a statue (p. 15)". This, I suppose, tells us that a miniature copy is also a statue and that all statues enjoyed the same appreciation – which is, I am sure, far from true.

Further, there are the nowadays almost obligatory fashionable remarks such as, for example (p. 84): copies had "the function of confirming the élite status of its owner". This seems to imply that no Roman had any genuine artistic interest and knowledge, and that, for example, great statesmen and intellectuals like Cicero and Caesar bought statues not for their own deep satisfaction but in order to impress their neighbours and guests; as if they had no other means to do so (a comparable remark about "high-brow taste" is found on p. 47; contrast the correct description of the connection between military power and the possession of works of Greek art on p. 38).

Finally a word about the style of writing, which – at least to a foreign reader – seems neither simple enough nor always sufficiently clear. One example of very many must here suffice (p. 19): "miniaturization transformed existing statuary types in order to fulfill a new, Roman agenda" (p. 39). Unusual terms and metaphors are often preferred to simple words: "topos (taken to mean, I believe, 'model' or 'example'), "aquaeous realm" (sea), "roster" (for list, p. 51 n. 2; the Dutch original is "rooster"), "consumption of works of art" (use or possession?); "pivotal"; "locale" and "locus" and "lieu" for place etc.etc. (Incidentally "able" is often used passively, which seems odd: *e.g.*, bronzes are "able to be executed" p. 118).

In spite of all this, there is much that deserves attention and closer examination in this very interesting but at times slightly irritating study.

J.M. Hemelrijk

KLAUS VIERNEISEL UND BERT KAESER (eds.), *Kunst der Schale: Kultur des Trinkens*. Mit Texten von Berthold Fellmann [et al.]. München: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 1990. 488 pp.: ill.; 30 cm. Exhibition Munich 1990.

This is a thick book with no less than 89 (shortish) chapters and hundreds of very good (smallish) photographs. It was written and published for an exhibition of the collection of Little Master Cups of the Munich collection

(168 in number) which had recently been fully restored. The structure of the exhibition shaped the contents and sequence of its themes, but it treats much more than the Little Master cups alone: is serves as a kind of handbook to the vase collection as a whole. The high quality of the texts finds an explanation in the Foreword that tells us how the book was written. A circle of specialists involved in the production of the *CVA* fascicles who used to come together do discuss their work since the beginning of 1989, were willing to write the chapters of their choice. All manuscripts were handed round and discussed. The result is that the chapters are short, concisely written, and very clear and informative.

The simplicity of the style of writing especially is somewhat unexpected in the eyes of those who were educated with the complicated writing and thinking of Busschor and his pupils!

Though the book is a scholarly piece of work, the committee took care that it should look attractive. It is bound in a yellow cover which, as Siedentopf explains on its inside, was, among other things, the colour of the clothes of Dionysus. Further, it was decided that all "wissenschaftliche" apparatus (such as notes and detailed discussions of unsolved questions) were to be omitted. There are no (or hardly any) references to vases that are not shown in the illustrations. Vases from other collections are only introduced (and illustrated), if a similar example is lacking in Munich, which is not often the case!

All this deserves high praise which should be extended to all ten authors, but I am perhaps permitted to say that I was particularly struck by the numerous chapters written by Bert Kaeser who, among other things, managed to discuss the aestetics of cups and other Attic pottery (Ch. 9) in a masterful way.

In short, it is a pleasure to read the book from cover to cover, in spite of the warning found in the Foreword (p. 12) that nobody will have time to do so and that therefore the chapters were written as individual short essays that can be read separately, leafing arbitrarily through the 470 pages.

It is divided into two parts: the first deals with the Little Masters and therefore nearly exclusively with black figure ware. In the second the scope widens and we find earlier pottery and much red figure. The first part is called *Kunst der Schale* (29 chapters) and the second *Kultur des Trinkens* (60 chapters). The number of themes treated in these chapters is almost confusing. Here follows a list.

In the first ten chapters all basic aspects of the Little Master Cups (their history, development, shape, distribution, aesthetics etc.) are treated. The next ten chapters speak of the decoration, inscriptions, animals, warriors, amazons, giants, boxing and wrestling scenes, horsemen, heroes, the beautiful woman and boy, komoi (bf. on the cups), Dionysus, onlookers. Then there are five chapters dealing with the relation between the two sides of the cups, with workshops, painters and potters (though next to nothing about the way they were thrown, put together and fired), specialists and later developments.

Part two, the Cult of Drinking, is introduced by Bert Kaeser in five interesting short chapters about drinking vessels, traditions dating from earlier periods, meanings (funerary, votive, for victories), the pictures on them and the different occasions for the use of wine. Then follow the symposion, hetaerae, *ho pais kalos*, music and singing, the cooling of wine, games (such as kottabos), luxurious clothing (for men), vomiting, fat-belly dancers, the komos (now treated more fully), symposia in the open air, women and wine, Laconian symposia, the association of wine and the sea, vine and ivy (very interesting!), Heracles visiting Pholos and at rest, Silenus trapped and the hymn to Dionysus, the myth and cult of Dionysus, his introduction to Olympus, his connection with other gods and Ariadne, his participation in giant-battles, his revenge on unbelievers, his thiasos and retinue, satyrs and maenads, animals, satyrs making love to animals, satyrs in other strange roles, the god of the theatre, eyes and masks, Dionysus in South Italy, "Dionysos, Wesen und Wirken", wine and sacrifice, "Spendende Götter", the Lenaeae, the Cabirian gods, the phallos, wine traffic, use of wine and Greek vases in Etruria and among the Celts, and the development of later drinking vessels (including those made of glass).

This list shows how rich the book is and it would therefore be presumptuous to start criticising small details in it. I will add only a few words. I may be permitted to start with a remark about two sherds decorated with ivy leaves belonging to a Caeretan hydria (56.8); these fragments were unknown to me until recently when Hamdorf kindly sent a photograph: the unusual ivy leaf of 56.8b shows that it belongs with a sherd in the Louvre (AM 1364, my *Caeretan Hydriae* no. 37, pl. 126d). Mr. Hamdorf has now reconstructed on paper a splendid though fragmentary Caeretan hydria with a boar fight (2 sherds in the Louvre and large fragments in Munich acquired from a private coll.) very similar to Louvre E696 (my no. 10, pl. 51) but finer and with Heracles and the lion on the reverse (Louvre Camp. 10299, my no. 24, pl. 89; possibly also my no. 36, pl. 127, in Munich).

Further, it may perhaps be suggested that more stress could have been laid on the difference in delicacy of the pottery work (thinness) and size between Siana cups, lip cups and band cups: the last mentioned are far more sturdy than lip cups and, when handled, are entirely different to the touch (they are larger, more rounded and less refined). The difference is such that one wonders if the same potters made both lip and band cups (see, *e.g.*, p. 65, 69; the section drawings in the text are not to scale: *e.g.*, fig. 1.3 and 1.4; and see ch. 9). Siana cups, most of which are earlier, are often surprisingly thin and light, in spite of their greater size.

In several chapters there are extensive quotations of (translated) poetry (Schöne Gesänge, ch. 40) but references to the Greek texts are, unfortunately, lacking.

New to me was the clear distinction between hinnies and mules (p. 402, Maulesel und Maultier) but this distinction is not made in the captions of the illustrations such as 71.4 and 71.5.

The enormous popularity of satyrs on Attic vases is more or less taken for granted (see for example chapter 70 ff.); here a true and witty remark of Boardman might

have been used (ARFVAP p. 234): "they illustrate the timeless frustrations of the male, afflicted – or blessed – with permanent and unquenchable tumescence (they even infibulate on occasions), enjoying all the apparent pleasures and freedom of the good life....They are a more than adequate answer to those who believe that the Greeks were obsessed by homosexuality."
The publication of this splendid book was financially supported by the Association of Friends of the Museum!

J.M. Hemelrijk

H.A. SHAPIRO, *Personifications in Greek art. The representation of abstract concepts 600-400 B.C.* Kilchberg/Zürich: AKANTHVS, 1993. 270 pp., 185 figs.; 22 cm. – ISBN 3-905083-05-1.

This abundantly illustrated and handsome book on a rather elusive subject represents a completely revised and reorganized edition of Shapiro's unillustrated doctoral dissertation *Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (microfilm 1977). The subject is elusive as the Greeks themselves did not have a word for the concept of personification. From the iconographical point of view personifications of abstract concepts are represented like real gods although they usually do not have special attributes.
In the Introduction (pp. 12-29) the status quaestionis on the subject, early Greek thought (Homer, Hesiod) on personifications, the question of identification, literary and pictorial allegory (respectively in epic poetry, and on the Chest of Kypselos and other lost works), and the typological and chronological limits are discussed. For personifications in visual arts the upper limit is ca. 600 B.C., the supposed date of the Kypselos Chest. Before this date no representations in visual arts occur. The lower limit is ca. 400 B.C., the beginning of the decline of Attic red-figure pottery. Greek South Italian personifications have not been dealt with. This has been done now by C. Aellen (diss. Lausanne 1992). His work too will soon be published by Akanthus Verlag.
The largest part of Shapiro's book, titled *Iconography* (pp. 32-228), deals with the following 30 personifications: Aponia (Freedom from toil), Athanasia (Immortality), Basileia (Kingship?), Dike and Adikia, Eirene (Peace), Eris, Eudaimonia, Eukleia (Good repute), Eunomia, Eutychia, Geras (Old age), Harmonia (Harmony), Heimarmene, Himeros and Pothos, Hygieia, Hypnos and Thanatos (Sleep and Death), Kratos and Bia (only Bia's hand is visible once..), Lyssa (Madness), Makaria (Happiness), Nemesis, Oknos (Sloth), Paidia (Playfulnes), Peitho (Persuasion), Phobos, Themis, and Tyche. For reasons of frequency Eros and Nike, 'strong' personifications with clear attributes, have been excluded. Every personification in visual arts, mostly on Attic black- and red-figure vases, as identified by an inscription, is discussed in a diachronic way for its origin, its place and function in literary sources and for possible influence of cult-practices. Without 'labels' or mythological context personifications can hardly be recognized or defined because usually distinguishing attributes are absent. Pothos in Aphrodite's company for example cannot be distinguished from Eros. Some personifications, *e.g.* Hedylogos, are dealt with casually or not at all. Shapiro does not explain why some satyrs and menads bear names of personifications (*e.g.* Paidia and Galene on p. 131 no. 64, fig. 143).
After the Iconographic section follows a practical, short catalogue of 148 objects listed in the alphabetical order of the personifications mentioned on them and within this order according to the place of preservation. Unfortunately are mentioned there only those inscriptions which indicate personifications.
In the Conclusion Shapiro states that the strongest literary – epic, not iconographic – influence is felt on sixth century art (Dike and Adikia, Eris, Harmonia, Himeros, Hypnos and Thanatos, Nemesis, Phobos, Themis). The choice may also have been influenced by the well known Chest of Kypselos. In the fifth century B.C. Attic drama (Lyssa, and possibly Athanasia and Geras), monumental painting and the appearing of new cults give a new impetus to the repertoire (Hygieia, Peitho). A new series of personifications appear in the last decades of the fifth century B.C., during the Peloponnesian war (Aponia, Basileia, Eudaimonia, Eukleia, Eunomia, Eutychia, Paidia, Eirene, Pothos); they seem, according to Shapiro, for the most part to have been creations of the Eretria Painter and his follower, the Meidias Painter and their circle. Some, for example Aponia, may testify anti-war sentiments (p. 33), although, just like her colleagues, she belongs to the sphere of Aphrodite.
Shapiro's conclusions are very cautious. He is aware that every new archaeological find may change the picture; particularly significant is the fact that Himeros is visualized for the first time about 570 B.C., while his companion Pothos does not appear before ca. 410 B.C.... Future parts of the *LIMC* should be consulted for the personifications of Makaria to Tyche (for the absent Sophia, see B. Philippaki, in: *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster*, II, Bristol 1988, 89, pl. 10.1-10.7). As for the influence of (lost) Attic vases on Etruscan mirrors with personifications (Calaina (< Galana), Chais (< Charis), Eris, Eunike, Evrphia (< Eumorphia?) and so on), one should now consult M. Bonamici, Le Muse in Etruria, in: *Prospettiva* 70 (1993) 2-21.
Shapiro's book contains further indexes of personifications (about hundred!), and of ancient authors, a mythological and a museum index, and a list of illustrations. Unfortunately, an index of painters is missing, probably because many vases are unattributed.
Apart from some other small flaws (cheir epi karpo instead of karpoi (p. 34); an Etruscan 'Phobos' who has nothing to do with Phobos (p. 209) but who is rather a depiction of Suri (Apollo/Soranus), the captions above the illustrations which suggest the presence or absence of inscriptions, and the absence of conclusions in the separate sections of Iconography Shapiro's book is a valuable, methodical contribution to the study of classical iconology. It is, however, not complete; it is for example not clear why the author does not even mention the anepigraphic Paidia on the famous Pronomos vase. Obviously, the author does not regard personifications of cities as abstract concepts. They have not been dealt

with. Many of his observations supplement and correct the items which have already appeared in the *LIMC*.

L.B. van der Meer

MARIO TORELLI e.a., *Atlante dei siti archeologici della Toscana*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1991. 2 vols.; 590 pp., 14 maps. – ISBN 88-7062-785-3.

This voluminous and luxurious publication, an atlas of archaeological sites of the Regione Toscana (Northern Etruria), has been an initiative of 'Progetto Etruschi'. This successful project started in 1985 with nine modern exhibitions on Etruscan culture and the Second International Etruscan Congress at Florence. The atlas is an extremely important contribution to our knowledge of the settlement distribution from the earliest phase of prehistory to the early Middle Ages. The volume is not only an instrument for the protection of the archaeological patrimony (*ex lege* 1089), heavily threatened by building activities, but it is also very stimulating for initiating excavations, surveys, and studies on settlement patterns.
The research was done by two teams. One, under the direction of L. Tondo, screened the Historical Archive of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana (until the year 1975 because of publication rights), the other team (Cooperativa 'Pantheon') did the bibliographical investigations: the *Notizie degli Scavi*, *Studi Etruschi*, the *Edizione Archeologica della Carta d'Italia* al 100.000 (*Fogli* 95-108, 113-115, 121 and 129; 1927-1958), and countless other publications, especially local reviews, reports, and exhibition catalogues, as well as oral information. All publications that had appeared before 1985, when the project started its work, have been consulted and used. Despite the archival work done, the *Atlante* appears to be largely based on bibliographical data: as Mario Torelli points out in his introduction (p. XVI), surprisingly few data predating 1975 could be found in the Historical Archive of the Soprintendenza that were related to the classical periods, the overwhelming majority of the available *schede* referring to prehistoric finds and findspots. A quick glance through the text confirms this: out of 182 entries for F. 119 (Massa Marittima), only 43 also contain archival references. Most of these, moreover, are also found in publications, so that only few sites are mentioned that are based on archival data only. It may very well be that the (very understandable) decision not to use archival data from the last 20 years has seriously limited the contribution of this source. Work on the project was finished in 1990.
The Text was written by nine disciples of Mario Torelli (Perugia) who coordinated the whole project and wrote a, for him characteristic, polemic-political Introduction, among others about the present-day Anglo-Saxon way of documenting archaeological dates in comparison with the rather exact methods of the nineteenth century ...
A separate section 'Cartografia' contains the loose *Fogli* (Maps) 84-99, 104-108, 111-115, 119-122, 126-129, 135-6 and 142 of the Istituto Geografico Militare (including small plans of nine city territories). Each *Foglio* (scale 1:100.000) has coloured and colourless symbols indicating settlements, necropoleis, sanctuaries, bridges, aqueducts and streets, etc. in five colours specifying different periods: prehistory (from the Palaeolithic to the 12th century B.C.), protohistory (from the 11th to the 8th century B.C. (often the Villanovan period), the preroman (often Etruscan) period (from the 7th to the first century B.C.), the Roman period (from the first to the 4th centuries A.D.), and the late-antique and early-medieval period (from the 5th to the 7th centuries A.D.). Colourless symbols indicate uncertain chronology.
Nine cities, Luca, Florentia et Faesulae (combined), Pisae, Arretium, Volaterrae, Cortona, Clusium, Populonia, Vetulonia, Rusellae, are separately shown on scale 1:25.000.
The Text is, of course, organized according to the sequence of the *Fogli*. The excavations and finds (several tens of thousand) are numbered according to their find place which can be easily found on each map.
The description of each find, accompanied by a short bibliography, is usually very short or just a citation, sometimes without chronological indication which can be however deduced from the coloured symbol on the map. At the end of the comment on each *Foglio* finds without site or context indication are listed.
Who consults the text, will always have to use the earlier literature which is far from easy in case of countless local reviews and exhibition catalogues. For inscriptions, which are never fully cited, the reader is often referred to CII, CIE, CIL, InscrIt and TLE. For Etruscan inscriptions one should now consult H. Rix (ed.), *Etruskische Texte. Edition minor*. I-II (Tübingen 1991) which offers many text corrections, accessible by perfect cross-references.
The symbols on the maps do not give the exact location of finds as *e.g.* in the fascicles of the Carta d'Italia and of the Forma Italiae but they only indicate the (former) presence of monuments or objects of one or more periods in or near a city, village, mountain, river, source etc. As for the exact find spots the city plans are a little more reliable.
The nine, young authors give their summaries of excavations and finds in their own way, sometimes clearly with a lack of archaeological 'sensibility'. Evidently time lacked for a strictly controlled, coherent, uniform approach. Some *schede*, unfortunately, are of a rather questionable level (cf. p. 268, no. 56 where a non existing Etruscan divinity Tin Lut is compared to a non existing Jupiter Libertas ...; the inscription mentions, moreover, *tin– tul*: 'border(stone) of Tin', cf. *RIX*, op. cit. II, 309 Ar 4.3). About the exactness of the information I have heavy doubts (cf. p. 243 no. 179: 'chiave di bronzo' instead of an iron nail [*NSc* 1892, 378]).
The congruence between text items and map symbols is not fully reliable. The reader, searching, for example, for 'sanctuaries' (often votive deposits) should not only look for the special symbol on the maps but also control the complete text for 'stipe votiva', 'favissa' etc. in order to get a complete picture of religious material. The Text, for example s.v. F. 136 Tuscania, 1.1 Saturnia (p. 561), mentions anatomical ex voto, votive heads, even architectural terracotta's but F. 136, site no. 1 does not show the 'sanctuary' symbol.
There is also a more fundamental remark to be made about the information offered by the *Atlante* and about its

limitations for usage. One objective of the whole project mentioned by Torelli is to provide local councils and provinces with an instrument that would enable them to protect archaeologically valuable areas and sites more effectively. This laudable aim appears to be seriously hampered, however, by the fact that the data that have been used to compile the maps, are not very recent: many of the sites mentioned in old publications have been eradicated already long ago by expanding cities and villages or by the heavy use of destructive agricultural techniques (in particular deep ploughing). In order to provide maps that would effectively enable local councils to plan building activities etc., much more up-to-date information is needed.

The *Atlante* is also intended as a source for archaeological research: as such, it will undoubtedly prove to be an invaluable source of information, despite the problems of consulting certain publications. There is one major *caveat* here as well, however, which has not so much to do with the maps and descriptions as such but rather with the use to be made of them: when making use of existing published and archival data for some specific research, there always is a serious problem of representativity. The data presented in the *Atlante* are not all equally reliable, as some sites have been excavated, others have been attested through systematic surveying and others are only known from hearsay. The decision not to include lengthy site or find descriptions but to refer the reader back to the original publication is therefore a very wise one: only by consulting the original publication and by cautiously evaluating its merits, one can decide the reliability of data.

These remarks are all clearly illustrated by *Foglio* 127 (Piombino): the relatively high density of sites in the coastal plain of Follonica in comparison with other areas on other maps is entirely due to the Scarlino survey that was carried out in this area. A similar concentration of information that was collected systematically can be seen in the Albegna valley (F. 135, Orbetello), where the Albegna survey has been carried out by the University of Pisa. Because of such differences in fieldwork, it is difficult to make comparisons between the Follonica area and *e.g.* the coastal plain around Pisa (F. 104). Furthermore, in the Massa Marittima region itself, the Etruscan tombs indicated on the basis of surface finds of the Scarlino survey (*e.g.* nrs. 99, 100 and 109) are clearly of a different order than those to the north of Lake Accesa (nrs. 2-15): these were originally reported by Doro Levi (*MonAL* XXXV, 1933), who excavated them in the 1920s and 1930s and consequently has much more precise information to offer. On the other hand, all traces of these tombs and tumuli have now been eradicated, which makes these data irrelevant for heritage purposes. This information can therefore only be of use to archaeologists. Finally, it should be added that, whenever larger survey projects have been carried out in an area, a (sometimes considerably) larger number of sites is known but the quality of much of these data is often rather poor: as Mario Torelli rightly points out in his introduction, far too much of this survey work has resulted in impressive maps of numerous findspots but the specific finds on which the interpretations of these dots (if interpreted at all) are based, are rarely published. The Scarlino survey in the Follonica and Massa Marittima regions is a fortunate exception (C. Cucini in R. Francovich [ed.] *Scarlino I*, Florence, [1985], 147-335). Only when such detailed information about the surface finds themselves is available, survey results can be evaluated successfully as the case of the Scarlino survey has shown (see P. van Dommelen, Una riconsiderazione di ricognizioni estensive: il caso dello Scarlino-survey, in M. Bernardi (ed.), *L'archeologia del paesaggio*, Florence (1992), 859-876). Finally, some minor mistakes have crept into this *Foglio* as well: site no. 84 has been interpreted on the basis of surface finds as a small archaic Etruscan farm, as the description rightly says, but it is marked on the map as a 'large-sized, non-definable presence'.

But apart from this type of inconsistencies and the reservations expressed above, the whole team should be admired for having completed in a rather short period a real *tour de force*.

Updating of the *Fogli* will not be easy, first because indexes are missing. Secondly because the I.G.M. topographical grid lines have been omitted on the maps and, regrettably, no topographical index has been provided. It would be worthwhile now to prepare also computerized maps so that new finds can be easily added.

Nevertheless, if the future plans of 1:25.000 maps mentioned by Torelli could be realized on the basis of more recent archival data, many of the concerns raised here would be countered. Finally, in order to have a complete repertory of *Etruria propria*, there ought to be a similar macroscopic *Atlante* of South Etruria (with indexes). In this way an old wish of the famous Etruscologist R. Bianchi Bandinelli in 1927 might be finally fulfilled.

L.B. van der Meer and Peter van Dommelen

STUDI e Materiali: scienza dell' antichità in Toscana. Vol VI. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider (Giunta Regionale Toscana), 1991. 378 pp.: ill.; 29 cm.- ISBN 88-7062-715-2.

After an interruption of nine years, so we are told in the Preface, this sixth volume of the "Studi e Materiali" continues a series whose first edition appeared in 1899. The purpose of the publication is to provide information about archaeological developments and discoveries in the Regione Toscana. The following sections are included: Special Studies ("Studi", 163 pages), Excavations ("Scavi", 106 pages), Reviews ("Recensioni", 1 page), and News Service ("Notiziario", 100 pages). The presentation is splendid: three columns of text on every page and countless illustrations, including four plates with fifteen coloured figures.

Of the four sections, three are substantial (the Reviews section consists of one page only). There are twelve "Studi", including three on prehistoric, three on technical, and one on a more literary and historical subject. The remaining five are useful and competent presentations and discussions of "materiali" covering the field of classical archaeology, for example a series of stepped stone slabs ("lastroni a scala") from Tarquinia and a quite impressive number of objects from Cerveteri

(Caere), which were taken to the museum in Florence in the nineteenth century.
In the section on excavations, three of the five reports come from foreigners. Two are by Menson Bound, the leader of a team of archaeologists and divers, who, in 1982, began a search for a shipwreck of possible Etruscan origin near the island of Giglio, off the coast of Toscana. The wreck had been located 25 years earlier and a series of finds had already found its way into private hands or onto the art market [cf. M. Bound, La storia della nave infame, *Archeologia Viva* 4 (1985), 52-65 and id., Una nave mercantile di età arcaica all'isola del Giglio, *Il Commercio Etrusco arcaico*, 1985, 65-70]. In the present volume Mr. Bound presents his first and second preliminary reports, covering the campaigns of 1982 and 1983, in English. As he realised himself "this was a wreck of major importance, which ... promised much fresh primary evidence on trade during the pre-Classical period." A lot of material – including Samian, Phoenician and Etruscan transport amphorae, east Greek and Laconian black-glazed pottery – receives a welcome dating confirmation, since it was found together with early Corinthian black-figured Pottery. Between 615 and 590 fine wares from Corinth, east Greece and Laconia would have dominated the markets. Of still greater importance is the information the wreck contains about trade in archaic times. Apparently an Etruscan merchant could travel by sea with a cargo of mixed provenance to serve his customers.
Another important foreign contribution is by Eric Nielsen on the American excavations at Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena). Because of the long delay in publication, however, some parts of this report have been superseded [see *e.g.* Kyle M. Phillips Jr, Greek Objects from Poggio Civitate, *Analecta Romana* 17-18 1992, 29-42].
The main drawback with the Studi e Materiali is its slow rate of production: this means that it fails in its function as a news service. Of course it is important to learn of the many rescue excavations carried out in the Regione Toscana, and about the museums, exhibitions and other activities in the area (in the section "Notiziario"), but a delay of at least nine years deprives the publication of much of its purpose and value. Slow production is not an unavoidable Italian shortcoming: a similar but less luxurious series of reports and special studies covering the province of ancient Latium, the *Quaderni di archeologia etrusco-italica*, with its series Archeologia Laziale, is always published in good time.

Conrad M. Stibbe

RIVISTA DI STUDI POMPEIANI. Vol. III (1989). Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1991. 307 pp.: ills. (several col.); 29 cm. – ISBN 88-7062-724-1 (ISSN 1120-359).

Volume III (1989) of the *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, published in 1991, contains a lot of interesting articles and is amply illustrated in colour. As such, it is in agreement with the previous volumes. However, compared to the past, the amount of colour plates is enormous. The reason for this is the financial support this volume received from the *Consorzio Neapolis*, a prestigious project of private sponsors. In the last decade the Consorzio Neapolis was responsable, among others, for the financing of several large restorations and of the computerization of the archaeological data of the cities around the Vesuvius. In this volume reports can be found of a few studies carried out as part of this project. Furthermore, the *Rivista* contains four contributions and, of course, the reports of the activities of the departments of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. This review will focus on some of the Consorzio Neapolis-articles, mostly written by young archaeologists who participated in the computerization project.
Five of the eight articles deal with the reconstruction of the original pictorial context of some wall-painting fragments in the archaeological depots of Pompeii and Naples. *S. Ciro Nappo* took one of the most interesting examples: 16 wall-painting fragments in the Museo Nazionale at Naples depicting daily life scenes at the Forum of Pompeii. These pieces – all of them illustrated in colour! – were cut out of the original walls in the Praedia of Julia Felix (II 4, 1-12) during the 18th century. Until now it was not clear in which room this 'excavation' took place. Ciro Nappo proves convincingly that the paintings were found on May 25th 1755 in room 24, an atrium north of the porticus. Unfortunately, fig. 17, showing the remains of the 4th style wall-decoration in situ, is missing. However, the reconstruction of the pictorial programme is obvious: atrium 24 contained a frieze depicting scenes of the life at the Forum; because the frieze follows the same orientation as the actual Forum, the room must have served as an imitation of this square. As a result, the conclusion must be drawn that the preserved fragments are dealing only with the lateral sides of the Forum and that the frieze paintings of the north and south side have disappeared.
In two articles, *C. Rosetti Tella* and *F. Tella* show examples of their research of the wall-painting fragments in the archaeological depot at Pompei (fragments originating from walls in the houses I 11, 17 and I 8, 8). The contribution by *L. Caso* deals (again) with the 'scaenae frons' painting in cubiculum 25 of the Casa di Apollo (VI 7, 23). *F. Avilia* and *L. Jacobelli* give a survey of the naumachia scenes in Pompeian wall-paintings, using several examples to illustrate the development of the Roman warships. Finally, an addition is given to the work of U. Riemenschneider on stucco cornices in Pompeii (1986) by *A. Gallo* and *F. Tessuto*; also this article is amply illustrated in colour.
The last two contributions of the Consorzio Neapolis-project concern the building of houses at Pompeii. In an exemplary way *F. Miele* gives a survey of the house I 11, 16, one of the terraced houses which A. Hoffmann (1979) called 'case a schiera'. First, there is a description of the rooms, followed by a survey of the wall-structures and the building history; then, the decorations and the finds are dealt with, and finally an analysis is given of the historical context. This article gives in brief a mine of information!
The contribution of *V. Castiglione Morelli*, with assistance of *R. Vitale*, shows a refreshing way of thinking. Starting-point for the author was to make a socio-economic study of the insula 8 in Regio I at Pompeii. The necessary data to achieve this goal have to be obtained

from finds, from excavation reports and diaries, and from the ancient remains in situ. Castiglione Morelli rightly concludes that the first two of these categories are often incomplete, because in the old excavations there was a lack of attention for the distribution, the types and the number of ordinary household goods. Yet, the results of the research can be called satisfying, mainly because of the use of the computerized version of the excavation diaries of Pompeii (1862-1980); this computerization was made possible by the Consorzio Neapolis. A short survey of the general building history of the insula is followed by a description of each house, which focuses mostly on the finds. Special attention has been given to the coins (a contribution by R. Vitale). In the end the authors conclude that the population of the insula was heterogenious and that in 79 A.D. it had recovered from the social and economic consequences of the earthquake of 62 A.D.
As usual, the *Rivista* ends with the reports of the activities of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. Interesting new finds can be noticed, among others, at Pompeii (house IX 12, 6), at Ercolano (skeletons and jewelry in room 5 beneath the Area Sacra) and at Torre del Greco (Villa romana in Contrada Sora). This is, however, only a dip at random into the wealth of material offered in 1989.

Richard de Kind

FRANCESCO BURANELLI, *Gli scavi a Vulci della Società Vincenzo Campanari-Governo Pontificio (1835-1837)*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1991. 412 pp., ill.; 25 cm (Studia Archaeologica; 58).- ISBN 88-7062-722-5.

Le site de la ville étrusque de *Vulci*, avec ses nécropoles extrêmement riches, eut le malheur d'être repéré très tôt par les chercheurs d'antiquités – clandestins et autres – grâce auxquels, durant la première moitié du siècle dernier, les musées les plus importants du monde purent "s'approvisionner" en céramique grecque. Il n'existe, en effet, aucun autre site au monde qui ait livré jusqu'à présent autant de vases – dont de nombreux chefs d'oeuvres – de fabrication grecque, et surtout attique. Mais, comme il est répété dans chaque nouvelle publication sur Vulci, la ville la plus riche et la plus fouillée de l'Etrurie est aussi la moins connue. Dans les meilleurs cas, même les fouilles officielles ou semi-officielles n'ont laissé que des rapports provisoires devenus définitifs. Ainsi, avant d'entamer une étude sur Vulci l'archéologue ou l'historien doit commencer d'abord à reconstituer – pour autant que ceci soit encore possible – l'histoire des fouilles du site, en "fouillant" patiemment dans les archives et les fonds de musées, qui ne sont pas toujours d'accès facile. Dans le présent ouvrage, qui s'insère dans une vaste entreprise de "récupération", émanant des musées du Vatican où le matériel de Vulci constitue un des noyaux du Musée Grégorien Etrusque, Francesco Buranelli a reconstitué une phase – brève mais importante – de l'histoire des fouilles de Vulci, en l'occurence les fouilles exécutées par Vincenzo Campanari de 1835 à 1837, en association avec le gouvernement pontifical.
Les précédents, c'est-à-dire, les évènements qui portèrent à la formation de la Société Campanari – Gouvernement Pontifical, les fouilles même de cette société, et le partage et la dispersion des objets qui suivirent sont retracés dans un premier chapitre. La matériel mis au jour par ces fouilles, pour autant que celui-ci put encore être identifié, est présenté dans un second chapitre. Après quelques listes synoptiques des objets mentionnés dans les documents d'archives, qui purent être identifié dans les musées du Vatican ou ailleurs, nous trouvons un catalogue descriptif du matériel, provenant aussi bien de la ville que de la nécropole: d'abord les ensembles archéologiques qui purent être reconstitués et ensuite le matériel dépourvu d'association. Le matériel de provenance urbaine, le plus nombreux et le plus varié comprend des sculptures (e.a. des bronzes retrouvés à l'intérieur des structures d'un "*fulgur conditum*"), des chapitaux, des inscriptions, des objets votifs et des terres cuites architectoniques. Parmi ces derniers purent e.a. être reconnus deux ensembles – très fragmentaires – datables au second siècle avant J.-C. et provenant probablement d'un même édifice: des antéfixes figurées et une frise figurée en haut relief, dont les sujets représentés semblent pouvoir être mis en rapport avec différents épisodes du mythe d'Oreste.
Les résultats concrets pour notre connaissance de Vulci sont mis en évidence dans un troisième chapitre. Si les fouilles de la Société Campanari – Gouvernement Pontifical, dans la propriété Camposcala à Montalto di Castro, portèrent aussi bien sur la nécropole que sur l'habitat de *Vulci*, ce sont surtout les résultats obtenus dans ce dernier secteur qui ressortent de l'enquête de Francesco Buranelli. Campanari et son associé pontifical y tombèrent sur un secteur publique de la ville et explorèrent quelques monuments intéressants d'époque hellénistico-romaine, parmi lesquels un édifice thermal et un grand temple qui seront refouillés 120 ans plus tard par Renato Bartoccini (apparemment sans beaucoup se soucier des recherches antérieures). C'est près de ce temple que Campanari retrouva, sans s'en rendre compte, les structures du "*fulgur conditum*".
En fin de volume nous trouvons un appendice de plus de 120 pages contenant les documents d'archives relatifs aux fouilles Campanari, en grande partie inédits, et les notices (parfois en forme abrégée) parues après les fouilles. Les références à cette documentation, dans les chapitres qui précèdent, auraient par moments pu être plus nombreuses et plus explicites. Pourquoi référer p.e. à une notice parue dans le *Bullettino dell'Instituto* sans indiquer que la notice en question peut être trouvée en fin de volume. La consultation de cette documentation, apparemment en ordre chronologique, aurait aussi pu être facilitée par des indexes séparés et plus détaillés. Toutefois le livre de Francesco Buranelli, qui met à la portée de tous la documentation relative à un épisode des fouilles de Vulci, est certainement le bienvenu.

Frank Van Wonterghem

DETLEV KREIKENBOM, *Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhundert n.Chr*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992. XI, 281 pp., 35 pls.; 28 cm (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 27. Beiheft). – ISBN 3-11-013253-2. – DM 198,-.

Volavano rumori tenaci che l'imperatore Caligola volesse far portare il Giove di Fidia da Olimpia a Roma per cambiarlo in un ritratto di lui stesso, ma che il riso omerico del dio in persona avesse impedito l'impresa sovraumana. La colossalità di ritratti è un fenomeno che ha suscitato forti emozioni sia da persone ritrattate che dal pubblico. La categoria di ritratti colossali non è mai stata discussa prima in modo complessivo e allora è da lodare che di questo fenomeno si è occupato D. Kreikenbom.

Il volume costituisce la versione poco cambiata della dissertazione presentata nel 1987, la quale in origine si estendeva fino all'epoca dei tetrarchi. Consiste di un'introduzione, otto capitoli non numerati, un riassunto ed un ampio catalogo che comprende 243 (frammenti di) statue colossali raffiguranti dinasti ellenistici, imperatori romani e cittadini. Le tavole contengono un'ampia scelta dei pezzi discussi, ma ovviamente non presentano l'intero *corpus*.

Il termine 'colossale' già appare da Erodoto, dove viene usato per statue enormi egizie, ma diventa più famoso con l'erezione della statua omonima a Rodi. Le fonti non fanno trapelare una ricezione positiva o negativa del fenomeno. La prima funzione è presentare una figura importante in modo imponente, in un ambito dove ciò è idoneo. La distorsione delle fattezze a ragione dell'ingrandimento apparentemente non ha disturbato i committenti o gli scultori; l'effetto da lontano evidentemente era più importante della verità ritrattistica. Allo stesso momento non si nota una forte idealizzazione come era normale nei ritratti faraonici, il che K. non osserva. Il grande numero di pezzi ovviamente non costituisce il materiale completo, ma è sufficientemente grande per essere rappresentativo.

Le dimensioni possono andare da 1½ a 5 volte o più maggiori del naturale. Il limite inferiore non è sempre chiaro e il lettore rimane talvolta confuso. Una testa a Malibu (nota 164) di 40 cm non viene inserita nel catalogo, mentre i catt. I 12, 14 sono soltanto 'überlebensgroß' (cfr. nota 171) e raggiungono al massimo questi 40 cm. I catt. I 17-18 e 45-46 sono 'knapp kolossal' (p. 24). Il più vecchio monumento a noi noto è il mausoleo ad Alicarnasso con i ritratti di membri della famiglia di Mausollo. La colossalità qui si è fatta necessaria per le dimensioni del complesso architettonico e le figure per tal motivo non sembrano massicce. I pochi monumenti discussi nel primo capitolo (pp. 7-12) sono tutti ambientati nella periferia orientale del bacino mediterraneo, dove i principi erano familiari con tradizioni di colossalità e rappresentazione ritrattistica di dinasti egizi, assiri e persiani. L'ingrandimento delle misure simboleggiava l'eroizzazione del defunto e non veniva applicato a persone vive.

I dinasti greci (secondo capitolo, pp. 13-39) imitavano Alessandro Magno che era il primo ad essere raffigurato più grande del naturale durante la vita in seguito ai faraoni. Dapprima una tale ritrattistica sembra che fosse limitata all'Egitto. Un solo esempio prima del 323 sarebbe per K. il pezzo di basalto (cat. I 26), rielaborato poi come uno dei Tolemei. Il filone di Alessandri continua fino all'epoca dei Severi (i ritratti fatti dopo 100 d.C. sono solo brevemente descritti a p. 17) esprime la popolarità dell'eroe. La difficoltà della definizione dei ritratti di Alessandro giace nell'idealizzazione. Così, alcuni pezzi ben noti quali la testa colossale nella già Villa Ludovisi, ora Via Campania, a Roma sono esclusi, mentre il cat. I 10 (tav. 2) potrebbe essere caratterizzato altrettanto come idealizzato, per non parlare del I 8 (Copenaghen, tav. 1) che a prima vista avrei piuttosto classificato come un'opera di Arno Breker degli anni 30 e che anche dopo averla vista non riesce a risolvere i miei dubbi. A mio avviso l'autore ha ragione con l'esclusione di tali pezzi, ma avrebbe dovuto esprimersi meglio in merito ai limiti e sul termine 'idealizzazione' come usato in questo studio. Il 'provincialismo' del I 10, notato a p. 17, non viene spiegato. In effetti – così si deduce dalle pp. 17-19 – la popolarità di Alessandro porta ad un'idealizzazione, spesso espressa in forme stilistiche locali (forse questo è 'provincialismo', cfr. cat. I 8) e si perde man mano l'individualità per mantenere caratteristiche generali.

I Tolemei sono i primi a farsi rappresentare su scala grande. In generale l'identificazione dei vari membri della dinastia, sia dei maschi che delle femmine, è difficile e a giusto titolo K. non si perde nel labirinto delle nomine. Seguono le conclusioni generalmente accettate del Kyrieleis, ma manca davvero la discussione con R.R.R. Smith (*Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford 1988, 86-98) che ha scritto pagine di grande rilevanza (cfr. più avanti). Non è facile stabilire se i ritratti siano postumi. Le teste in generale appartenevano a statue gigantesche acroliti, per cui non sappiamo molto sull'atteggiamento e sull'apparenza delle figure intere. Le donne spesso erano raffigurate come Tyche, Iside o Afrodite (p. 27).

I Seleucidi sono altrettanto difficili da individuare (pp. 27-30) ed il materiale è scarso (anche da Smith 1988, 100-101). Lo stesso vale per gli Attalidi (pp. 30-32), ma una statua frequentemente discussa negli ultimi anni, il 'Thermenherrscher', in una nota (216 a p. 28) viene messa fuori come figura ideale. Sulle pp. 52-55 il nudo invece è diventato un romano. Come nel caso del libro di Smith (cat. 44) manca seriamente N. Himmelmann, *Herrscher und Athlet* (Milano 1988, 126-141: Attalo II). Su altri dinasti in generale non si può dire molto (pp. 32-38) e i ritratti rimangono sempre pezzi a se stanti. L'isola di Delo è una fonte importante di ritratti di dinasti, essendo un centro commerciale dal II secolo fino all'anno 69 a.C., ma poco si è conservato della classe colossale.

K. nel seguente capitolo (pp. 39-45) raccoglie i ritratti di cittadini che in generale sono da dividere in militari gloriosi e commercianti. In parte si tratti di greci, in parte di *negotiatores* e *publicarii* italici; anche in questo caso Delo è il nucleo principale. Gli uomini vengono raffigurati in nudità eroica o con torso loricato. Togati appaiono tardi (p. 49). Le figure erano in piedi, non seduti. Le donne di nuovo avevano probabilmente le guise di divinità, ma spesso i torsi conservati non sono con certezza attribuibili a statue ritrattistiche o ideali. Il formato delle statue colossali corrisponde alla nozione del 'Gottmenschentum' ma l'effetto è alquanto bizzarro: una testa veristica, spesso di età avanzata, su un corpo ideale. K. non accetta l'idea di 'Philrhomaioi', come proposta da Smith già in un articolo del 1981 (ora Smith

1988, 125-134), la quale è stata respinta fortemente anche da N. Himmelmann [*BJ*b 189 (1989), 581-585]. Solo dopo la discussione di alcuni secoli di colossalità l'autore cerca di stabilire la funzione delle statue e la loro forma (pp. 44-51). Si distinguono due gruppi: quelli in santuari e quelli in esposizione pubblica. La colossalità dei ritratti nei santuari implica un certo livello di eroizzazione o divinizzazione, ma allo stesso tempo osserviamo edicole non molto grandi per divinità. Perciò dobbiamo essere prudenti con una generalizzazione e chiederci sempre se vi sia una ragione particolare. Le speculazioni semantiche sul termine *eikon kolossike* e sulla distinzione fra *temenos, naos* e *hierotheseion* (Commagene) non istruiscono veramente. Per le piazze pubbliche si stabilisce una congruità di dimensione fra statua e epigrafe. In questo ambiente il formato indica l'importanza del personaggio.
Molte teste appartengono ad acroliti, per cui lo schema della figura intera spesso non è ricostruibile. Sia figure stanti che sedute possono essere congettate. Gli uomini indossano un chitone o corazzo, se non sono eroicamente nudi, le donne in generale sono vestite come Pudicizia.
La repubblica romana (pp. 52-55) non ha molti monumenti del genere, anche se se ne aspetterebbe qualcosa fra i politici individualistici dopo il 100 a.C. In queste pagine, come è stato detto, il 'Thermenherrscher' è diventato un romano. K. crede che fino a Cesare la *pietas* rimanga più pesante della spinta individualità. Dello stesso Cesare (pp. 56-59) tuttavia non conosciamo ritratti del genere prima della morte. Più che paradossale mi pare l'opinione che la statua equestre sul Forum Iulium rappresentasse prima un Alessandro (p. 56), se (p. 57) non esistessero nell'Ellenismo statue del genere. Poco più avanti K., dicendo che non conosciamo il formato, crea una certa confusione. In effetti, anche J. Bergemann, *Römische Reiterstatuen*, Mainz 1990, 160 cat.no. L 22, non dà indicazioni più concrete (cfr. lì sul formato di statue equestri pp. 19-20), mentre egli simultaneamente ritiene, in contrasto con K., che l'erezione del monumento sia dovuto allo stesso Cesare.
Il rivale di Augusto, Marco Antonio (pp. 59-61) imitava i dinasti orientali e si conoscono ritratti di lui da Atene, Efeso (forse cat.no. III 3) e Egitto. Ovviamente questi sono stati distrutti dopo la svolta storica del 31/30 a.C. In effetti qui comincia la vera storia del ritratto colossale come dice K. a p. 61 nel capitolo su Augusto (pp. 61-74): "Mit dem Beginn des Prinzipats einen Einschnitt in die Geschichte des Kolossalporträts zu postulieren, findet seine Berechtigung in der Eigenmächtigkeit, die Augustus in Rom auch gegenüber Bildnissetzungen geltend machte." Il desiderio del lettore di trovare finalmente una densa serie di esemplari viene deluso, poiché in Italia, a parte menzioni scritte, non esiste nulla del genere, mentre nelle province il numero è scarso. K. osserva giustamente che la mancanza nel centro dell'Impero ancora rispecchia la tradizione repubblicana, mentre nell'Oriente Augusto segue la tradizione ellenistica. A Pergamo, per esempio, si presenta in paragone con gli Attalidi (p. 68). I membri della famiglia (p. 73) seguono il protagonista.
Nonostante il rifiuto di onorificenze da Tiberio (pp. 75-80) nel suo regno si trova la prima epigrafe menzionando un colosso, cioè quello nel tempio di Venere Genitrice. Sicuramente non sarebbe stato eretto *inter simulacra* [anzichè *simulacros* p. 76] *deorum*, ma in posizione isolata. Il fatto che stia dentro l'edificio, significa che Tiberio è un *ktistès*. Alcuni esempi conservati hanno un contesto, per esempio Veii/Vei e Aenona/Zadar. A Leptis Magna era una serie di Dea Roma e cinque Giulii a forma di acroliti, tutti di formato colossale, ma con una gradazione conforme alla gerarchia. Anche sotto Caligola (pp. 80-85) si nota un gruppo chiuso, cioè quello nella Basilica di Ocriculum/Otricoli. La *damnatio memoriae* risultava in una rielaborazione della testa di Caligola come Claudio e nel tamponamento della nicchia nella quale era esposta.
Ritratti colossali di Claudio sono in vari casi pezzi con le fattezze di Caligola, mentre lui stesso talvolta è stato rimodellato per diventare uno dei Flavi o Traiano. Alcuni gruppi esistenti vennero arricchiti con il suo ritratto (cfr. Privernum/Priverno e Caere/Cerveteri). La 'Größenhierarchie' si ritrova a Leptis Magna dove la serie menzionata è allargata con sei statue. E' strano che Livia sia più piccola di Claudio, visto che già era divinizzata; la ragione secondo K. sarebbe il suo sesso (p. 90).
In generale Claudio si fece raffigurare più anziano del vero per rappresentare la sua *cura imperii*, anche se usò l'acconciatura tradizionale (era calvo). Anche le donne della corte sono note in ritratti colossali. Non condivido l'interpretazione di K. della 'Giunone Ludovisi' come testa ideale (pp. 92-93). Anche se si presenta molto idealizzata l'acconciatura e i tratti del viso ricordano chiaramente i ritratti dell'Antonia Minore. Si veda l'analisi puntuale con ricca bibliografia di A. Costantini in A. Giuliano (ed.), *La collezione Ludovisi-Boncompagni*, Roma 1992, 122-127.
Nerone (pp. 93-97) è il primo imperatore del quale abbiamo una testa colossale contemporanea. Lui usava questo formato più frequentemente dei predecessori. Il Senato fece erigere nel 54-55 una statua accanto a quella di Marte Ultore nel tempio del Foro di Augusto, ovviamente di grandezza colossale. K. non si perde, felicemente, in divagazioni sul colosso di Zenodoro (p. 97). Fra i successori Vespasiano (pp. 99-100) riadoperò teste di Nerone, ma si limitò all'oriente, mentre a Roma – e forse in Italia – era vietato il genere di colossi. Perciò tutte le teste note sono postume. Colossi di donne mancano. Per Domiziano invece tali figure (pp. 102-105) erano strumenti per farsi paragonare agli dei. L'*Equus Domitiani* ne è l'espressione più grandiosa (cfr. ora Bergemann 1990, 164-166). La *damnatio memoriae* ha causato la quasi totale perdita di ritratti dell'imperatore, perché il successore Nerva li riutilizzò o li fece distruggere.
Un breve paragrafo su teste false (pp. 110-111) conclude il saggio. Le schede nel catalogo (VII 1-7) sono molto illustrative e insegnano chiaramente sulle trappole che si incontrano nella ricerca. Un esempio può essere aggiunto. Il Rijksmuseum van Oudheden a Leida acquistò nel 1990 un ritratto di arenaria di cm 35, che secondo i responsabili rappresenterebbe Vespasiano [inv. k1990/12.1; non pubblicato, ma vedi W.J.H. Verwers, *Jaarverslag van de Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig*

Bodemonderzoek 1990 (1991) 197-204; M. Brouwer, *OMROL* 71 (1991) 161]. A parte il fatto che l'iconografia non ha niente di un imperatore flavio, la testa stilisticamente si sottrae interamente a quello noto per l'antico. Un ottimo confronto sarebbe il Vitellio nei Musei Capitoli (cat. VII 4). Peccato che non si avesse a disposizione uno con le doti di K. Ora la testa è finita nei depositi del museo (ringrazio la dott.ssa B. Walvis, Amsterdam, che ha scritto una tesi di laurea sulla testa (1992): *Casus capitis: een antiek portret in Germania Inferior*; ora prepara un articolo).

Poi segue un grosso catalogo (pp. 115-266) diviso in sette parti (I-VII): principi classici ed ellenistici, cittadini ellenistici, principi romani individuati, principi romani non individuati, ritratti acefali, cittadini romani e falsi. Gruppi di provenienza nota sono smembrati a causa del sistema rigido ad eccezione di cat. I 2a-g (Mausoleo di Alicarnasso). Questo ordinamento serve dal punto di vista dello studio formale e tipologico dei ritratti, ma non da quello contestualistico. Il catalogo quindi diventa una raccolta di ritratti che hanno in comune il loro formato gigantesco. K non tiene conto dell'aspetto interpretativo, perché in un certo modo la colossalità dipende anche dalla collocazione e funzione specifica. Le descrizioni ed interpretazioni non riguardano in modo conseguente i problemi posti all'inizio dello studio, ma sono larghe per il ben noto 'Locken zahlen' e la tipologia (p.es. III 47, III 51) e hanno perso la loro *raison d'êtr*e. Per tal ragione non è un *catalogue raisonné* corrispondente all'argomento dello studio. Pezzi acefali formalmente appartengono al materiale studiato se si sa di sicuro che la testa mancante fosse un ritratto (p.es. cat. I 34, II 8-9, II 11-13), ma l'inserimento è alquanto strano, visto che non informano se non sugli schemi dei corpi. A mio avviso l'autore avrebbe potuto escluderli o raccoglierli in un appendice. La bibliografia talvolta è ricca, talvolta scarsa e non va oltre il 1987, il che, come già abbiamo visto, è spiacevole per la discussione di recente risuscitata e ricca di spunti per l'attuale ricerca (p.es. Smith, Himmelmann, Maderna, Bergemann). Nella prefazione K. compiange questo difetto che sembra non essere il suo. Possiamo solo chiederci se una redazione, *in casu* quella molto stimata dell'Istituto germanico a Berlino, non avesse potuto fare qualcosa; un ritardo nell'edizione, per qualsiasi motivo, punisce l'autore ed il lettore.

L'autore non sembra che abbia studiato molti pezzi di persona (p.es. cat. VII 1 'wohl unbekannt' per una testa nei Giardini Boboli a Firenze). Strane sono le indicazioni quali 'wohl unpubliziert' (cat. VII 2). Le misure spesso sono scarse, ovviamente spesso solo riprese dalla bibliografia (esaurienti invece per cat. II 14-15). Così la distinzione fra 'überlebensgroß' e 'kolossal' talvolta è dubbiosa (cfr. sopra e veda p.es. cat. I 17-19, I 22, I 36, III 23, III 41). Talvolta l'autore non sa se deve inserire o no un pezzo (cat. III 50 ha nelle note 1 e 4 pezzi delle stesse dimensioni non inserite).

Seguono alcune osservazioni su pezzi menzionati nel testo e nel catalogo.

p. 21, testa bronzea nel Prado: mi sembra, come a Smith (1988, cat.no. 13) un ritratto; certo, le distorsioni della testa causano in parte l'effetto particolare, ma non va negato il carattere personale degli occhi, della bocca e del mento.

p. 24, testa non pubblicata a Malibu: vedi tuttavia R.R.R. Smith, *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986) 64-70; Smith 1988, cat. no. 63. L'identificazione è problematica: Tolemeo II, IV o VIII.

p. 107, Taf. 34: la testa da Issa/Vis appartiene al materiale studiato, in quanto è un ritratto rielaborato. L'esclusione forse è dovuta ai tratti traianei.

Non inseriti nel catalogo, mentre solo le facce misurano più di 30 cm), Smith 1988, cat.no. 122-124 (l'ultimo menzionato a pp. 21-22 come 'überlebensgroß').

Cat. I 15 (testa Tegea): colpisce la mancanza di dati di un pezzo ovviamente non pubblicato.

Cat. I 26 (Tolemeo Copenhagen): il ritratto sembra in effetti stato rifatto da un Alessandro, ma mi chiedo il perché. Si tratta di un pezzo danneggiato e non più restaurabile sotto forma discreta? Quale è la datazione? Per Smith (1988, 87, 97, cat. 79) non è una testa rielaborata. Dalla foto non è possibile giudicare.

Cat. I 30 (Antioco V Eupator?, Antakya): "Alexandria in Syrien" ora è Iskenderun in Turchia. Per Houghton e Smith (1988, cat. 94) la testa rappresenta Seleuco I Nicatore e non ha niente di infantile, come crede K. La distorsione a ragione della posizione e delle misure causa l'immagine sbagliata e differisce dall'effetto visto nel cat. III 15 (per una foto veda Smith 1988, pl. 63.1).

Cat. I 33 (Attalo II, Atene): è con l'*Equus Domitiani* (III 100) l'unico esempio di un monumento perduto nel catalogo. Se K. avesse voluto collegare ritratti noti dalle fonti o dalle basi, il catalogo sarebbe molto più lungo.

Cat. II 15: per Smith (1988, cat.no. 110) in ogni caso è un principe ('Physkon Ruler'); l'atmosfera della testa mi sembra proprio 'reale'.

Cat. II 24 ('Navarca' da Aquileia): vedi anche M. Denti, *Ellenismo e romanizzazione nella X regio*, Roma 1991, 66-71, con una profonda analisi. Egli tenta di individuare il personaggio come Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32), il che rimane abbastanza speculativo [veda sul volume *BABesch* 69 (1994), 260-262].

Cat. III 15: C. Maderna, *Iuppiter Diomedes und Merkur als Vorbilder für römische Bildnisstatuen*, Heidelberg 1988, 156-157, da una misura di cm 10 in più; menziona anche la datazione flavia, ma propone una più alta in epoca claudia, che mi sembra più verosimile.

Cat. III 35 (Agrippa a Venezia): mentre è cauto sulla provenienza nella scheda, a p. 73 si legge che il ritratto sarebbe venuto dal Pantheon a Roma, il che è stato forse solo un argomento per aumentare il prezzo. Per il significato veda anche Maderna 1988, 59, 61-62, 63, 198, dove si legge parecchio di interesse per questa testa.

Cat. III 53 (Tiberio): M. Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater in Italien und den Westprovinzen des Imperium Romanum*, Mainz 1987, 79, 82-82 ha dimostrato che la testa è stata trovata nel teatro di Caere/Cerveteri. Vedi ora anche M. Fuchs, P. Liverani, P. Santoro, *Caere* 2, *Il teatro e il ciclo giulio-claudio*, Roma 1989.

Cat. III 98: perché una descrizione lunga e cinque foto di un ritratto publicatissimo, mentre le schede III 94-97

sono rimaste scarsamente dotate? Illustrazione della variabilità del catalogo.
IV 7 ecc.: molti pezzi del II e III secolo, inseriti apparentemente 'um auf einige interessante Denkmäler hinzuweisen' (p. 2), ma chiunque cercherà partendo dal titolo del libro non li troverà.
Il libro è il risultato di un grande lavoro e una profonda ricerca, nonostante i punti di critica qui fatti. Nonostanteciò mi chiedo se l'esito è tanto soddisfacente quanto è stata grande la fatica. Il complesso delle teste colossali non cambia veramente l'immagine della rappresentanza a forma di ritratti che abbiamo e in gran parte l'autore non è andato oltre una critica delle copie ritrattistiche. La problematica quindi forse non era valida per uno studio a sè stante.

Eric M. Moormann

WULF RAECK, *Modernisierte Mythen. Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992. 218 pp.: 15 text ill., 82 ill.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3-515-05858-3. – DM 84 –.

In questa *Habilitationsschrift* si discute la lingua formale e il contenuto delle raffigurazioni di alcuni temi mitologici nei secoli III-V d.C. Si tratta della fase di transizione fra il vero e proprio Antico verso il Medioevo, nella quale il pensiero antico rimane in vigore accanto alla crescente ideologia cristiana. Giustamente l'autore sottolinea che non vi è un netto distacco da o un'aversia contro l'atmosfera antica. Dobbiamo tener presente che l'educazione stava ancora interamente nella tradizione pagana e che nelle lezioni di linguistica e retorica si usava materiale interamente greco-romana. L'autore cerca di stabilire il significato di vari motivi figurativi per questo uomo 'moderno' (termine alquanto strano e non spiegato) dell'epoca constantiniana-teodosiana e il perchè delle trasformazioni nelle scene delineate. La terminologia spesso è quella linguistica, in quanto la semantica è un campo specializzato ed avanzato in questo brano di ricerca (p. 10). I monumenti presi in esame sono per la maggior parte mosaici e sarcofagi, ma anche vasellame argenteo e fittile e oggetti d'avorio vengono presi in considerazione.
Il volume inizia, dopo una breve introduzione con definizione del tema ('Vorbemerkung' pp. 7-14), con la discussione degli effetti sullo spettatore contemporaneo ad una raffigurazione dello stesso motivo in modi diversi in tempi diversi (cap. 1, pp. 15-23). Così è giustificato il confronto fra una scena storica severiana (rilievo Sacchetti, fig. 2) ed una teodosiana (il ben noto Missorio, fig. 1). La gente attorno al sovrano si trova a distanze diverse: in una più o meno vicina all'imperatore sul primo monumento, in una grande subordinata sul secondo. La frontalità è un mezzo per esprimere questa differenza. Le scene diventano più programmatiche finchè non si raggiunge la raffigurazione dell'imperatore isolato. Lo stesso sviluppo si osserva nella retorica che si concentra sempre più sulle sole lodi dell'imperatore da un punto di vista subalterno (p. 18). Anche il confronto delle Colonne di Traiano e Marco Aurelio è illustrativo per questo sviluppo, anche se l'autore non pretende aggiungere idee interamente nuove. Possiamo concludere che i mezzi stilistici non sono determinanti di per sè, ma ottengono un valore semantico ed ideologico in più.
Il 2. capitolo prende in esame una serie di scene di caccia su sarcofagi e mosaici che non sono interpretabili come episodi mitologici (pp. 24-70). I mosaici sono numerosi. L'autore a diritto segue Aymard nell'interpretazione di queste raffigurazioni come espressioni di virtus. E' questa 'virtù' la ragione maggiore della popolarità del tema. La caccia inoltre era un divertimento prediletto per i ceti più alti, mentre nel contempo le persone di questo gruppo limitato forse non erano attivi nella stessa caccia. Colpisce, per esempio, che la 'piccola caccia' a Piazza Armerina (Textabb. 1) ha come scena centrale il pranzo sotto una tenda. Altrove le cacce fanno parte della vita in campagna e si può trovare una caccia alla lepre – certamente non un'impresa eroica – accanto ad un complesso di villa (fig. 20, 23). Lo *status* della caccia viene espresso tramite elementi quali case costose (pp. 39-40), picknick, vestiti riccamente ornati (p. 35-37), cavalleria ed animali esotici (p. 33-34, 58-61). Giustamente l'autore allude al 'Jägerlatein' (pp. 48-58). L'eroismo come aspetto della *virtus* è svanito e il realismo è diventato esiguo. *Status* e lusso sono quindi gli elementi che rimangono conservati e il messaggio delle raffigurazioni va cercato nell'autorappresentanza del committente. Raeck, in questo momento, non trae la conclusione che con questo motivo spiega la popolarità nel mosaico in Africa settentrionale e in Sicilia, ma le sue osservazioni sono importanti per l'interpretazione di tanti complessi rustici e suburbani della tarda Antichità. Aggiungerei che la perdita della virtus fosse causata dal fatto che questa è diventata una parte inerente, sottintesa, dello status e che allora non deve più essere messa in evidenza.
Alla fine del capitolo (pp. 61-70) affronta il simbolismo funerario, se presente, e discute con B. Andreae che si è espresso in vari contributi a favore di una lettura simbolica come vittoria sul male (leone, cinghiale). La sua lettura è stata accettata da molti (cfr. di recente A. Stamatiou, *Das Löwenjagdmotiv in der antiken Kunst*, Diss. Leiden 1993, 255-265). Come in altri soggetti figurativi funerali la caccia è un topos e dettagli quali la lepre che mangia l'uva (p. 63-65) illustrano questa osservazione, poichè si ripetono anche in rappresentazioni non tombali. Le cacce non differiscono da quelle in mosaico. Più grande ed esotica è la bestia cacciata, più grande è il prestigio del defunto (fig. 50, 52). Si possono sottolineare queste conclusioni, ma dobbiamo tener presente che i monumenti in esame sono sempre del primo periodo discusso, di modo che la trasgressione della lettura verso unicamente *status* e rappresentanza non c'entra ancora.
I prossimi tre capitoli sono dedicati a temi mitologici popolari durante l'intera Antichità che vengono rappresentati in forma ridotta nell'epoca in esame: Meleagro ed Atalanta (pp. 71-98), Bellerofonte e la Chimera (pp. 99-121) e la vita di Achille (pp. 122-138). Raeck osserva (p. 71) che il numero di temi usati nell'arte figurativa durante la tarda Antichità è abbastanza ristretto. La caccia mitologica, forse come strumento di rappresentanza, rimane popolare. Meleagro non viene più sempre visua-

lizzato, come avremmo aspettato dopo le conclusioni fatte prima, durante la caccia al cinghiale, ma in colloquio con Atalante. Se i due invece sono in atto di cacciare, possono anche essere attivi a parte (figs. 57-58) o mirare ad animali diversi del cinghiale tradizionale (p.e. leone, p. 72, fig. 53). La storia è diventata secondaria rispetto al contenuto e apparentemente l'aspetto della *virtus* svolge un ruolo di primo ordine. La caccia mitologica assomiglia ad una caccia generica e serve per la rappresentanza. Raeck illustra questa idea con l'analisi del mosaico con Megalopsychia ad Antakya (pp. 73-75, Textabb. 5) dove figure mitologiche sono combinate con figure anonime.

Per tale motivo la lettura iconografica del tessuto di Riggisberg (pp. 84-94, figs. 60-61, 63) di Erika Simon va respinta. Secondo lei i simboli presenti non sono che elementi banali dell'arte figurativa dell'epoca. Non si tratta di una storia, e quindi la connessione con una tragedia *Meleagros* di Euripide è sbagliata. Sono persone mitiche in veste di persone 'moderne', attuali, che rappresentano lo *status* della persona che commissionò questa stoffa da parata. 'Bezeichnend für den Umgang mit dem Mythos ist einmal mehr die vollständige Austauschbarkeit der mythischen Gestalten' (p. 94). Va da sè che questo vale anche per i sarcofagi (pp. 94-98). Bellerofonte non è stato messo poche volte in associazione con il simbolismo cristiano: si veda il mosaico di Hinton St. Mary (p. 100, fig. 67) dove si trova a parte la lotta con la Chimera un busto di Cristo o di un imperatore, oppure quello di Frampton che ha anche il monogramma cristiano (p. 101, Textabb. 10). H. Brandenburg, studioso che in numerose pubblicazioni ha sottolineato il rischio di un'interpretazione in chiave cristiana di monumenti antichi, ha reso palese l'associazione con la caccia e il carattere rappresentativo di questi pavimenti. Raeck a questo punto aggiunge lo studio di altre scene del genere (pp. 104-112) e constata che anche in un contesto nettamente cristiano non hanno mai ottenuto un contenuto specifico, ma rimangono elementi dello *Ausstattungsluxus* pagano. Bellerofonte, anche lui, è diventato un anello nella catena di *virtus*-*status*-lusso-(auto)rappresentanza. Similmente in altri generi (pp. 118-121) questo valore viene ritrovato.

Achille fa uno sviluppo diverso. Mentre in epoca anteriore le imprese troiane stanno in primo luogo, ora la gioventù occupa il primo posto e incontriamo cicli (p.e. Tensa capitolina, vassoio in terra sigillata) che finiscono con la scoperta del giovane eroe fra le figlie di Licomede su Sciro. Apparentemente l'educazione è diventata un fattore di grande rilievo come *paradigma* di formazione mentale per il consumatore dell'epoca e costituisce uno specchio per la vita. Soltanto tramite le varie fasi di infanzia meticolosamente compiute si potrà, in vita avanzata, raggiungere al livello di Achille, il massimo guerriero davanti alle porte di Troia. Pur probabile che sia questa spiegazione semplice e chiara, si chiede allo stesso momento se l'esito dello stesso Achille – una morte precoce già prevista dalla madre Tetide che per tal motivo nascose il figlio su Sciro – non oscuri questo panorama. Si domanda allora se proprio le faccende dell'infanzia non siano un fattore negativo per un giovane di oggi, in quanto possono portarlo verso una morte prima del voluto. Anche se l'autore non pone la questione, risponde in modo convincente. La *paideia* di Achille è diventata un *topos* nell'educazione retorica della tarda Antichità e si è stabilita la nozione di θεῖοι ἄνδες che sono arrivati in alto tramite una vita dura (p. 173). Un'educazione vera e propria d'altro canto non è stata goduta dai committenti (militari, impiegati) e questo ciclo quindi si limita al ceto loro e non fa parte della lingua imperiale.

Gli ultimi due capitoli (pp. 139-166) cercano di raccogliere i dettagli in un quadro più ampio. Fra i cambiamenti nelle rappresentazioni è la crescita di didascalie scritte, da spiegare come fattore dell'intendimento minore della mitologia. La combinazione di scene 'ideali' con scene mitologiche fa vedere che quelle prime sono diventate ideali esse stesse, avendo perso il proprio carattere narrativo. Tutti i temi studiati sono adatti al tenore generale di rappresentanza tramite lavoro duro, caccia, campagna con villa e così via, per annunciare la *felicitas temporum* (p. 141). La vicinanza fra immagini e testi letterari diventa sempre più stretta, cosa che Raeck illustra in modo convincente tramite un'analisi di tre *ekphraseis* di Nicola da Mira, Giovanni da Gaza e Procopio da Gaza (pp. 145-153). Le descrizioni di opere d'arte contengono interpretazioni e spiegazioni di spettatori cristiani sempre in lontananza maggiore dalle raffigurazioni da loro studiate. Per ritrovare quelle propriamente viste bisogna dedurre quanto interpolato. Una figura presso un Oceano, per esempio (pp. 148-149) è diventata un angelo: le vele gonfiate sul dorso sono le ali e l'ancora addirittura la croce. Man mano, per esempio da Procopio, svanisce l'interesse per i dettagli. Così non stabiliamo un'altra visione sul mito, come sostenne l'editore dei testi Paul Friedländer, ma una 'wachsende Entfremdung des gebildeten in der Spätantike von der traditionellen und früher geläufigen "Sprache" der Kunst' (p. 152).

Insomma, per quanto importanti ancora, le immagini sono semplificate e chiarite per mezzo di frontalità, riduzione del numero di partecipanti in una faccenda, composizione a piani distinti e da un accento sulla rappresentanza. I cambi nella composizione sociale dei ceti reggenti è un fattore da non sottovalutare. I vecchi intellettuali hanno fatto posto a dirigenti nuovi, non formati nella tradizione classica della quale, tuttavia, vogliono usufruire per presentarsi in modo accettabile. La gerarchia sempre più rigida impone regole che devono essere capite immediatamente dagli 'Einsteiger' (p. 162). Perciò un'immagine deve far capire in una sola occhiata chi è signore, chi è eroe e chi è schiavo.

Il volume chiude con una serie di foto generalmente buone e con un indice analitico molto valido.

La breve presentazione non dà sicuramente retta alla ricchezza di idee e di informazioni di questo volume che, come anche il bellissimo saggio di G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* [Ann Arbor 1990; cfr. S. Swain, *JRA* 6 (1993) 461-466], ci mette a disposizione uno strumento per capire meglio la mentalità della classe dirigente durante il periodo affascinante del tardo antico.

Eric M. Moormann

TONY ROOK, *Roman Baths in Britain*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd., 1992. 64 pp.: 73

figs.; 21 cm (Shire Archaeology; 69). – ISBN 0-7478-0157-6. – UK £ 3.95

Since the seventies, Shire Publications Ltd has published a successful series of popular books in the field of – predominantly British – archaeology. This volume by Tony Rook opens with an overall picture of baths and bathing in Roman times and subsequently goes on to discuss public and private baths in Britain. The author has considerable expertise in the field of research into Roman baths. He supervised the excavation and successful preservation of the private bath-suite of a third-century Roman villa at Welwyn, Herfordshire, and experimented with the heating of baths – at Xanten, for instance – a vivid report of which experiment recently appeared in *Current Archaeology* (135, August/September 1993, pp. 114-117). Rook has conveyed his knowledge and experience in this book in an enthusiastic way.

The book is divided into two parts. The introductory part (Chs. 1-3, pp. 5-36) outlining the architectural development and structure of the baths is followed by a gazetteer of baths in Britain that can still be visited (Ch. 4, pp. 37-61). In the introductory chapter the aim of the book is formulated as follows: "This book is a guide to the visible remains of a typically Roman institution in the most northerly province of the Roman Empire. At the same time, however, it sets out to show the reader why a study of Roman baths is a rewarding one" (Ch. 1, pp. 5-6). The introductory chapter is followed by a chapter entitled "Architectural Development" (Ch. 2, pp. 7-21). This chapter not only discusses architectural matters but also deals with technical issues, such as a comprehensive description of the development and use of the heating-system (*hypocaustum*), and social aspects. Rook's explanation of the effects of radiant heat on the human body, which was an important result of the invention of wall-heating, is excellent (pp. 14-15). He uses a large number of sources in his descriptions (here and elsewhere in the book) but unfortunately he does not add detailed references so that it is impossible to check specific passages. What is striking is his claim (pp. 16-17) that the windows of baths were not glazed, at least not in the Mediterranean area. He bases this claim on an often quoted passage in Seneca (*Epistulae Morales* 86, 8), in which this author compares the sumptuous baths of his time with the simple private bath-suite of the second-century B.C. villa of Scipio Africanus. The passage runs as follows: "... nowadays, however, people regard baths as fit only for moths if they have not been so arranged that they receive the sun all day long through the widest of windows, if men cannot bathe and get a coat of tan at the same time, and if they cannot look out from their bath-tubs over stretches of land and sea" (transl. *Loeb*). Rook concludes from this passage that the windows cannot have been glazed because then, Roman window panes not being transparent, it would have been impossible to get a tan and admire the view. He does not allow for the fact that Seneca exaggerated wildly in order to make it clear that in his view the simplicity of Scipio's time was preferable to the luxury and wealth of the baths of his own day. We should not, therefore, take Seneca's utterances too literally. And as for the window panes: archaeological finds prove that the Romans did indeed have transparent glass. Recent studies by D. Baatz (Fensterglas, Glasfenster und Architektur, in: *Bautechnik der Antike Diskussionen zur Archäologische Bauforschung Band 5*, Mainz 1991, 4-13), I. Nielsen (*Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, Aarhus 1990, 17-18 note 41) and F. Yegül (*Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge Mass. 1992, 383) demonstrate convincingly that the windows of baths were glazed – including those in the Mediterranean region. This not only applied to the large windows of the public baths but also to the smaller ones of private baths of town houses and villas. At Pompeii, for instance, a frame with pieces of glass was found in the *tepidarium* of the Villa of Diomedes (cf. A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig 1908, 379). Besides in a later period glass was put in the small circular windows in the *caldaria* of two other private baths at Pompeii, those of the "Casa del Menandro" and of the "Casa del Centenario".

Under the heading "Social Bathing" (p. 18) Rook repeats the widespread misunderstanding that from the first century A.D. onwards men and women bathed together. He rather crassly states: "Mixed bathing had become acceptable and continued at least until Hadrian legislated that the practice should cease." Repeated interdictions of emperors after Hadrian indeed indicate that mixed bathing occurred, but it is unlikely that it happened on a large scale. It seems more likely that most cases involved women of easy virtue, instances of which can be found in literary sources (for instance, Martialis *Epigrams* III, 51 and III, 72). They seem, however, to have been exceptions to the rule that women kept to their own section of the baths or used the baths at other times than the men. Rook himself also mentions this last solution for baths that did not have a separate women's section. It is a pity that his representation of affairs easily evokes the stereotypical picture of immoral and decadent Romans, an impression that does not match the historical reality.

Chapter 3, "The Structure of the Baths" (pp. 22-36), first discusses the function of the successive bathrooms and then goes into various different topics such as fuel, water supply, hypocausts and bathroom ceilings. It might have been better if Rook had included these technical aspects in chapter 2 because now the structure of chapters 2 and 3 seems rather loose. Chapter 3 ends with two brief discussions of baths and religion and the question of who actually used the baths.

Rook ends his book with a gazetteer of 32 sites in England where remains of Roman baths can still be visited (Ch. 4, pp. 37-61). As far as I know this is the first complete survey and it is valuable if only for that. It comprises both the public baths and the private baths belonging to villas (as well as to one town house, at *Verulamium*). The list is preceded by a map on which the sites are indicated. A (brief) description of every bath is given, accompanied by a ground plan or photograph. The descriptions are a little too short to my taste, however, and it is unfortunate that there are no references to background literature for every individual bath. On the other hand, detailed information is given on how to

reach the sites, which are sometimes difficult to find. A few small corrections: p. 6: *inveterit* should read *invenerit*; p. 17: the caption under fig. 9: "*tepidarium* of the Central Baths (?!) at Herculaneum" should read: *apodyterium-frigidarium* of the women's section of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii; p. 18: A.D. 33 should read 33 B.C.; p. 32: the bath-suite of the House of the Silver Wedding at Pompeii is characterised as a "lean-to domestic bathing-suite" whereas it is incorporated in the west wing of the *peristylium*.
Rook has a facile pen and consequently the book reads pleasantly. Due to his enthusiasm, however, he is inclined to cram too much in too little space, which does not always contribute to clarity. The photographs and drawings that support the text are of a high quality and give the book an attractive appearance, while the price is low. *Roman baths in Britain* will undoubtedly find its way to those who are interested in archaeology, which it fully deserves.

Nathalie de Haan

Books Received

GIROLAMO ZAMPIERI, *Ceramica greca, etrusca e italiota del Museo Civico di Padova I, II*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1991. 389 pp., ills.; 29 cm (Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto; 35, 36). – ISBN 88-7689-025-4.

RENATO POLACCO, *Sculture e tessellati paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo Civico di Treviso*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1990. 113 pp., ills.; 29 cm (Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto; 33). – ISBN 88-7689-050-0.

GIOVANNANGELO CAMPOREALE, *La collezione C.A., Impasti e Buccheri I*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1991. 170 pp., 113 pls., 25 figs; 30 cm (Archaeologica; 101). – ISBN 88-7689-070-X.

FRANCESCO TOMASELLO, *L'acquedotto romano e la Necropoli presso l'Istmo*. (Missione Archeologica Italiana di Iasos, II). Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1991. 242 pp., 33 pls.; 30 cm (Archaeologica; 95). - ISBN 88-7689-066-1.

H.A.G. BRIJDER, *Siana Cups II, The Heidelberg Painter*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Series, 1991. 199 pp., 67 pls., 22 figs., 8 tables; 35 cm (Allard Pierson Series; vol. 8). – ISBN 90-71211-20-7 – Hfl. 335,-.

J. DE LA GENIERE (ed.), *Épeios et Philoctète en Italie*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1991. 154 pp., ills,; 22 cm (Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard, XVI). – ISBN 2-903189-39-0.

PETER F.B. JONGSTE, *The twelve labours of Hercules on Roman sarcophagi*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992. 157 pp., 88 figs.; 25 cm (Studia Archaeologica; 59). – ISBN 88-7062-730-6. – Lit. 150.000.

S.C. BAKHUIZEN (coord.), *A Greek City of the Fourth Century B.C. by the Gorítsa Team*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992. 327 pp., 113 figs, 5 plans, 54 pls.; 29 cm (Bibliotheca Archaeologica; 10). – ISBN 88-7062-720-9. – Lit. 350.000.

MAURA MEDRI, *Terra sigillata tardo italica decorata*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992. 416 pp., ills.; 25 cm (Studia Archaeologica; 60). – ISBN 88-7062-771-3. – Lit. 340.000.

KARLFRIEDRICH OHR, *Die Basilika in Pompeji*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991. 87 pp., 63 pls.; 34 cm (Denkmäler antiker Architektur, band 17, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). – ISBN 3-11-012283-9. – DM 198,00.

EMIL KUNZE, *Beinschienen*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991. 142 pp., 27 figs., 57 pls.; 28 cm (Olympische Forschungen, band XXI, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). – ISBN 3-11-013162-5. – DM 156,00.

JAMES DYER, *Hillforts of England and Wales*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 1992. 64 pp., 38 figs.; 21 cm (Shire archaeology; 16). – ISBN 0-7478-0180-0. – £ 3.95.

PETER HARRINGTON, *Archaeology of the English Civil War*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd, 1992. 64 pp., 36 figs.; 21 cm (Shire archaeology; 68). – ISBN 0-7478-0156-8. – £ 3.95.

SUSAN I. ROTROFF & JOHN H. OAKLEY, *Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora*. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992. 154 pp., 26 figs., 64 pls.; 28 cm (Hesperia: supplement XXV). – ISBN 0-87661-525-6. – $ 35.00.

JEFFREY S. SOLES, *The prepalatial cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the houses of bronze age Crete*. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992. 266 pp., 3 plans, 40 pls.; 28 cm (Hesperia: supplement XXIV). – ISBN 0-87661-524-8. – $ 35.00.

GERTRUD PLATZ-HORSTER, *Nil und Euthenia. Der Kalzitkameo im Antikenmuseum Berlin*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992. 47 pp., 36 figs.; 31 cm (Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin; 133). – ISBN 3-11-013779-8. DM 38,00.

H. FOKKENS en N. ROYMANS (red.), *Nederzettingen uit de bronstijd en de vroege ijzertijd in de lage landen*. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1991. 211 pp., ills.; 30 cm (Nederlandse Archeologische Rapporten; 13). – ISBN 90-73104-08-4.